ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: THE ETHICS OF EATING ANIMALS IN TUDOR AND STUART THEATERS

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A pressing challenge for the study of animal ethics in early modern literature is the very breadth of the category "animal," which occludes the distinct ecological and economic roles of different species. Understanding the significance of deer to a hunter as distinct from the meaning of swine for a London pork vendor requires a historical investigation into humans' ecological and cultural relationships with individual animals. For the constituents of England's agricultural networks – shepherds, butchers, fishwives, eaters at tables high and low – animals matter differently. While recent scholarship on food and animal ethics often emphasizes ecological reciprocation, I insist that this mutualism is always out of balance, both across and within species lines. Focusing on drama by William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and the anonymous authors of late medieval biblical plays, my research investigates how sixteenth-century theaters use food animals to mediate and negotiate the complexities of a changing meat economy. On the English stage, playwrights use food animals to impress the ethico-political implications of land enclosure, forest emparkment, the search for new fisheries, and air and water pollution from urban slaughterhouses and markets. Concurrent developments in animal husbandry and theatrical production in the period thus led to new ideas about emplacement, embodiment, and the ethics of interspecies interdependence.

THE ETHICS OF EATING ANIMALS IN TUDOR AND STUART THEATERS

by

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--- R.W.

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The Ethics of Eating Animals in Tudor and Stuart Theaters

On the English stages of the long sixteenth century, food animals contributed mightily to the organization of interpersonal and interspecies relations. Their lives, deaths, and afterlives exemplify the ecological, economic, and religious tensions in Tudor and Stuart food networks. Ecclesiastic politics of feasting and fasting days, class struggles that followed the enclosure and emparkment of common lands, and urban pollution associated with animal slaughter all led to changes in the paths that wind from farm to fork. Stories about food in Tudor and Stuart England reflect both the dreams and disgraces of a community. Meals made from animals reflect the divergent, often contradictory values of those who gather at the table to consume them. A feast may be inspired by yearning for divine providence, bounteous nature, or an ancestral Golden Age as much as it may represent loathing of insatiable greed, food-borne bodily corruption, or wanton animal cruelty. Bound up in each meal are responses to central questions of daily life: How will society feed a growing population? What economic opportunities exist for those who produce food? What effect does agricultural pollution have on air and water quality? And how can animals be killed with minimal cruelty? Stories of meat production, distribution, and consumption reveal the asymmetrical effects that deep structural change in the agricultural economy had both within and across species lines.

The sixteenth-century stage became a vital site for negotiating the foodshed's increasingly unequal relationships. Crucially important to the formation of community identity, late medieval and early modern theater inevitably responded to England's changing agricultural landscape as it evolved from a manorial to a market-based system.[1] With its unique capacity to

[1] My thinking about theater as the art form that, first and foremost, centers on questions of what it means to belong to a community derives from the political philosophy of Jean-Luc Nancy: "there is no 'self' except by virtue of a 'with,' which, in fact, structures it." Although Nancy is

model the relationships that make up living systems, theater can theorize and interrogate what it means to be an embodied member of a privileged hunting party in the forest, a Church's flock on northern pastures, or the feasting and fasting middling sort of urban London. The exhibition of flesh on stage – including the bodies of actors, raw and cooked foodstuffs, and animals used as stage properties – puts pressure on what it means to depend on animal others for the nourishment of one's own body. The staging of the meal from farm to fork also connects playgoers to broad cultural narratives that encompass family, local, and national traditions.[2] Both on and off stage, the shape of commensality gives the meal an aesthetic form – sometimes refined, sometimes raucous, sometimes worshipful, sometimes irreverent – appropriate to its court, country, or city setting.

Since Caroline Walker Bynum's groundbreaking work on the religious significance of medieval food and Felicity Heal's revelatory insights into early modern hospitality, scholars in the humanities have studied the table in terms of the social obligations it engenders. More so than commodity exchanges, acts of hospitality form interpersonal bonds with social ramifications that persist beyond the meal. The practices of eating together as a community adhere to and give form to the ethics of a society that is always coming into being through its foodways.

I build on this foundational work on hospitality by arguing that the sharing of meat is not just a medium for interpersonal relations, but a representation of political ecology that elucidates

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not referring to theater here, this axiom applies: there is no theater without the "with" that enables it, without an acting company, without the audience, without the cultural traditions that make the performance legible. Theater's emphasis on a shared affective and effective embodied experience links it powerfully with the practice of commensality, which, as anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney writes, "is a crucial cultural institution whereby people who eat together become 'we,' as opposed to 'they.'" Nancy, *Being Singular Plural*, p. 94; Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, p. 9. See also, Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*, pp. 11, 64.

[2] On the patterned structure of meals, see Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal."

relationships among species. When playwrights stage the raising, slaughtering, and eating of animals, they bring a host of social and environmental problems into view. A play's diverse set of characters – agricultural producers, consumers, moralists, hedonists, eaters, and eaten – have conflicting responses to animals and to the desire, disgust, doubt, and faith produced by meat-eating. With this in mind, I discuss the destruction of animal bodies and the construction of food communities in the forests of William Shakespeare, the London markets of Ben Jonson, and the shepherds' pastures of the Chester Cycle and Towneley Manuscript. These playwrights, celebrated and anonymous, investigate the contours of interpersonal *and* interspecies relationships through their variegated representation of animals' transformation into meat. At an Eastcheap inn as much as a Christmas feast, dramatic table-setting on England's stages ineluctably queries the ethical relationships that bind humans to nonhumans.

The following chapters have two primary implications. First, in terms of the application of animal studies to medieval and early modern drama, I argue for the importance of staged meals as moments when theater conceptualizes the networks mediated through animal bodies. Playwrights explore the processes of meat production in order to reveal the contentious economic and ecological relationships within England's food systems. A deer hunted and killed by the outlaws in *Cymbeline* in the remote wilderness of Wales represents a food network different from that of the suckling pig devoured by a drunken puritan preacher at a Smithfield pig-booth. As David B. Goldstein has recently argued, the role of food in early modern literature "is not precisely [that of] an object, a thing one simply eats, digests, and excretes. It is more properly a function or relationship, inhabiting a nexus between earth and human, idea and sustenance, divinity and mundanity, ideology and instrument. Food has no *a priori* existence; a

food only becomes a food when created as such."[3] Accordingly, I argue that flesh mediates between human and animal; hence the ways in which flesh is handled, cooked, distributed, and turned into *meat* in the mouths of eaters tell powerful stories about life, death, and our most cherished as well as our most taken for granted values.

Hunting, pastoralism, and urban slaughter all correspond with disparate social and ecological ethics that express what it means not just to eat well, but to rear well, to kill well, and to cook well. Whatever the particular path from farm to fork, each dramatic meal requires us to assess moral responsibility: what differentiates sport from cruelty, what care do we owe commodity livestock, and what limits do we place on gluttonous mass slaughter? Shakespeare, Jonson, and the Chester and Towneley playwrights all bring to our attention the ethics of meat production. Notably, not one of them imagines – if such a thing could exist – an ideal meal a meal that causes no pain, no death, no queasy moral feeling. Some of their characters refuse to kill, some refuse to work, and some refuse to eat, but all of the hunters, herders, and consumers in their plays must make choices when they confront the animal and reckon with the ethical consequences of doing so.

Second, with regard to the application of medieval and early modern drama to animal studies, I argue that theater experiments with animals' lack of universal significance. A sheep, for example, means contrasting things to a poor shepherd, a landlord, a priest, a butcher, and a banqueter. By tracking the changing status of animals along the path from farm to fork, I develop a literary history of meat in three settings: pastoral meals, hunting luncheons, and urban markets. The different processes of turning animals into meat – hunting in forests, herding on pastures,

[3] Goldstein, "Shakespeare and Food," p. 157.

slaughtering in city lanes,– endow "meat on the hoof" with situational significance that underscores animals' unstable place in the economy and the ecosystem.

Audiences in Tudor-Stuart England probably would have been less prone than modern readers to think in terms of the categories "animal" and "human," and more likely to recognize species or sorts of each: not simply deer but roe or fallow; not just man but the recognizable character types of the stage, such as clown, gallant, or gull. These classifications have situational value. Hence, red deer are more esteemed than pigs, lambs more than herring. Even within species, certain toponymic foods are especially prized. Prince Hal compares Falstaff not just to any cattle, but to a particularly fatty "roasted Manningtree ox with the pudding in his belly" (*1 Henry IV* 2.4.452-53). The shepherds of the Chester Cycle relish in the delightful greasiness of "butter that bought was in Blacon," a village three miles northwest of town (7.115). The puppets in *Bartholomew Fair* joke about preferring imported Westphalian ham to the flitch of Dunmow bacon traditionally given as a gift to newlyweds who do not argue in their first year of marriage (5.4.313-23). As is still true today, cuts of meat from individual animals also differ in their prestige: the lean muscular shoulder of a stag is favored over the loin; for pigs the opposite is the case, with fatty back bacon desired more often than the shoulder roast. And one and the same foodstuff could signify now order, now disorder: meats such as beef tripe, which spoils quickly, reflect the poisonous corruption of the market in *Bartholomew Fair*; gallimaufry, a kind of hash enjoyed by Falstaff in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, points to mayhem and disruption. Each ecosystem, species, and carcass contains its own hierarchy answerable to different animals' mutable places within different human communities.

I contend that a cross-examination of animal studies and medieval and early modern drama, focused on the subtleties of food networks, uncovers the rival ideologies attending forms

of meat production. Tudor and Stuart plays express ideas about food and animals during performances in banqueting halls, marketplaces and purpose-built theaters, at times sponsored by guilds devoted to working with animals and animal products. Bound to reflect upon the larger ecology of which they were a part, the authors and producers of these plays employed theater as a technology for socio-ecological modeling for at least three important reasons:

1. As a polyvocal medium, theater features the interaction of a diverse array of actors – including institutions, individuals, and nonhuman forces. By respecting different voices and different points of view, theater invites debate and deliberation.

2. Theater exploits audiences' sensory awareness of humans and animals on stage by representing the materiality of food production. The sight, smell, sound, touch, and taste of animals actually present in or near the performance space are common.

3. Theater "knots" together the flesh of human and animal by emphasizing their interaction and often violent interpenetration. The dramatization of hunting, herding, cooking, and eating reminds audiences of the co-constitution of eaters and eaten along the path from farm to fork.[4]

Early modern food systems entailed multifaceted relationships between deer and hunters, sheep and shepherds, pigs and butchers, and herring and fasters – ecology, physiology, economics, theology, and ethics were all, always, in play. In the Arden and Windsor forests, the Cheshire and Yorkshire pastures, or the Smithfield and Old Jewry markets, no single ideology or natural mechanism governs the drama of human-animal relations in these plays.

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[4] "Knotted" is the word that Donna Haraway uses to describe the ecological relationship between species, a complexity that exceeds ideology: "My point is simple: Once again we are in a knot of species coshaping one another in layers of reciprocating complexity all the way down…. It is a question of cosmopolitics, of learning to be 'polite' in responsible relation to always asymmetrical living and dying, and nurturing and killing." *When Species Meet*, p. 42. Bruno Latour similarly criticizes the "purification" of nature and culture into separate spheres in *We Have Never Been Modern*, pp. 3-14. See also, Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, p. 3 and Morton, *The Ecological Thought*, p. 59.

I show how these plays focus their audiences' attention on the particularity of an eater's relationship to every eaten animal – relationships that can be as bloody as they are humane, as earthbound as they are sacred, but never pure and never selfless. Because theatrical performances unfold through interactions between individual actors, plays can engage with the subtleties of ethical obligation: what responsibility does a hunter, a shepherd, or a consumer have at *this* particular moment in time, to *these* people, to *these* animals? Each meal of meat in the plays I discuss provides an opportunity to confront, if not resolve, these issues.[5] Donna Haraway argues that it is a "misstep to pretend to live outside killing";[6] and that the ethical eater must approach relationships to nonhuman others with a "permanent refusal of innocence and self-satisfaction with one's reasons and the invitation to speculate, imagine, feel, build something better."[7] This dissertation shows that theater is especially well suited to stimulate the socio-ecological imagination, convening what Haraway calls "a motley crowd of differentially situated species, including landscapes, animals, plants, microorganisms, people, and technologies."[8] The theater, like the table, is a gathering place where communities come together to consider all of the happy

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[5] Unsurprisingly, comedy, better than tragedy, explores commensality and the ethics of cross-species hospitality. Horrifying meals—in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Titus Andronicus*, in Middleton's *The Bloody Banquet*, and in Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*—powerfully represent the failure of human community, but offer little commentary on the role of non-symbolic, nonhuman animals in human society. With the exception of cannibalism, food animals play no role in any of these tragedies.

[6] For Haraway, although there is no such thing as living outside of killing, our responsibility to nonhuman others suggests that killing must not be performed at-will or without restriction: "Perhaps the commandment should read, 'Thou shalt not make killable.' … It is not killing that gets us into exterminism, but making beings killable." Haraway, *When Species Meet*, pp. 79, 80. Cf. Agamben's discussion of the *homo sacer* as the man "*who may be killed and yet not sacrificed*." Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, p. 8, emphasis in original.

[7] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 92.

[8] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 41.

and unhappy violence that eating meat entails. Although important studies have argued that violence done to animals both depends on and reflexively reinforces human exceptionalism, I do not pursue violence that separates human from animal.[9] Instead, the different forms of husbandry in the plays examined here affirm the centrality of animals to human community amid the convergence of companion species at the table. The same transformative language that allows an audience to see a sheep as the Lamb of God or a hart as the forest's king bestows worth and consequence upon acts of slaughter, butchery, and feasting and reckons human and animal as commensals. Proximity to the animal, as in the relationship between hunter and deer, shepherd and sheep, or cook and swine, undergirds the relationships that bind together nature and society, ecology and politics.

Literature Review

For many reasons, the burgeoning fields of medieval and early modern food studies and animal studies have begun to crowd the scholarly larder. Certainly, attention to animals and food production in sixteenth-century literature helps us better understand not only the changing relationships between humans and animals in the period, but also the cultural effects of receding wilderness, the development of market forces, and the mass migration of humans that led to the growth of the modern metropolis. Yet, I suspect the driving factor in this surge has been the increasingly passionate cultural conversation over the ethical quandaries posed by food production in the twenty-first century: unequal distribution of food resulting in simultaneous excess and hunger, the devastating environmental impact of agricultural production, and the growing distance between the delight of the meat-eating consumer and the brute ugliness of killing animals. Food and animals are everywhere in our public discourse, from cooking shows

[9] See, for example, Steel, *How To Make a Human*.

and reality competitions, to high-profile undercover investigations and corporate promotion of marketing terms such as Organic, Natural, and Humanely Raised.

Recent books by Robert Appelbaum, Joan Fitzpatrick, and the indispensable food historian Ken Albala have focused on the aesthetic communities of table manners and the cultures reflected in and created by Renaissance dietaries, cookeries, and banqueting manuals.[10] Scholars of embodiment such as Michael C. Schoenfeldt, David Hillman, and Bruce T. Boehrer have explored the importance of the alimentary canal to early modern theories of subjectivity.[11] More recently, work by Wendy Wall, Natasha Korda, Hillary Eklund, and David B. Goldstein has departed from the study of consumption (*what* was eaten) to focus on food production, distribution, and social function for gender relations, labor, and global empire.[12] And yet, despite this recent interest in food, it is all too rare to find considerations of how thinking about meat intersected with thinking about animals in the medieval and the early modern period.

Medieval and early modern animal studies exhibits a parallel gap. The work of Boehrer, Erica Fudge, Andreas Höfele, Karen Raber, Laurie Shannon, Juliana Schiesari, and Karl Steel has significantly revised our understanding of how texts chart the relationships between animals and social difference (including race, gender, religion, and class), the production of scientific knowledge, the cultures of sport and war, and political violence.[13] Despite this worthy library of

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[10] See Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef* and Fitzpatrick, *Food in Shakespeare*. The books by Albala that have proved essential to this study are *The Banquet* and *Eating Right in the Renaissance*.

[11] Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*; Hillman, *Shakespeare's Entrails*; Boehrer, *The Fury of Men's Gullets*.

[12] Wall, *Staging Domesticity*; Korda, *Labor's Lost*; Eklund, *Literature and Moral Economy*; Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*.

[13] Boehrer, *Shakespeare Among the Animals* and *Animal Characters*; Fudge, *Perceiving Animals* and *Brutal Reasoning*; Höfele, *Stage, Stake, & Scaffold*; Raber, *Animal Bodies, Renaissance*

incisive criticism, it is surprising that there has yet to appear a book-length study focusing on the most common daily experience humans had with animals in the late medieval and early modern periods – as meat.

Therefore, I take up Goldstein's call to consider the interpersonal relationships activated through the preparation and sharing of food by investigating how the Tudor-Stuart stage represents the interspecies entailments of meat production. By putting food and animal studies into conversation, I argue that we can better understand what David Goodman means when he says that agro-food studies needs more incisive engagement with the "ontologically real and active, lively presence" of nature in our agricultural networks.[14] As food networks meandered and mutated over the course of the sixteenth-century, ideas about animals responded to humans' changing relationships with deer, sheep, pigs, herring, and other common creatures [15]

My theoretical approach is also influenced by the richly developed field of early modern ecocriticism. This ever-expanding term draws on feminist, Marxist, new materialist, actor-network and systems theory, and deconstructionist approaches to Nature. The importance of the long-sixteenth century to environmental history is, as Greg Garrard asserts, "guaranteed by its place in both intellectual and environmental history," a period that oversaw the development of

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Culture; Raber and Tucker, eds., *The Culture of the Horse*; Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal*; Schiesari, *Beasts & Beauties*; Steel, *How To Make a Human*.

[14] Goodman, "Ontology Matters," p. 183. See also, Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, p. 43.

[15] My study focuses on the long-sixteenth century, when these triangulations come into greater relief than they do for earlier and later centuries, and offer greater contrast between the different urban and rural ecologies of England. Even as London is expanding rapidly and joining the ranks of Europe's great cosmopolitan cities, the pull of rural traditions is still deeply felt in northern England. While seventeenth-century studies of animals have focused on the scientific revolution in the understanding of animals, I argue that it is in the sixteenth century that we best see the economic aspects of the revolution in relationships among humans, sheep, herring, and pork across the jagged border of the medieval and early modern.

the New Science advanced by Bacon and Descartes and the globalization of empire.[16] Changes in sixteenth-century meat production have been little studied for their impact on the environmental imagination, but rapidly depleting forests where deer commingled with acorn-fed pigs, swelling flocks of sheep on the northern wolds, and increased demand for slaughterhouses in booming Jacobean London had powerful effects on how Tudor-Stuart communities triangulated relationships between animals, land use, and humans. My dissertation lines up alongside ecocritical studies by Wendy Wall, Jennifer Munroe, Rebecca Laroche, and others who have emphasized the role of *practitioners* situated within local ecologies.[17] Gardeners, housewives, and husbandmen must navigate the ethics of how to sustain small-scale ecosystems while also maintaining local interpersonal relationships. Attention to the local microecologies of these practitioners helps us appreciate the rich variety of experience in the long sixteenth-century. As Robert Watson persuasively argues: "Nature, modern science increasingly suggests, is not finally a simple truth, but is instead chaos: gorgeous, deeply patterned, but far too intricate to be parceled out or predicted. Accepting indeterminacy is key to coexisting in an intricate ecology, and the late-Renaissance association between finding certainty and loving nature is scar tissue from an old wound, an adhesion that needs to be broken, which can be done if we recognize it as a contingency of cultural history."[18]

The messiness of Tudor and Stuart ecologies that Watson describes can be productively contrasted with Donna Haraway's guiding mantra: "I think we learn to be worldly from grappling with, rather than generalizing from, the ordinary. I am a creature of the mud, not of the

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[16] Garrard, "Foreword," p. xx. See also, Boehrer, *Environmental Degradation*, p. 2.

[17] Wall, *Recipes for Thought*; Munroe, *Gender and the Garden*; Laroche, *Medical Authority*.

[18] Watson, *Back to Nature,* p. 332.

sky."[19] Haraway, Bruno Latour, and Michel Serres have helped me develop a theory of practitioners who do not over-idealize or demonize animal others. Rather, hunters, husbandmen, butchers, and cooks act as ecologists, zoologists, and anatomists responsible for constructing relationships between humans and nonhumans at the micro level of the meal. In sixteenth-century drama, these characters, through their engagement with animal flesh, attain what Haraway calls "positive knowledge," an understanding of animals that is "not built on the Great Divides."[20] These practitioners know what it means to meet the gaze of animals, to cope with them on their own terms, to communicate with them across language barriers, and to risk bodily pollution in their presence. Such characters act as vicars for animals throughout this dissertation, allowing audiences to appreciate animals as active subjects rather than mute objects.[21]

This is not to suggest that those who speak for animals in these plays can translate the voices of deer, sheep, and pigs without error. For the playwrights I consider, an underlying doubt about human-animal relationships creates deep unease about the place of beasts within a community; so we shall see in the apostrophe to the red herring in *Every Man In His Humor* or

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[19] *When Species Meet*, p. 3.

[20] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 25.

[21] Relationships between food animals and their vicars pertain to Haraway's use of the term "companion species," which describes humans and animals who "make each other up, in the flesh." Companion species' history of co-evolution and co-adaptation has driven the development of the agricultural landscape and the food economy. For Haraway, this thas a much more profound significance than the relationship of pet and owner. She emphasizes the "co-constitution" of humans and nonhumans, where animal others are seen "as actors and not just the recipients of action…. Further, *companion species* designates webbed bio-social-technical apparatuses of humans, animals, artifacts, and institutions in which particular ways of being emerge and are sustained. Or not. Trafficking in category making and unmaking, the play between kin and kind is essential to the figure of companion species. What is the cost of kinship, of category making and unmaking, and for whom? The content of any obligation is dependent on the thick and dynamic particularities of relationships-in-progress, that is, of kin and kind." *When Species Meet*, pp. 2-3, 134.

Mak and Gyll's attempt to pass off the stolen wether as a baby in the *Second Shepherds' Play*. Oliver Cob, who claims descent from fish, and Gyll, who claims motherhood of a fat wether, remind us that the cross-contamination of species results in as much zoomorphosis as anthropomorphosis. Throughout this dissertation, I argue that when characters align themselves to animals, they invoke the matrix of sympathetic and antipathetic feelings that connect the vulnerable, mutable, commodified flesh of humans and nonhumans.

Outline of Chapters

Each chapter examines how Tudor and Stuart playwrights use interpersonal and interspecies relationships under duress in local foodsheds to explore ethical questions. I have resisted sequencing my analysis of these plays in chronological order because the three economies of meat production that I examine coexisted in sixteenth-century England, and they played simultaneous roles in the cultural imagination. We would do well to remember that the last performance of the Chester *Shepherds' Play* (1578) occurred only two decades before Jonson's first city comedy, *Every Man In His Humor*, debuted at London's Curtain Theatre (1598). Shakespeare was exploring sylvan pastoral romance while his peers were popularizing London satires. To proceed spatially through the English foodshed is also to recognize that agricultural development in England unfolded unevenly; for example, the London food economy evolved much more rapidly over the sixteenth century than did the economy of the West Riding. Thus, plays about herders and their flocks signify quite differently depending on one's relationship to the land, as could be seen in a comparison of the blue collar comedy of the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play* with the highly decorative construction of the countryside in John Lyly's *Endymion* (1588) or the wooing of dairy maids by the nobility in Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1589). Because the range of human-animal relationships cannot

be understood from a single vantage point, this dissertation attempts to incorporate many perspectives across a range of sites of meat production and consumption: forests, pastures, markets, and tables.

Rather than chronology, this dissertation considers the relationship between humans and animals according to scale. I begin with Shakespeare's investigation into the intimate experience of hunters, who not only witness but partake in the killing of the animal they expect to eat. Hunting scenes in Shakespeare's plays prompt doubts about personal integrity and call into question the authenticity of interspecies relationships, even for the most bosom encounters between hunter and hunted. Then, I move to local economies of Cheshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire that are the scene for the Chester and Towneley *Shepherds' Plays*. These plays star husbandmen, working animals, and livestock who very clearly know and can identify each other on a personal basis. When Mak tries to disguise himself in the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play*, his fellows see right through him. But the system of pastoral agriculture represented in these plays was being pulled apart by economic forces that encouraged landowners to scale up wool and mutton production for more and more distant markets. For these shepherds, labor in the field does not promote local communities as much as absent landlords. Finally, I move to a Jacobean London where the relationship between eater and eaten has been stretched so thin that it becomes vaporous. As Londoners slaughter, process, and sell animals at a scale unprecedented in England (and nearly unprecedented in Europe), Ben Jonson's city comedies ask whether it is possible to sustain intimate scenes of eating when it is so difficult to know the origins of the food on the plate.

Beginning in the well-travelled territory of Shakespeare's forests. Chapter one excavates the social and ecological relationships of hunters' meals in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of*

Windsor and *As You Like It*. Early modern hunters describe venery as a noble prerogative strictly governed by moral codes and ritualistic tradition. In this discourse, participation in hunting and the commensality of a venison feast consolidate relationships and reinforce social structure and class privilege. Removed from worldly concerns and affairs of court, hunting would seem to offer the opportunity to commune with nature. Yet, amid the conviviality of the hunt, Shakespeare frequently finds doubt and hesitation. Pausing at the moment of the kill, Shakespeare's hunters call into question the authenticity of hunting, asking aloud whether the forest is free from politics, and whether the natural laws of predator and prey are more just than the laws of civilization. Focusing on melancholy Jaques's anthropomorphic epitaph for a slain deer and the beastly metamorphoses of Falstaff, I show how woodsmen who gathered at the forest table take it upon themselves, as animal proxies, to speak for nature and moralize the time. As they consider the venatic act or the venison plated before them, Shakespeare's hunters turn to rhetoric and poetry to assuage their socio-ecological consciences.

No less than in the forest comedies analyzed in Chapter 1, a nostalgic search for a fulfilling communal meal informs the pastoral comedies of Chapter 2. The "Adoration of the Shepherds" plays of the Chester Cycle and the Towneley Manuscript do not concern the ethics of taking animal life as much as they focus on the ethics of sustaining life, that is, the virtues of pastoral care or husbandry. Critics have assigned to the agricultural details of the Shepherds' Plays (the sheep, food, parasites, and shit) allegorical functions or construed them as mundane matters transcended by the promise of salvation. But I argue that the holy symbolism of sheep and pastures grows upward from well-manured ground. Sacred meaning in these dramas depends upon intimate knowledge and care of real sheep who urinate and defecate, whose warm breath, milk, skin, and flesh nourish human and nonhuman alike. I argue that the spiritual significance of

the lamb is tethered to the earthy, filthy bodies of sheep and shepherds, even when these serve as ecclesiastic symbols or purport to represent the divine as the *Agnus Dei.* This chapter dwells on the semiotic complexity of sheep in the Chester and Towneley *Shepherds' Plays*, sheep that are significant as agricultural commodities no less than as religious icons.

Social and economic upheaval outside the city gates and in the hinterlands inevitably influenced activity in the markets and halls where these plays were performed. Even as the enclosure of pasture land diminished the Church's influence in the foodshed, religious and economic spheres remained closely bound up with one another and with the sheep depicted in these plays. I read them in relation to Henry VIII's dissolution of the Catholic monasteries and the development of large-scale pastoral agriculture in Cheshire and Yorkshire. As the shepherds negotiate between market and church, the sheep's body becomes a matrix for answering a common question in late medieval and early modern discourse on food: how can we "eat well" without sacrificing body or soul?

Chapter 3 examines the relationships between humans and food animals in a rapidly urbanizing Jacobean London. Depicting a complex and corrupt network of markets, kitchens, and sewers replete with waste, Jonson dramatizes the increasing distance between humans and animals not in spatial terms (since animals were everywhere in early modern London) but in epistemological terms. Although scholars have rightly argued that the public theaters negotiated new interpersonal relationships concomitant with urban life, I argue for theater as a technology for modeling the new interspecies relationships of the city. The metropolitan marketplace may have alienated consumers from producers, but Jonson's city comedies demonstrate the vital role that food animals play in facilitating positive and negative social relationships. In *Every Man in His Humour* and *Bartholomew Fair*, the unabating aromas and sticky grease of London's food

economy draw a range of citizens into a common sink of cross-contamination and corruption. As Boehrer notes, playwrights of city comedy, including Jonson, "display a morbid fascination with the dysfunctional aspects of early modern England's relationship to the natural world. Operating mainly in the register of satire and exposé, these playwrights immerse their audiences in the filth and rapacity of Jacobean London as they inventory a range of social abuses that leave their mark upon the land, water, and air of the city itself."[22] Faced with the growing problems of pollution associated with meat production and consumption, Jonson dares his audience to accept the inherently gross qualities of flesh. His humor brashly confronts all orthodoxy: what dogmatic response can moral authorities have to the need to kill, digest, and defecate on a metropolitan scale?

There are no easy answers to the socio-ecological dilemmas posed by meat production in any of the plays I discuss. Instead, characters representing disparate points in the food shed must reckon the ethical calculus of commensality and its effect on the panoply of political ecologies that coexisted in Tudor-Stuart England. The consequences of how communities rear, kill, and eat animals ripple throughout these plays' networks of interpersonal and interspecies relationships. Jacques Derrida has famously claimed that there is no deciding whether or not to eat, there is only a determination of the method of how to break apart and share animals: "The infinitely metonymical question of the subject of 'one must eat well' must be nourishing not only for me, for a 'self,' which would thus eat badly; it must be *shared*, as you might put it, and not only in language. 'One must eat well' does not mean above all taking in and grasping in itself, but *learning* and *giving* to eat, learning-to-give-the-other-to-eat."[23] In Tudor and Stuart drama, the

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[22] Boehrer, *Environmental Degradation*, p. 26.

[23] Derrida, "Eating Well," p. 282.

representation of shared meat determines the shape of a community that gathers around a table to create or rehearse social bonds. Hence an analysis of human/food animal relations offers a powerful basis for an ethics of hospitality and an effective starting point for considering the environmental and social injustices of the food system.

David B. Goldstein has recently argued that "[f]ood effects the transformation of the outside world into the human body, serving as a reminder that otherness is really another word for sameness. Food is a conduit of biological and cultural meaning rather than a static fact, and it is a way both of shaping and destroying the self."[24] My dissertation is indebted to this formulation, but I would like to add that this "conduit" works both ways. As a medium for interpersonal and interspecies relationships, the mutability of flesh reminds us that we construct and deconstruct animal others as well as ourselves through the composition and consumption of the meal. The process of meat production is more than a series of scenes where humans are shaping their *own* bodies; as Haraway puts it, "becoming is always becoming *with*" nonhuman others.[25] The Tudor and Stuart table, as much as the stage, is engaged in the art of relation and transformation, with individuals becoming significant to each other through mutual transformation across species lines.

Not only does my dissertation take seriously the presence of animals in Tudor and Stuart drama, it also reflects on our current moment in agricultural history, when food politics (agricultural working conditions, animal rights, and the impact of farming on the environment) have become increasingly acrimonious. When theater stages the quotidian activities that turned

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[24] Goldstein, "Shakespeare and Food," p. 158.

[25] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 244.

animals into meat, it reconceptualizes the food system in terms of the ethics of interpersonal and interspecies affinities that remain vital today.

CHAPTER 1

Moral Meat: Shakespeare, Gascoigne, and the Political Ecologies of Predator and Prey

Eating undomesticated meat holds out the promise of authenticity. While more conventional forms of meat production distance human from animal, hunting for venison has the allure of a direct, personal connection to the food one eats.[1] For this reason, the meat of wild animals played a prominent part in elite early modern meals. In medieval and early modern tapestries and literature, the meat of a stag – the largest and stateliest creature in the English forest – indicates both prestige and authority. Game and wildfowl in general were reserved for special occasions, for meals at which a host wanted to make a memorable impression. Beef, mutton, poultry, or other domesticated animals might be presented ostentatiously – served with complex sauces and extravagantly plated – but the meat of a wild animal was typically served unadorned: a basic stew or a simple roast, with the boar's head as centerpiece. Unlike "the lowly chicken, which a chef would not hesitate to pound, reshape, and disguise," a stag tended to be exhibited whole, on the spit, and minimally processed.[2] Here was an unmistakable sign of the authority and moral righteousness uniquely possessed by the human-animal ecosystem's apex predator. A feast of wild meat confirmed the host's position as he who determines when it is right to kill, which animal to kill, and with whom he will share it. A successful hunt ratified the

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[1] For the sake of clarity, I will use "venison" to refer to deer meat unless otherwise indicated. In the early modern period, "venison" refers to the meat of any animal hunted through the formal art of venery. *OED*, "venison, *n.*" In England, venison most often referred to the flesh of red deer and fallow deer. Both species were zealously guarded by early modern game laws. Stags of either species, but especially red deer, were, and are, the "noblest of animals routinely pursued as game in [an England] unhappily deprived of lions, wolves, or, for the most part, boar." Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, p. 3.

[2] The prestige associated with venison and other wild game was consistent throughout western Europe from the late medieval period until the turn of the seventeenth century, at which point the cookeries published for more general, bourgeois audiences began to shift their focus to reflect growing demand for less expensive meat. Albala, *The Banquet*, pp. 34-43.

hierarchies of the ecological order and the social hierarchies of the human community. It proved that the laws of wilderness and of civilization underwrite one another.

Hunting was and remains one of the ways humans use the logic of the food chain to structure their relationship to nonhuman nature. In the early modern period hunting regularly sponsored various metaphors for the conduct of affairs of state. Shakespeare uses forests and hunting parks to explore the interdependence of political authority and predatory instinct. Hunting scenes – as well as scenes preceding or following a hunt – figure prominently as thematic set pieces in works as diverse as *3 Henry VI* (1590-91), *Titus Andronicus* (1593-94), *The Taming of the Shrew* (1593-94), *Love's Labor's Lost* (1594-95), *Twelfth Night* (1601-02), *King Lear* (1605), *Timon of Athens* (1607-08), *Cymbeline* (1609-10), and *The Winter's Tale* (1610-11), as well as the narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* (1592-93).[3] Each play raises, in its own way, the question of whether hunting is an idyllic recreation for benevolent nobles or an exercise in excess and savagery for tyrants. This chapter focuses on the two comedies, written approximately two years apart, that directly engage the triangular relationship between humans, deer, and forests: *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597) and *As You Like It* (1599). Both plays employ the motif of hunting to explore the laws and moral codes that provide their forest settings and their human communities with their political and social structure.

The appeal of hunting may stem from the simple idea of a predator's relationship to its prey, but in practice early modern hunting was an elaborate, highly ritualistic activity that required significant financial and human resources. A hunting party consisted of a chief

[3] Dates are taken from G. Blakemore Evans and J.J.M Tobin's chronology in *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Shakespeare also uses the image of a trapped and bayed stag to represent the tragic fall of characters in plays such as *Julius Caesar* (1599) and *Othello* (1603). Scholars have noted that Shakespeare demonstrated far more interest in hunting and hunting imagery than any of his fellow playwrights. The most thorough study of Shakespeare's use of technical hunting terms and of the cultural history of venery is Edward Berry's *Shakespeare and the Hunt*.

huntsman, foresters, prickers,[4] watchers to guard game, beaters to rouse it, keepers who managed the park, different varlets for specially trained dogs, scent-hound "limers,"[5] greyhound "coursers," terriers who dig into the lairs of badgers and foxes, groomsmen, horses, a butler, a cook and his staff, porters, as well as mules and jades for the bevy of equipment and supplies. A hunting expedition might comprise dozens of professionals and working animals. Throughout his canon, Shakespeare refers to this largely anonymous, multispecies crew that maintains the infrastructure of parks and mediates between forest and table. A train of huntsmen and kennel keepers joins a lord returning from the chase in *The Taming of the Shrew*'s Induction; two forest keepers prepare to cull the patriarch of the king's herd in *3 Henry VI* (3.1.1-12); we hear an offstage "cry of hounds, and wind horns in a peal" during the panther hunt in *Titus Andronicus* (2.2.10+SD); and in *Timon of Athens*, a servant organizing a hunting expedition for Timon and Lucullus offers a gift of greyhounds to seal their friendship (1.2.185-90). In *As You Like It*, Jaques asks a hunting party of lords and foresters, "Which is he that killed the deer?" A nameless lord takes credit for the victory – "Sir, it was I" – but behind him stand many others who were essential to the operation (4.2.1-2).[6] This lord may have issued the *coup de grace*, but the entire ensemble joins in the feast that follows. For Shakespeare, hunting is never a solitary pursuit.

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[4] A pricker is a specialized hunter on horseback who directs the dogs during the chase. *OED*, "pricker, *n*."

[5] "Limer" comes from the French word for "leash," hence a dog, such as a bloodhound, that would be kept on-leash during the search for a suitable stag. *OED*, "limer, *n.1*."

[6] All quotations from Shakespeare follow *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Further citations appear parenthetically in text. While from the 1960s onward, Duke Senior's band of exiles has often been portrayed as hardscrabble refugees rather than a merry band of outlaws, earlier productions tended to depict *As You Like It*'s hunting scenes with great pageantry. No surviving records indicate how the camp was staged before the eighteenth century, although early possible performance venues (Richmond Palace and Wilton House) seem to recommend a spectacle of the sort associated with the royal hunts of Elizabeth I and James I. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, *Shakespeare in Performance*, ed. Cynthia Marshall, pp. 134-36.

In this chapter, I argue that Shakespeare's scenes of hunting and venison feasts demonstrate a political ecology that determines relations of power within and across species lines. The snout-to-tale meal of a hunted deer speaks to a desire for a holistic integration of culture and nature that could consolidate a community through commensality. In *As You Like It*, the revelry of the hunt implicitly endorses Duke Senior's utopian vision of a society renewed by a holiday in the woods. In *Merry Wives*, the forest serves as a court of justice that oversees the playful punishment of a Falstaff turned Actaeon. A meal of wild meats aims to naturalize a hunting party's authority, but rarely do Shakespeare's forests endorse a single politics, what with their motley assembly of voices striving with one another for the right to speak on behalf of the forest and its citizen animals. As the two plays approach their comic conclusions, more and more voices – those of the lords, foresters, rustics, and pages of *As You Like It*, the masquers dressed as satyrs, hobgoblins, fairies, and the horned hunter in *Merry Wives* – fill the theater, representing the many constituents of a complex woodland ecosystem. Although each character shares in the celebration at the end, each possesses distinctive relationships to animals and meat that are never fully reconcilable.[7] Skeptical of a unified nature, Shakespeare challenges the idea that there is one hierarchical ecology of predators and prey when he depicts Arden and Windsor as *discordia concors*.

[7] I discuss the notable exception of Jaques and his refusal of commensality below.

fig. 1

1. **Predator, Prey, and the Structure of an "Authentic Society"**

A woodcut in the period's most influential Elizabethan hunting manual, George Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie* (1575), depicts the elaborate human machinery that attended royal hunts in the Elizabethan period (fig. 1). The scene, titled "Of the place where and howe an assembly should be made…," depicts the bustle in the forest base camp: trackers, groomsmen, hornblowers, dining lords, ladies in waiting, naughty pages, butlers, and carvers all

scurry about while the huntsman reports to the queen on the game available for the chase.[8] Such an ecology of predators and prey aspires to a class structure free from corruption.

Hence, in the poem accompanying this woodcut, Gascoigne imagines a conclave that he expects will be insulated from the trappings of court. The clearing where the party will make camp:

> neyther shall be clad,
> With Arras nor with Tapystry, such paltrie were too bad:
> Ne yet those hote perfumes, whereof proude Courtes do smell,
> May once presume in such a place, or Paradise to dwell.[9]

Gascoigne compares the artificiality of the court and state with the integrity of nature. As the queen takes her place among the party, the poem's chief huntsman implores her to cast aside those fashionable lords and "ouerbragging bluddes" in the assembly, and instead to "[b]ehold vs here, your true and trustie men, / Your huntes, your hyndes, your swaynes at all assayes, / Which ouerthrow them."[10] The structure of the court yields to a biological order made up of "hunts" (which, as a noun, could refer to both the act and the actor), "hinds" (female red deer or household domestics), and servants "at all assayes" (the trial of venison's quality).[11] On this

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[8] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 90. Gascoigne's manual, commissioned by Christopher Barker, is a translation of Jacques du Fouilloux's *La Vénerie* (1561); but Gascoigne includes his own extensive additions. *The Noble Arte* reproduces several woodcuts from *La Vénerie*, but Gascoigne's manual also features original woodcuts (including figs. 1 and 2), evidently etched by Gascoigne, in which he expresses his desire for the Queen's favor by depicting himself as her chief huntsman. Austen, *George Gascoigne*, pp. 106-09.

[9] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 92.

[10] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, pp. 93-94. See also, Hamrick, "Set in portraiture," p. 11.

[11] *OED*, "hunt, *n.*1," "hind, *n.*1," "hind, *n.*2." On the "assay," compare Juliana Berners' *The Boke of St Albans*, a sporting manual edited and reprinted throughout the sixteenth century as *The booke of hauking, huntyng, and fysshyng*. In her poem "How ye Shall brake an hart," Berners instructs the huntsman how to perform the assay:

forest plot, perfervid perfumes yield to Edenic, sylvan smells. There would be no arras behind which spies and conspirators might hide; rather the forest affords its own tapestries with "sundry sorts of hewes, which growe vpon the ground" and walls of "broken boughs or leaves." Music would be produced by the forest's own natural "melodye, / As *Pan*, nor yet *Apollos* arte, can sounde such harmonye." Emerging from this poem and its accompanying woodcut is an ideal society given over to a leisurely, rustic meal free from refinement and yet steeped in elite privilege. We are given a scene of natural artifice, an original court, unpolluted by politics.[12] Although royal forests were essentially game farms designed to bring meat to the table, here the woods become a theater of human-animal relations designed for aristocratic recreation, celebration of sporting achievement, the rehearsal of ancient traditions and the reimagining of

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[L]ay hym vpryght
At the assay kitte him that lordes may see
Anon fat or lene whether that he bee
Then cut of the coddes the belly euen fro
or ye begin him to fley, and then shall ye go
At the chaules [jowls] to begyn as soone as ye may
And slit him downe to thassay
And fro thassay euen downe to the bely shal ye slyt
To the pyssill there the codde was away kit.

Berners, *The Booke of Hauking*, p. H1v.

[12] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 91. In his prose romance *Rosalynde* (1590), Thomas Lodge describes the Forest of Arden in terms similar to Gascoigne's forest clearing. Lodge goes a step further by imagining Arden "in the forme of an Amphitheater." *Rosalynde*, p. E1v.

affairs of state.[13] This theater commences with a breakfast of "cold loynes of Ueale, colde capon, Beefe and Goose, / With Pygeon pyes, and Mutton colde" and, if triumphant, concludes with a freshly killed hart. From beginning to end, the hunting expedition is a performance in which the bonds between human and animal, elites and their servants, are reviewed, performed, and renewed.[14]

The animals in such theatrical meals, however, are not mere foodstuff; they are commensals who must observe, or be forced to observe, the rules of social order. Gascoigne describes how the hounds, like their human keepers, are restricted from biting and tearing the flesh of a stricken deer until the beast can be properly disassembled. They are trained to delay gratification and wait until their host begins the meal. The butchering of the stag, the spilling of his blood, his transformation into meat, all of this is guardedly performed to stimulate the appetite of man and beast alike. Gascoigne includes several recipes for special dog food to reward the best hounds. Here is one bloody example:

> The varlets of the kennell take bread, and cut it into gobbets into a pan, cutting cheese likewise in gobbets with it: then take they the blud of y^{t} deare, and sprinkle it vpo*n* the bread and cheese, vntill the breade and cheese be all bloudy: and then they take a great bolle of mylke warme, and mingle it altogether. Afterwardes they shall spread the skynne vpon the ground in some faire place, and put out this reward vpon it.[15]

The hounds might have been just as happy if tossed a reward of cheese or a spare bone to gnaw on, but Gascoigne's surprisingly elaborate recipe and table-setting demonstrates the extent to

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[13] On forest as game farm, see Birrell, "Deer and Deer Farming in Medieval England," p. 115.

[14] The unequal distribution of food among those assembled (the injustice of which is perhaps best represented by the oversized basket of poultry at the bottom left of the woodcut) corresponds with the distribution of rights within the society that is renewed by this recreation. Inequality at the table is also emphasized in the law of spoils depicted in *Cymbeline*, discussed below.

[15] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 131.

which hounds become their varlets' messmates. Ravens and crows attend the party as well, summoned by the prospect of carrion. We might even say they are invited since hunting parties traditionally reserved gristle from the stag's brisket bone for carrion birds that would arrive following a kill. Gascoigne comments, "I haue seene in some places, a Rauen so wont and accustomed to it, that she would neuer sayle to croake and crye for it, all the while you were in breaking vp of the Deare, and would not depart vntill she had it."[16] The multispecies community finds room at the table for even the lowliest scavengers and parasites.

Distribution of food even extends to the deer who are hunted. Early modern forest keepers, charged with keeping herds healthy over the winter, engaged in a practice called "heyning" to mitigate sparse forage in parks and estates. To prevent starvation and winter wasting, the keepers erected protective sheds and mangers stashed with reserved hay and oats for vulnerable deer populations.[17] "Heyning," then, is an excellent metaphor for the politics of the hunt, which entail not just the right to take life, but the responsibility to nourish life, if according to unequal, stringently regulated rules that protected access to certain foods – whether at the table or the trough.

At the same time that keepers protect weakened herds or malnourished deer, hunting culture ratifies the worth of some men over others too debased to hunt properly. The idea that sporting achievement correlates with one's place at the table resonates for Thomas Elyot who, in *The Boke named the Gouernour* (1531), praises the hunting rules of Persia's Cyrus the Great as recorded in Xenophon. At the hunt's conclusion, Cyrus would reward those members of his party

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[16] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 135.

[17] Birrell documents several examples of heyning, highlighting the royal hunting ground at Woodstock, where the forests were stocked with hay each winter. Some records indicate that even peas and milk were provided to deer during transport from one park to another. Birrell, "Deer and Deer Farming," pp. 117-20.

"who hunted valiauntly" while "refourmynge them whom he sawe negligent or slouthfull." Cyrus's expeditions were meant to test the character and ambition of his hunters by depriving them of ease and comfort, calling on the party to show "courage & strength" as they traversed "ouer mountaynes and valeys, encountrynge and ouerthrowyng great and mighty beestes." During the course of the day, Cyrus's party would refuse food until the hunt concluded successfully or night fell. If the party took an animal, "they eate it at theyr souper with ioye and pleasure"; but if "nothynge were kylled, they eate only bread and Kersis [i.e., watercress or nasturtium greens] … & dranke therto water…. Surely this maner of huntyng may be called a necessary solace and pastyme, for therin is the very imitation of battaile."[18] Elyot scoffs at the leisureliness of contemporary hunters, holding up instead an exemplum from the distant past in which the great huntsmen roamed a semi-mythic landscape "ouerthrowyng great and mighty beestes."[19]

Unlike the landscapes traversed by legendary hunters, the early modern English ecosystem was subjected to agricultural and land management policies that eliminated all competitor predators. Noble hunting parties occupied the sole position as apex predator, even if their prestige depended on systems of violence, exploitation, and political management. On one hand, by systematically extinguishing wolves and bears from the English landscape, humans naturalized themselves as the preordained endpoint of every food chain. On the other hand, there persisted a cultural fascination with a predator/prey relationship that legitimated the exclusively noble prerogative to hunt deer and boar. As José Ortega y Gasset argues in his paean to venery,

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[18] Elyot, *The Gouernour*, pp. 1.71r-71v.

[19] For Elyot, the hunter's meal should be difficult to achieve, even if the privilege of consuming it depends on the labor of many others. Hunting, according to Gascoigne, should from time to time subject the hunter to risk. *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, pp. 124-25.

an ideal social order ought to draw its authority from the biological order of predator and prey: "Hunting is irremediably an activity from above to below. Thus, without our seeking it, the universal fact of hunting reveals to us the inequality of level among the species – the zoological hierarchy."[20] Ortega's *Meditations on Hunting*, the most searching twentieth-century philosophical defense of hunting, maintains that an *authentic nature* validates a rigidly hierarchical *authentic society*: since the predator/prey relationship structures the entire ecosystem, humans hunting deer are no different from wolves hunting elk or hawks hunting squirrels.[21] Even if the hunter lives in a society that has made hunting for food unnecessary, obeying his instinctive "predatory zeal" allows him to reaffirm a natural system in which predators are lionized and prey are cowed.[22]

Important to his affirmation of the virtues of hunting is Ortega's vision of a highly structured and coherent society going back to the origins of human community. As Neolithic humans began to settle into agricultural communities with domesticated goats, sheep, and dogs, hunting and gathering ceased to be the primary mode of obtaining food and became the pastime of a few. There emerged a noble class whose prerogative was to hunt for leisure and a servile class whose responsibility was to assist in the sport. Neolithic Man, Ortega argues:

> … is already rich, and this means that he lives in *authentic societies*; thus in societies divided into classes, with their inevitable 'upper' and 'lower.' It is difficult to imagine that hunting was not limited in one way or another. Once we have underlined that almost universally privileged nature of the sport of hunting,

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[20] Ortega, *Meditations on Hunting*, pp. 46-48. Ortega originally wrote The *Meditations* as the preface for the hunting memoirs of his big-game hunter friend, Edward, Count Yebes in 1942.

[21] Although this chapter focuses on how early modern perception of the predator/prey hierarchy structures the social relations at the hunter's table, the imagined stability of a hierarchical nature warrants much closer scrutiny than I can provide here. For one critique of the idea of nature as a hierarchy, see Morton, "Queer Ecology."

[22] Ortega, *Meditations on Hunting*, p. 28.

> it becomes clear to what extent this is no laughing matter but rather, however strangely, a deep and permanent yearning in the human condition.[23]

The exclusive privilege of hunting is, in Ortega's view, a reflection of the law of spoils – the right to the lion's share – found in nature among other predator species. This mythos claims that before they settled into Neolithic communities, Paleolithic hunters were free from the constraints of "government, of legislation, of authority; only one 'law' is enforced among them: that which determines how they must divide the spoils of their hunting." Later class distinctions demarcating the right to kill certain animals and the right to consume certain meats are thus, according to Ortega, a reflection of claimed natural rights. Perhaps unwittingly, Ortega's demonstration of how the zoological hierarchy and class hierarchy reinforce and maintain each other exposes the *inauthenticity* of the laws of venery.[24]

The supposed authority of the proficient hunter, rooted in what Ortega calls "predatory zeal," comically asserts its superiority over humanist ideals in "Gascoigne's Woodmanship" (1573), a poem in which Gascoingne recounts his series of unsuccessful careers. This autobiography of botched ambition culminates in a failed hunting expedition with the poet's prospective patron, the renowned hunter, Lord Arthur Grey.[25] Gascoigne's headnote explains

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[23] Ortega, *Meditations on Hunting*, pp. 28-29, emphasis in original.

[24] Ortega, *Meditations on Hunting*, p. 66. Unsurprisingly, those who objected to hunting and the emparkment of forests in early modern England generally questioned the class privileges of the nobility and the state's monopoly on the right to kill and eat certain animals. The issue was not that hunting debased hunters, much less debased the hunted animals, but that the restricted privilege disadvantaged the middling sort and the underclasses. Running parallel to the debates over emparkment were protests over land enclosure and engrossment which I discuss at length in Chapter 2. On emparkment, see Fitter, "The Slain Deer and Political Imperium," 193-218; Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, p. 10; Uhlig, "The Sobbing Deer," p. 101; Roger B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, p. 43; and Drew, "Falstaff and the Culture of the Hunt," p. 732.

[25] Gillian Austen says that Gascoigne's self-presentation as an inept hunter is a "thoroughly disingenuous pose given the expertise he displayed in the *Noble Arte* [commissioned and published two years later]." *George Gascoigne*, p. 66.

that he wrote the poem after accompanying Lord Grey as he and his party culled a park's herd ahead of winter:[26]

> the sayd L. Grey delighting (amongst many other good qualities) in chusing of his winter deare, & killing the same with his bowe, did furnishe the Aucthor with a crossebowe *cum pertinenciis* and vouchsaved to use his company in the said exercise calling him one of his woodmen. Now the Aucthor shooting very often, could never hitte any deare, yea and oftentimes he let the heard passe by as though he had not seene them.

Despite the opportunity to impress the man from whom he sought patronage, Gascoigne (or, at least, his poetic self-representation) proves to be completely incompetent and must explain to Grey "[w]hat makes your woodman shoote so ofte amisse" (l. 12). Caught daydreaming, Gascoigne "lets the harmelesse deare (unhurt) go by" (l. 4). Unlike the other hunters in Lord Grey's party, Gascoigne lacks the qualities necessary to achieve at sport:

> Where some that never handled such a bow
> Can hit the white, or touch it neare the quicke,
> Who can nor speake, nor write in pleasant wise,
> Nor leade their life by *Aristotle's* rule,
> Nor argue well on questions that arise,
> Nor plead a case more than my Lord Mairs mule,
> Yet can they hit the marks that I do misse,
> And winne the meane which may the man mainteyne.
> Now when my minde doth mumble upon this,
> No wonder then although I pine for payne:
> And whiles mine eyes behold this mirrour thus,
> The hearde goeth by, and farewell gentle does. (ll. 110-22)

While all around him the foresters exhibit the predatory skill of animals flourishing in their natural habitat, Gascoigne's mind is elsewhere, "call[ing] to minde my youthfull years myspente, / They give mee suche a boane to gnawe upon" (ll. 90-91). He describes how he has studied

[26] Patron to Gascoigne and Edmund Spenser, Lord Grey was also praised for his skills in venery by Henry Peacham the Younger in his *The Compleat Gentleman*. Grey vigorously defended his hunting grounds both in the courts and through thuggery. He spent four months in prison following a brawl over hunting rights in 1574. Austen, *George Gascoigne*, pp. 66-68. All citations from "Gascoigne's Woodmanship" are from *The Anchor Anthology of Sixteenth-Century Verse*. Further citations appear parenthetically in text.

philosophy, law, soldiery, and poetry, how he has read Cicero, Bracton, Fitzherbert, and Littleton, but these offer no aid to him now. The unlearned huntsmen, who in the forest appear to be more like mute mules than men, show him that advancement in society comes from studying the hunt, not studying in the library. In a courtly patronage system that imitates the law of spoils, striking a deer dead constitutes a more advantageous version of nobility and masculinity than a courtier's flattery or a barrister's pleading.[27] If Gascoigne fails to "shoote streyght at any gaynfull pricke" (i.e., the mark),[28] it is because he falls short of the virility associated with the "purposeful, directed, and goal-oriented activity of the heroic male" so prized by Lord Grey.[29] As Henry Peacham notes in *The Compleat Gentleman*, one's conduct in rugged conditions was telling:

> The old Lord *Gray* (our English *Achilles*) when hee was Deputie of *Ireland,* to inure his sonnes for the war, would vsually in the depth of Winter, in frost, snow, raine, and what weather soeuer fell, cause them at midnight to be raised out of their beds, and carried abroad on hunting till the next morning; then perhaps come wet and cold home, hauing for a breakfast a browne loafe, and a Mouldie Cheese, or (which is ten times worse) a dish of Irish Butter: and in this manner the *Spartans* and *Laconians* dieted, and brought vp their children till they came vnto mans estate.[30]

This image of "roughing it" replicates Elyot's description of Cyrus the Great's heroic hunts. Both Elyot and Peacham argue that a satisfying meal follows only from a successful hunt, just as

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[27] Daniel Javitch argues that Gascoigne's "confessions of his unsuccessful endeavors [in law, soldiery, etc.] become, in effect, an indictment of a corrupt world where the poet's integrity must necessarily prove inadequate." But, in a twist, the poem demonstrates Gascoigne's willingness to manipulate and so "turn an unpropitious situation not simply to his but to a potential patron's advantage." Javitch, "The Impure Motives of Elizabethan Poetry," p. 231.

[28] *OED*, "prick, *n.*19."

[29] Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, p. 113.

[30] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, pp. 182-83.

Gascoigne's preferment must be won on the field through the performance of demonstrable skills.[31]

Gascoigne redoubles the relationship between hunting and patronage in his *Noble Arte of Venerie*. By dedicating his manual both to Queen Elizabeth and Sir Henry Clinton, the queen's Master of the Hunt, Gascoigne triangulates his royal patron, the queen's hunting party, and literary endeavor. Promoting his manual as an "honest book to recreate the wise: / A Booke well bought, God graunt it so be solde, / For such Bookes, are better worth than golde," Gascoigne links his authorial production to the sporting achievements in what the *Boke of St Albans* calls the "honest games in whom a ma*n* ioyeth w^{t}out any repentance after … that is … Haukyng, Huntyng, & fysshyng, & for Fouling [i.e., birdhunting]."[32] No flattery of fish, fowl, or game will gratify the hungry hunter. Among good and honest sportsmen, praise follows results rather than the reverse. Thus, for Gascoigne, succeeding or failing to slay a fat doe serves as a metaphor for his pursuit of patronage because this alone confirms whether he merits a seat at his lord's or queen's table.

For its proponents, hunting and other predatory sports require no apology because they purge the body of vice: "if it be true (as it is doutlesse) that pride (which is roote of al vices) doth increase by idlenes, the*n* is that exercise highly to be co*m*mended, which doth maintaine the

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[31] While Lord Grey's expectations for his entourage represent the conventional path to courtly preferment, Bates argues that Gascoigne's strategy is more "perverse." Gascoigne's consistent self-deprecation bucks efforts to "straighten" the aim of his prick. Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, pp. 112-14, 123. On hunting as metaphor for the search for literary patronage, see also, Hamrick, "Set in portraiture," p. 34.

[32] Berners, *The Booke of Hauking*, p. K1v. Similarly, in his 1591 hunting manual, Sir Thomas Cokayne reports that Ambrose Dudley, the late Earl of Warwick, maintained that "amongst all the sorts of men that he had conuersed withall in his life, he neuer found any better or more honest companions than Hunters and Falkoners." *A Short Treatise of Hunting*, p. A3v.

body in helth, the mynd in honest meditatio*n*s."[33] Hence Gascoigne argues that aside from "studies of Diuinitie & graue discourses":

> no one Arte or Science [is] more co*m*mendable or necessary for al Noblemen & Gentlemen [than venery]: not only for the delightfulnes therof, but also bicause it is both profitable and godly. For if (as *Salomon* sayeth) all earthly things be vanities, then are those moste to be esteemed which may continew the life of Man in most comfort and godly quiet of mynd, with honest recreatio*n*.[34]

"Honest recreation" connotes not only invigorating leisurely activity, but the sense that the "godly" and "profitable" pastime of hunting can restore men to the form of "theyr Honorable Iuncestors and Progenitours."[35] That is, restore some if not all men, as we see in Gascoigne's prefatory poem for the *Noble Arte*:

> it is a *Noble sport,*
> *To recreate the mindes of Men, in good and godly sort.*
> *A sport for Noble peeres, a sport for gentle bloods,*
> The paine I leaue for seruants such, as beate the bushie woods,
> To make their masters sport. *Then let the Lords reioyce,*
> *Let gentlemen beholde the glee, and take thereof the choyce.*
> For my part (being one) I must needes say my minde,
> *That Hunting was ordeyned first, for Men of Noble kinde.*

This longing for hunting as it was "ordeyned first" betrays a desire for wilderness's freedom from "worldly mucke" and the "[c]ontention [that] commes by coyne" coupled with the exclusive privileges of the noble class.[36] It is difficult to make out Gascoigne's attitude here. He seems to endorse the mythos that he rehearses and yet he sees the irony in the idea that the forest from the "start" conferred a special dispensation on a select few who hunted in godly pursuit. One common refrain asked, "When Adam delved and Eve span / Who was then the gentleman?"

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[33] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, Front Matter, p. A3r.

[34] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, Front Matter, pp. A2v-A3r.

[35] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 110.

[36] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, Front Matter, p. A4r.

For his part, Gascoigne observes that the recreated golden age depends on the "paine" of those who serve and defer. Whether or not hunting rights were a natural or original privilege, they were naturalized and mythologized as such. And it was through connection to the deer's body – pursued, killed, butchered, and consumed – that these "honest" relations were organized.

With the possible exception of *Cymbeline*'s outlaws, Shakespeare never suggests that noble hunters *must* hunt in order to eat or hunt *because* they are hungry. Gascoigne, Ortega, and Shakespeare's hunting parties do not have to kill in order to eat, rather they dedicate themselves to hunting because killing in order to eat provides moral edification. Their actions do not make a virtue of necessity; rather, they imagine recreational sport as part of the virtuous education of noble persons. Note that for Gascoigne, the beasts of venery were created by God for humankind's "recreation," not sustenance – or not only for sustenance, since for a certain privileged class the preparation and enjoyment of food *is* recreation.[37] Catherine Bates argues that hunting serves only as a "*representation* of the hunter's inherent qualities, an indication of his capability (skill, resourcefulness, courage, and so on)" and that it is "abstract and symbolic."[38] But this "symbolic" action ends with the death of real animals. Even if noble hunting is not about subsistence, it naturalizes aristocratic prerogative in very particular visceral, tangible, hence material ways. Thus the ideal society derives from a hunted meal, not from an abattoir, from a banquet sponsored by *As You Like It*'s Duke Senior, not from Oliver's "house of butchery" (2.3.27). A life well lived is the life of the hunter – "all the rest is vaine," writes

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[37] My thinking about the word "recreation" has been influenced by Lowell Duckert's discussion of parks in *Julius Caesar*. Duckert proposes that when Brutus bequeathes Caesar's parks to the plebeians so they may "recreate" themselves (3.2.240), he attempts to "cultivate a better commons." Recreational parks, Duckert shows, have long served as arenas for political action, fonts for societal reinvention, and reflections of environmental ethics. Duckert, "Recreation," p. 82; Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 125.

[38] Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, p. 6.

Gascoigne.[39] At least this is the logic of social hierarchy according to two authors who benefit from the preferment of noble aficionados of hunting – Gascoigne's Lord Grey and Queen Elizabeth, and Ortega's Edward, Count de Yebes. Each author emphasizes the heroic hunter and the rituals he undertakes to confirm the social order even as he discloses the class tensions that result from inequality.

2. Eating Venison and the Composition of Community

Restricting access to hunting sustains an idea of intimate relationship between human and environment. This privilege allows the unmaking of the animal in the hunt and the making of the meal as meat to form one continuous narrative. Love letters from Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn (then his mistress) capture the point: in a letter accompanying a gift of "a buck killed late last night by [his] hand," Henry instructs Anne that "it will remind [her] of the hunter" when eating it.[40] Unlike everyday market commodities, the meal of venison comes with a specific provenance, with its own story attesting to the relationship between producer and consumer. *This* venison was killed *for you*.

To turn to Shakespeare's theater is to witness the ramifications of such personal relationships for whole communities. In plays we hear not only from Gascoigne's "*Men of Noble kinde*" but also the servants who "beate the bushie woods, / To make their masters sport." The Shakespearean figures – both human and nonhuman – who make up the community gathered at the forest table often challenge the authority of the hunter or the political ecology of the forest. In this section, I discuss how the meals of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *As You Like It*, and

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[39] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, Front Matter, p. A3r.

[40] Qtd in Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, p. 88.

Cymbeline distribute food that is hunted and gathered either out of necessity or as play. Venison helps to establish and enforce social hierarchies in these works, but the path from forest to plate is more adulterated in Shakespeare than it is in Henry's letter or in the victorious meals described by Gascoigne, Elyot, and Peacham. For Shakespeare, attendant to the sharing of venison is a nervous suspicion that humans cannot have an "authentic" relationship to nature in the way that Ortega imagines.

The meal that opens *The Merry Wives of Windsor* typifies Shakespeare's mocking assessment of the venison economy. When Justice Shallow offers a gift of deer meat to the Windsorite George Page, it represents oleaginous aspiration rather than an authentic reflection of the hunter's place in the social order:

> MR. PAGE: I thank you for my venison, Master Shallow.
>
> SHALLOW: Master Page, I am glad to see you. Much good do it your good heart! I wish'd your venison better, it was ill kill'd. How doth good Mistress Page? – and I thank you always with my heart, la! with my heart.
>
> MR. PAGE: Sir, I thank you.
>
> SHALLOW: Sir, I thank you; by yea and no, I do. (1.1.79-87)

Here, as in Henry's letter to Anne, the gift of venison solidifies social bonds, but the greasy fawning in *Merry Wives* is transparently superficial. Contrary to Gascoigne's claims for hunting's authenticity and honesty, *Merry Wives* exposes the shoddiness of Windsor's venison economy. Justice Shallow's gift was "ill kill'd" – probably poached and left for dead by Falstaff, but perhaps killed in an inexpert way that damaged the meat.[41] Despite the meat's flaws, four rounds of "thank you" certify the gift and establish mutuality between the parties. Since both Page and Shallow hope to use this dinner to make a match between Shallow's nephew Slender

[41] Cf. Duke Senior imagining a dying stag's "round haunches gor'd" (*AYLI* 2.1.25).

and Page's daughter Anne, the proffered pasty is a gesture toward uniting the two families. The deal is not so easily consummated, however; Anne has no interest in Slender and Slender is inept in delicate social situations. Graciously welcomed to the home of Mr. Page, Slender is not courteous in return; instead he reminds his host of the poor performance of his hunting dogs at a recent competition in the Cotswolds [Cotsall]:

> SLENDER: How does your fallow greyhound, sir? I heard say he was outrun on Cotsall.
>
> MR. PAGE: It could not be judg'd, sir.
>
> SLENDER: You'll not confess, you'll not confess.
>
> SHALLOW: That he will not. 'Tis your fault, 'tis your fault; 'tis a good dog.
>
> MR. PAGE: A cur, sir.
>
> SHALLOW: Sir! he's a good dog, and a fair dog – can there be more said? He is good, and fair. (1.1.89-97)

Although Shallow tries to temper his nephew's rudeness, Slender's minor challenge links the imminent meal with other hunter's luncheons, at which the faults of hounds and glories of hunters would be judged. Acknowledging the specific relationships between guest and host, master and hound, hunter and deer, this table talk crosses species lines to negotiate each participant's place in the community. Even Falstaff, the poacher presumably responsible for the "ill kill'd" deer, is welcomed to settle his dispute with Justice Shallow when Mr. Page invites both plaintiff and defendent to a "hot venison pasty dinner": "Come, gentlemen, I hope we shall drink down all unkindness" (1.1.195-97). In *Merry Wives of Windsor*, food sharing becomes a strategy for reconciling a community at odds with itself.

In fact, the entire play may be read as a series of efforts to convene dinner for the purposes of community formation, even if some must be prodded to the table.[42] Slender is one such recalcitrant guest when he awkwardly refuses to join the Pages' other dinner guests: "I'll eat nothing, I thank you, sir." Mr. Page scoffs at this refusal: "By cock and pie, you shall not choose, sir! Come, come." (1.1.270-304). The potential son-in-law ought not refuse to eat if he wishes to join this community: the meal is a summons and the host's hospitality obliges invited guests to participate in the construction of the social order.[43]

Unkindness and merry pranks resurface the next day, after the Pages' first supper, and once again cookery serves as the correction. When Falstaff makes lascivious proposals to Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford, the merry wives punish their suitor by stewing him "like a Dutch dish" in a hot buck-basket filled with greasy laundry. The goal for Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page is a more palatable Falstaff, one whose desires have been sufficiently dulled to warrant his welcome at the table. If he cannot be stomached, he will have to be voided from Windsor. Falstaff later recounts his humiliation:

> Think of that – a man of my kidney. Think of that – that am as subject to heat as butter; a man of continual dissolution and thaw. It was a miracle to scape suffocation. And in the height of this bath (when I was more than half stew'd in grease, like a Dutch dish) to be thrown into the Thames, and cool'd, glowing-hot,

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[42] As Barbara Freedman observes, "Eating seems to be the major preoccupation of Windsor society; everyone [in the play] is always coming from or going to a dinner." Freedman, "Falstaff's Punishment," p. 167. Justice Shallow's gift to the Pages of the "hot venison pasty" is an example of how deer parks and their produce took part in a gift economy that created social bonds among social climbers. Birrell, "Deer and Deer Farming," p. 113; Theis, "The 'ill-kill'd' deer," p. 55.

[43] In her groundbreaking study of social obligation in the period, Felicity Heal finds that "the notion of hospitality in early modern England seems to be bound to that of reciprocity," an idea which "was designed to keep these qualities of liberality and civility in motion: to reify and fructify them by constant interchange." Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, pp. 19-20. See also, Visser, *The Rituals of Dinner* and Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*.

> in that surge, like a horse-shoe; think of that – hissing-hot – think of that. (3.5.114-22)

Elizabethan cookery manuals detail the idiosyncratic methods of food preparation habitual to the families they guided. If each family's table constitutes a unique community, each family's cookery habits define the qualities of meat (too gamy, too fatty, etc.) that should be excluded and those that should be accentuated. Hospitality can reform and refresh, but not until all of the ingredients have been made digestible.[44]

We must wait for the final scene of the play, where the community completes its shaming of Falstaff, to see Windsor celebrate its reformation. The arrival of Falstaff, "wearing a buck's head," at Mrs. Page and Mrs. Ford's appointed place of rendezvous, closes the loop that begins with the "ill kill'd" pasty in the play's first scene.[45] Formerly a poacher who threatened to disrupt Windsor, Falstaff is now the stag whose hunting will reconsolidate its households. Falstaff explains his zoomorphic transformation:

> The Windsor bell hath strook twelve; the minute draws on. Now the hot-bloodied gods assist me! Remember, Jove, thou wast a bull for thy Europa, love set on thy horns. O powerful love, that in some respects makes a beast a man; in some other, a man a beast. You were also, Jupiter, a swan for the love of Leda. O omnipotent love, how near the god drew to the complexion of a goose! A fault done first in the form of a beast (O Jove, a beastly fault!) and then another fault in the semblance of a fowl – think on't, Jove, a foul fault! When gods have hot backs, what shall poor men do? For me, I am here a Windsor stag, and the fattest, I think,

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[44] Ingestion and digestion always produce waste. This basic fact of the digestive system is the butt of the joke when Dr. Caius, in his French accent, accepts Mr. Page and Mr. Ford's invitation to breakfast and birding: "If there be one or two, I shall make-a the turd" (3.3.236-37).

[45] The nature of Falstaff's costume remains a crux. The stage direction "*Enter Falstaff with a buck's head upon him*" appears in the 1602 "bad quarto." Nothing regarding Falstaff's appearance is indicated in the stage directions of the First Folio. John M. Steadman points out that in Renaissance iconography, Diana often metamorphosed only the head of Actaeon into that of a stag, not the whole body. Steadman, "Falstaff as Actaeon," pp. 231-33. On the relation between the first and final scenes of *MWW*, see, Roberts, "Falstaff in Windsor Forest," p. 15; Theis, "The 'ill-kill'd' deer," pp. 63-64.

> i' th' forest. Send me a cool rut-time, Jove, or who can blame me to piss my tallow? Who comes here? My doe? (5.5.1-15)

Upon smelling his desired mate, Falstaff launches into a series of exhortations that reference the transformative power of aphrodisiacal foods: "my doe with the black scut? Let the sky rain potatoes; let it thunder to the tune of 'Green-sleeves,' hail kissing-comfits, and snow eryngoes [the candied root of a coastal flower]; let there come a tempest of provocation, I will shelter me here" (5.5.18-21). He even figures his own body as venison flesh to be eagerly consumed:

> Divide me like a brib'd buck, each a haunch. I will keep my sides to myself, my shoulders for the fellow of this walk – and my horns I bequeath your husbands. Am I woodman, ha? Speak I like Herne the hunter? Why now is Cupid a child of conscience, he makes restitution. As I am a true spirit, welcome! (5.5.22-29).

But Falstaff is undone by his overreach.[46] Shakespeare's comic version of the Actaeon legend ends not with Falstaff torn to pieces, but merely pinched into submission to the forest law against poaching. Only then can all of the play's principals return to the Windsor table to welcome Falstaff into the reformed community: "let us every one go home, / And laugh this sport o'er by a country fire -- / Sir John and all" (5.5.241-43). In Windsor, food does not so much restore an old order as it composes that order anew. With Falstaff sufficiently bayed and ready to admit defeat, and with the play's marriage plot sorted out, the community is ready to reconstitute itself around a hospitable fire. Their pranking and poaching now finished, the townspeople rely on genial hospitality to reaffirm the bonds frayed by the divisive desires of nearly everyone in the play. It would not have escaped Elizabethan playgoers that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is explicitly structured around deer hunts and the distribution of venison. Hunting for, cooking, and

[46] Roberts argues that the decision to transform Falstaff into a stag brought low, compared to, say, Bottom's transformation into an ass, would have invited the audience's sympathy for one of Shakespeare's greatest characters. As I discuss below, stags frequently appear as pitiable creatures in Shakespeare's plays. Roberts, "Falstaff in Windsor Forest," p. 14.

serving meat are part and parcel of a powerful civilizing process that that is continually pressed into service against the forces of disintegration.[47]

The social obligations of hospitality and civility felt in *Merry Wives*'s town setting are reexamined in *As You Like It*'s forest. Exiled from court and encamped in the Forest of Arden, Duke Senior finds that maintaining courtesy in spite of differences and disproportionate privilege is a challenge for any host. While the Duke and his followers enjoy a leisurely "banket" (2.5.53), others have found the forest less hospitable. Orlando and his elderly servant Adam have, like Duke Senior, fled the threat of death in the court of Duke Frederick; but unlike Senior, they have struggled to find food in the woods. Moved to desperation by Adam's frail state, Orlando menacingly emerges from the forest and puts a stop to the table talk debate of Jaques and Duke Senior:

ORLANDO: Forbear, and eat no more.

JAQUES: Why, I have eat none yet.

ORLANDO: Nor shalt not, till necessity be serv'd.

JAQUES: Of what kind should this cock come of?

SENIOR: Art thou thus bolden'd, man, by thy distress?
Or else a rude despiser of good manners,
That in civility thou seem'st so empty? (2.7.88-93)

Orlando's insistence on distributing food based on "necessity" not rank draws attention to conventional, exclusionary table protocols: "forbear, I say, / He dies that touches any of this fruit / Till I and my affairs are answered" (2.7.97-99).

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[47] Michel Jeanneret argues that "conviviality has a pacifying and civilizing role. It is the basis for the art of good living and it posits a society where the individual, without ignoring the stomach, none the less recognizes the need for communal living." *A Feast of Words*, p.32. But my argument here is more in line with that of David B. Goldstein who, responding to Jeanneret, argues that in Shakespeare's plays, hospitality only keeps the threat of violence down to a low boil. *Eating and Ethics*, pp. 136-38.

Unlike Adam and Orlando, who fear they will "die for [want of] food" in "this uncouth forest" (2.6.1-2, 6), Duke Senior has reached an accord with nature. His comfort in the wilderness is evident in his opening monologue (2.1.1-17) and in the songs of his comrade Amiens – "Under the greenwood tree" (2.5.1-8) and "Blow, blow, thou winter wind" (2.7.174-90). While Orlando and Adam "hold death a while at the arm's end" (2.6.9-10), Duke Senior contents himself with rustic simplicity. He will abate Orlando's hunger, but only after he passes the test of "gentleness":[48]

SENIOR: What would you have? Your gentleness shall force,
More than your force move us to gentleness.

ORLANDO: I almost die for food, and let me have it.

SENIOR: Sit down and feed, and welcome to our table.

ORLANDO: Speak you so gently? Pardon me, I pray you.
I thought that all things had been savage here,
And therefore put I on the countenance
Of stern command'ment. (2.7.102-09)

Orlando says that he has adopted the mask of a predator; but having been moved by the Duke's hospitality, he accepts a lesser place in Senior's herd: "Then but forbear your food a little while, / Whiles, like a doe, I go to find my fawn [Adam], / And give it food" (2.7.127-29).[49] Duke Senior responds hospitably, knowing that a good host's pity generates gratitude from welcomed guests:

SENIOR: True it is that we have seen better days,
And have with holy bell been knoll'd to church,

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[48] Madeleine Doran has noted Orlando's relation to those among Shakespeare's rude commoners who are derided for their uncivil demeanor. Suffolk's description of rebels as "rude, unpolish'd hinds" in *2 Henry VI* (3.2.271) is especially relevant to my analysis of venison production as a mode of political ecology. Doran, "Yet I Am Inland Bred," pp. 103-04.

[49] Peter B. Erickson argues that Orlando's analogy to does and fawns reinforces the image of the Duke's camp as a "self-sustaining patriarchal system" in which women are notably absent and "men take over the traditional female prerogative of maternal nurturance." "Sexual Politics," p. 75.

> And sat at good men's feasts, and wip'd our eyes
> Of drops that sacred pity hath engend'rd;
> And therefore sit you down in gentleness,
> And take upon command what help we have
> That to your wanting may be minist'red. (2.7.120-26).

Although the duke's generosity is apparent, the phrase "take upon command" captures the strains inherent in the rules of hospitality. Orlando, the interloper-made-guest, demands that he *must* eat; the hostage-turned-host likewise urges his guest to eat at his insistence. Still, the Duke's hospitality depends upon a position of privilege and power. If Orlando and Adam fear they will "die for lack of a dinner" in "this desert" (2.6.17-18), Duke Senior's meal is so unhurried that the exiles lounge beneath "the shade of melancholy boughs" as they "lose and neglect the creeping hours of time" (2.7.111-112). Finding food is "labor" (2.6.13) for Orlando, but for Duke Senior and his followers – for whom there is no mention of hunger – food is recreation. Arden is a desert for unfortunate travelers, but a "banket" for the duke.

If Duke Senior's meal is made up of food that his hunting party gathered from the forest, then there is good reason to believe that it would have been a bounteous banquet. Of course, that the hunting party might have come up empty-handed explains why hunters understood hunting to be a sober, godly activity that moderates arrogance. Witness how Amiens' lyrics reinforce this view: "Who doth ambition shun, / And loves to live i' th' sun, / Seeking the food he eats, / And pleas'd with what he gets, / Come hither, come hither, come hither!" (2.5.38-42). The ability to earn one's food corresponds with a pastoral fantasy of imagined autonomy and freedom from court politics. But Jaques appends another, countervailing "verse to this note" which Amiens then offers to sing: "If it do come to pass / That any man turn ass, / Leaving his wealth and ease / A stubborn will to please, / Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame!" (2.5.46, 50-54, 59-60; Jaques glosses "ducdame" as "a Greek invocation to call fools into a circle"). In Jaques's mind, the image of

noble lords gathered around the campfire represents buffoonery, not self-sufficiency. To live off the land by choice is a fantasy that only a fool would pursue, a fantasy that occludes the hardnosed politics of food procurement and distribution.[50]

Should a trophy buck be slain, the hunter's feast makes for the rare combination of subsistence and excess. A hart's body – weighing upwards of three hundred pounds with antlers that might tower nine feet above the ground – can yield a massive quantity of meat, as shown by John Lacy's venison receipt book *Wyl Bucke His Testament* (c. 1560).[51] Lacy provides instructions for a complete three course meal made almost entirely from the body of one buck or doe, including dishes such as pottage with herbed ribs, black pudding, stewed tripe, numbles (entrails) stew, trotters (boiled deer feet), haggis, roasted tongue, venison topped with porridge, roasted shoulder, steaks cooked over aromatic wood, mugget (stewed uterus), baked testicles, roasted liver, and broiled chitterlings.[52] For the most part, all of these dishes could be cooked in a pot or on a gridiron over an open flame. Lacy's menu takes the simplicity of a single killed animal and elevates the repast to extravagant heights of lavishness. The refined enjoyment of

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[50] I accept Richard Wilson's argument that that Duke Senior's generosity toward uninvited guests has everything to do with aristocratic prerogative at the table and beyond. Wilson associates the moral economy of food in *As You Like It* with the harvest failures of the 1590s: "Orlando's localist assertion, in boasting of his roots ["I am inland bred" (2.7.96)], is likewise an appeal to the Tudor moral economy, which regulated the transportation of food through inland counties to London and the coast, but which broke down calamitously after 1595." Wilson, "'Like the Old Robin Hood,'" p. 15.

[51] Very little is known about John Lacy, the assumed author of the text. See Wilson, "The Testament of the Buck and the Sociology of the Text," p. 158.

[52] Lacy's is only one example of the versatility of wild game; many of the most popular continental cookbooks contained long lists of recipes for venison. The most famous cookbook of the era, Bartolomeo Scappi's *Opera dell'arte del cucinare* (1570), contains twenty recipes for venison while Francisco Martínez Motiño's *Arte de Cocina* (1611) has recipes for venison "roasted, its horns on a plate, breadcrumbs fried in venison fat, empanadas, salted, and even a version of venison jerky or *tasajos*." Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 41.

game strengthens the connection between the hunter's authority and his protected land and sanctifies the unequal distribution of food as an ecological principle inherent to the predator's law of spoils.[53]

Shakespeare explicitly draws attention to this law of spoils in *Cymbeline*. When they first appear in the play, the exiled Belarius and the king's abducted sons, Guiderius and Arviragus, who are living in a hillside cave in remote Wales, are about to set out on a hunt. "He that strikes / The venison first be the lord o' th' feast, / To him the other two shall minister" (3.3.74-76). Guiderius, eldest son of the king and therefore the noblest of three exiles, is "prov'd best woodman" (3.6.33). Perhaps his success is only coincidence, but the play clearly suggests that his innate virtue derives from royal blood as the hunt foreshadows his ascendancy. As witnesses to Guiderius's display of skill, Arviragus and Belarius assume their place in the hunting party hierarchy and "[w]ill play the cook and servant" at this feast (3.6.35).

In *Cymbeline*'s Welsh cave, the outlaws adopt a rugged asceticism that aligns with the virtues Gascoigne, Elyot, and Peacham associate with hunting. For Belarius, hunting for food creates an eat-what-you-kill meritocracy that instills in the boys hypermasculine ideals as opposed to courtly indolence:

> The sweat of industry would dry and die,
> But for the end it works to. Come, our stomachs
> Will make what's homely savory; weariness
> Can snore upon the flint, when resty sloth

[53] Albala lists an entire bestiary's worth of exotic, wild foods that appear in early modern banquet texts: squirrel, porcupine, marten, fox, badger, bear, beaver, wild donkey, mountain goat, gazelle, even the unborn fetuses of deer. But feasting for show, rather than eating for health, was consistently disdained by Renaissance dieticians. Albala notes that dietaries often mention these dishes, only to deride them as they similarly pooh-poohed the gastronomical excesses of Roman cookery, exemplified by the recipe collection attributed to the Roman gourmand Apicius. Although rare, these dishes might appear at lavish banquets as examples of rustic delicacies, reinforcing the host's wealth and privilege but also reinforcing a connection between the host and the land. *The Banquet*, pp. 35-36, 160-64

Finds the down pillow hard. (3.6.36-40)

Cymbeline's feast of hunted game is lauded for its simplicity, but we need to pause for a moment if we are to appreciate the complexity of such a meal – its ceremonial entailments; diverse signifiers and signifieds; and subtle cues, rules, and expectations. A meal of hunted food convenes a particular kind of commensality that trades in showmanship and asks that the party to witness and participate in the animal's death. Gascoigne's *Noble Arte of Venerie* and other sources explain how a performance of the law of spoils confers worth upon different members of the successful hunt. *The Noble Arte* includes both French and English methods for "[h]ow to breake vp an Harte." Once the hunting party has returned to its place of assembly, the chief huntsman "shall [then] take his knyfe, and cut off the Deares ryght foote before, and present it to the Kyng."[54] A pitchfork planted in the ground would display the "dayntie morselles" cut out from the stag "whiche appertayne to the Prince or chief personage on field." These delicacies include the testicles ("doulcettes"), the tongue, flankards,[55] the sweet pudding ("which is the fat gut that goeth to the Deares tewell [i.e., anus]"),[56] and the upper intestine. Each of these would be removed in proper order, cleaned, griddled or pan-fried, and offered as *hors d'œuvres* while the huntsman goes about the work of cleaning the animal and dressing the meat.

According to Gascoigne's English method for field dressing deer, the chief huntsman holds the deer while the chief personage of the field makes an incision in the brisket or breast to

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[54] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 127. Gascoigne's French authority, Jacques du Fouilloux's *La Vénerie*, uses several woodcuts to illustrate these steps; the English translation is more parsimonious.

[55] Gascoigne defines the "flankards" as" two knottes or nuttes whiche are to be taken betwene the necke and the shoulders, and twoo others whiche are in the flankes of the Deare." These are probably glands of some sort, but I have not been able to identify them. *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 128.

[56] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 129.

inspect the quality of the meat.[57] Once the meat is shown to be worthy of the party, the party must in turn prove itself worthy of the meat. The greatest noble present is given the opportunity to exhibit his strength by beheading the stag in one fell motion: "For they take delight to cut off his heade with their woodknyues, skaynes [knives or daggers], or swordes, to trye their edge, and the goodnesse or strength of their arme."[58] Gascoigne's manual further describes how huntsmen show off their skillful woodsmanship in skinning the hide and removing the shoulder cut:

> We vse some ceremonie in taking out the shoulder. For first he which taketh it out, cuts the thinne skin of the flesh (when the Deares skinne is taken off) round about the legge, a little aboue the elbowe ioynt. And there he rayseth out the synew or muskle with his knife, and putteth his forefinger of his left hand, through vnder the sayd muskle to hold the legge by. If afterwardes he touch the shoulder or any part of the legge, with any other thing than his knyfe, vntill he haue taken it out, it is a forfayture, and he is thought to be no handsome woodman.[59]

Having displayed his skill with a knife as well as his expert knowledge of a deer's anatomy, the huntsman apportions each slab of flesh to a member of the party in accordance with rank and achievement. In addition to the especially esteemed shoulder cut, the huntsman who "harbored," or first located, the stag receives the brisket bone and "three knots or nuts."[60] The rest of the huntsmen share the second cut of shoulder meat. The "tenderlings," or soft tops of the antler buds, are presented to the chief personage. The neck meat is split between the chief huntsman,

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[57] This formality is alluded to in *Love's Labor's Lost* when Holofernes declares a slain deer "*sanguis*," although he surely is not the one who would have been given the honor of making the first incision (4.2.3). It is a salient point of this dissertation that the propriety of the venison connoisseur is considerably different from the less formal meals of soused sheep's head in Chester or a Bartholomew-pig in Smithfield discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

[58] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 133.

[59] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, pp. 133-34.

[60] Gascoigne calls the "three knots or nuts" the "*cynq and quatre*" from the "noombles," or loin area. Like the flankards, these are probably also glands of some kind, but I have not been able to confirm this.

the chief personage, and the varlet of the kennel. The bloodhounds' varlet is awarded the chin meat.[61] After the shoulder is cut away, the butcher then removes the organ meat, including the heart, "[n]oombles," "bloudboulke,"[62] and the "gryssell at the spoone of the brisket" which is called the "rauens morsel."[63] Furnished with food and drink, the hunting party can now "recreat[e] their noble mindes with rehersall whiche hounde hunted best, and which huntesman hunted moste like a woodman."[64]

In *The Boke of St Albans*, Juliana Berners asserts that hunting, hawking, and fishing promote a diet of "nourishable meats," "mery occupacio*n* which may reioyce [one's] hert," and auspicious social relationships. Sportsmen who retreat to the woods should select agreeable companions: "if a ma*n* will euer more be in mery thought & haue a glad spirite, he muste eschew al contrarious compani and al places of debate where he might haue any occasions of mela*n*coly."[65] Gascoigne's prefatory poem to the *Noble Arte* similarly shuns "contrarious company," contrasting the contentment hunters take from their earned meal with the contentiousness of lazy lechers at more excessive feasts: "Howe [the hunstman's] appetite is bred (with health) in homely cates, / VVhile Surfet sits in vaine excesse, & Banquet breeds debates."[66] As in Amiens' song, each member of the hunting party must be "pleas'd with what he gets," not despite but because of the fact that it is apportioned unevenly according to rank. A

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[61] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 129.

[62] "Bloudboulke" probably refers to the kidney, spleen, or liver. *OED*, "blood bulk, *n.*"

[63] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 129.

[64] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 128.

[65] Berners, *The Booke of Hauking*, p. K1v.

[66] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, Front Matter, p. A3v.

manifest homology (and putative harmony) prevails, linking the butchering of the animal and the structure of of the community.

Because of these social stakes, in early modern Europe butchery and carving were serious play for serious diners. According to Ken Albala, to have "mere butchers" on staff who cut meat in the privacy of the kitchen would be an embarrassment for the host at an entertainment: "The true carver … must perform his feats of carving *in aria* so that the difficulty and conquest of it is plainly exhibited to all present."[67] Albala's characterization refers to the banquet culture of early modern palaces and great houses, but the same expectation held true for the hunting party's carver: before all and sundry, he presided over the transformation of animal into meat. Like a vicar, the carver became a "direct intermediary between the food and the diner."[68]

The hunter's pursuit of game, writes Ortega, "becomes a poetic task, like the playwright's or the novelist's; that of inventing a plot for his existence, giving a character which will make it both suggestive and appealing."[69] I maintain that a *playwright's* task is a more fitting analogy than the novelist's, or perhaps, even, a stage manager's careful orchestration of the plot. The meal and the hunt, like a theatrical performance but unlike a novel, are absolutely ephemeral. Recipe and script can be repeated, but no two iterations are the same.[70] Moreover, because

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[67] Vincenzo Cervio's carving manual, *Il Trinciante* (1593), is remarkable for its level of detail: "The instructions for carving a peacock take up five full pages and rival even the most precise anatomical texts of the era. The carver must of course be intimately acquainted with animal anatomy, absolutely expert with a knife and fork, as well as physically strong." Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 154.

[68] Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 155.

[69] Ortega, *Meditations on Hunting*, p. 24.

[70] On the relationship between table and stage, see Ken Albala: "Each [banquet] is also a kind of play. Any meal, past or present, thus contains a script. It might be said that every participant in the eating event is equally an actor…. In this respect, a meal is a form of theater…. The importance of putting on a good show and publishing the results may even explain why the truly

theater depends on the representation of living relationships and individuated living bodies interacting in space, theatrical performance, unlike written text, shares the form of the hunter's ecosystem. The performance of chase, slaughter, butchery, and the presentation of the meal underscore the singular nature of each hunt's transformation of deer into venison. Irreducible to a commodity or text, a single deer cannot be exchanged with another. This process is at once poetic and theatrical not only in the sense that it gives the animal meaning (as sacrifice, gift, trophy, etc.), but also in the sense that the tasks of hunting, slaughter, and carving forge a lasting relationship between consuming subject and object, even after the object ceases to be. When hunters take on the role of predator in Gascoigne's forest or on Shakespeare's stage, they enact the embodied relationship between eater and eaten. The distinct but related positions of eater and eaten, consumer and producer, noble and servant acquire meaning through the performance of the hunting party's recreation.

Of course, there are far more efficient methods of furnishing a table than the time-consuming, expensive, and highly stylized forms of hunting practiced in early modern England's parks and forests, but they sacrifice the artistry and drama inherent in what Gascoigne calls the "*Noble Arte"* of venery – a level of esteem unrealized in the title of his major source text, Jacques du Fouilloux's *La Vénerie*. More than a sporting method of supplying meat for an exclusive clientele, hunting provisions the table with the experience and significance of *having hunted* for one's food. The hunter is able to tell the story of the food he consumes. A stag is pursued, killed, and celebrated in ways that other, conventional food animals are not. Because stories of the hunt bind commensals together at the table furnished with the body of the slain

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powerful courts in the sixteenth century produced few cookbooks or accounts of their banquets. Their power spoke for itself." Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 4-6. See also, Yates, "Shakespeare's Kitchen Archives," p. 181.

deer, the production of venison lends itself to literary treatment – or to narrative more generally – in the way that the death of a pig or herring or some anonymous pot of mutton does not. Like the difference between bull-baiting and common cattle production, the theatricalized experience of meeting one's meat, hearing his testimony, and then signing his death warrant, endows the subsequent meal with intimate and personal meaning. The hunting luncheon is not just any prosaic meal; and once performed, it insinuates a refined and formal relationship between eater and eaten, host and guest with the potential to live beyond the table.[71]

Important graph. Have another look, as subject of lampooning morphs into something more fundamental to your discussion. Perhaps break where I've put *** on next page.Such reverential treatment of sporting pleasures and privilege is understandable;, but unsurprisingly, it lends itself to lampooning. Tension between proud hunters and their satirists was already well established by the Elizabethan period. Almost seventy years before Gascoigne's *Noble Arte of Venerie*, Erasmus mocked the solemnity of the hunter's butchery in his *Moriae Encomium* (1509):

> For as touchyng the death of a deare, or other wilde beast, ye know your selues, what ceremonies they vse about the same. Euery poore man maie cutte out an oxe, or a shepe, wheras suche venaison maie not be dismembred but of a gentilman: who bareheadded, and set on knees, with a knife prepared proprely to that vse, (for euery kynde of knife is not allowable) also with certaine iestures, cuttes a sunder certaine partes of the wildbeast, in a certaine order verie circumstantly. Whiche duryng, the standers by, not speakyng a worde, behold it solemnly, as if it were some holy Misterie, hauyng seen the like yet more than a hundred tymes before.[72]

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[71] Drawing on the work of Wendy Wall, Joan Fitzpatrick notes that the processing of food puts laborers in the "powerful position of using 'art' to thwart mortality and to transform, with some creativity and verve, nature's raw materials." Fitzpatrick, "Introduction," p. 5.

[72] Qtd. in Wilson, "The Testament of the Buck and the Sociology of the Text," p. 174. The quote is from Thomas Chaloner's 1549 English translation of the *Moriae Encomium.*

Erasmus pokes fun at hunters for elevating "leisure" to a semblance of celebrating mass, and several Shakespearean characters join him when they react skeptically to the supposed sanctity of the hunt. Jaques is the most obvious among them; the stanza he adds to Amiens' song teases the supposed modesty of hunters. (It is also noteworthy that Jaques's quarrelsomeness and melancholy are exactly the traits Berners and Gascoigne declare to be unwelcome at the hunter's feast.) In *1 Henry IV*'s "play extempore," which acts as a dress rehearsal for Falstaff's eventual banishment, Prince Hal rebukes the gluttonous knight for taking the art of carving more seriously than his other duties: "wherein [is Falstaff] neat and cleanly, but to carve a capon and eat it?" (2.4.456-457).

For at least this version of Hal, this conoisseur of performance, the carver's transformation of animal into meat is tantamount to a flourish of theatrical skill. But perhaps it is this very ephemerality that explains the desire to ritualize the metamorphosis of animal into flesh. As Alain Badiou says of theater, "Representation *takes place*. It is a circumscribed event. There can be no permanent theatre…. [A] spectacle is itself perishable by nature. It can certainly be repeated a good number of times. However, everything in it, or almost everything, is mortal."[73] The hunt is bound by similar rules, predicated on the finitude of the event and the body. Just as the theater actor "exhibits onstage the evaporation of every stable essence," the immediacy of the hunter's luncheon speaks to the ceaseless degeneration and regeneration of ingestion, digestion, and excretion. The sharing of venison at the tables of *Merry Wives, Cymbeline*, and *The Noble Arte of Venerie* creates and confirms social relationships, but once the meat is carved up and devoured, there is no longer a concrete bond linking the parties. This is hardly unique to hunting – or to theater; ratification of social bonds occurs daily, weekly, seasonally in many

[73] Badiou, *Rhapsody for the Theatre*, p. 11.

other types of social or ecological congregation. Parties will always have to come back to the table again and again to reaffirm and re-create their bonds. Shakespeare has Jaques, obsessed with the passage of time, make this very point when he reminds Duke Senior's banqueters that "from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe, / And then from hour to hour, we rot and rot" (2.7.26-27). In the theater and at the table, we conceive of ourselves as members of a larger whole, a public among whom we realize and experience our ongoing constitution.

3. The Hunter's Uneasy Conscience and the Unknowability of Animals

We have seen Justice Shallow apologize that his gift of venison was "ill kill'd" (1.1.83). This apology intimates a dark underbelly to the huntsman's feast and to the biological order of predators and prey that lies beyond it. Not only must table manners be carefully regulated but so must the selection and killing of deer respect due process. But how does a hunter know when it is right to kill a deer: when is it "done in the testimony of a good conscience" (*LLL* 4.2.1-2) and when might it be "accounted ill" (*LLL* 4.1.25)? For Shakespeare as for Gascoigne, the decision to take life is liable to prompt a crisis of conscience. The possibility of error engenders doubt and hesitation, sometimes taking the form of anthropomorphic poetry in which hunters adopt the perspective of the hunted animal. In *Love's Labor's Lost* and the complaint poems in the *Noble Arte of Venerie*, hunters find themselves called upon to justify their "detested crimes" (*LLL* 4.1.31). In *As You Like It* and "Gascoigne's Woodmanship," Jaques and Gascoigne's speaker respond to the wrongful deaths of a stag and a doe by calling upon fellow hunters to reform themselves before they commit themselves to an irreparable action.

The political ecologies of these two writers subject the legitimacy of venery to constant interrogation and judgment. Before Shakespeare's and Gascoigne's poet-hunters raise their bows to shoot, they search for words that will exculpate their imminent violence. What, they ask,

distinguishes sacrifice from cruelty, honor from treachery, and hunting from assassination?[74] As the hunter pauses before the kill to consider the animal, conscience poetically articulates and (in good faith or bad) transforms a seemingly untroubled predator-prey relationship into an inquiry into due process. When the legal jurisdiction of the hunt extends to the right of animals to confront their pursuers and question the honor of venery, *anthropomorphosis* becomes what I will call *politimorphosis*, that is, the re-characterization of animals as subjects of the law and of ethics.[75]

The anthropomorphic voice of hunted animals has long been used to examine the probity of hunting. The conversion story of Saint Hubert of Tongres (c. 656-727), patron saint of venery, is exemplary.[76] According to late medieval hagiographies, the young courtier who devoted his life to the chase was hunting in the Forest of Ardennes one Good Friday when he found himself confronted by a stag. Bearing an image of the Crucifix between his antlers, the great animal asked, "O Hubert, Hubert, jusques à quand poursuivrez-vous les bestes des Forests? jusqu'à quand cette vaine passion vous fera-t-elle negliger vostre salut? [O Hubert, Hubert, how long will you pursue the beasts of the Forests? How long will this vain passion make you neglect your salvation?]"[77] In the middle of the chase, the voice of an animal – or something that seems to

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[74] Ortega considers whether hunting animals is anything short of "assassination," whether animals are aliens who live beyond the *polis* or neighbor species whose animal existence we do not transcend. Death, he writes, "is enigmatic enough when it comes of itself…. But it is much more so when it does not come spontaneously but instead is produced by another being. Assassination is the most disconcerting event that exists in the universe, and the assassin is the man that we never understand." *Meditations on Hunting*, pp. 88-89.

[75] I discuss politimorphosis in Section 4.

[76] Farmer, "Hubert," p. 216.

[77] Although early *vitae* do not detail the story of Hubert's conversion to Christianity, hagiographers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enriched his biography with new details,

emanate from the animal, whether it be the voice of God or the voice of conscience – interrupts the venatic act. In the gap between human and animal consciousness, an anthropomorphic voice arises precisely at the moment of the kill, articulating reservations and begging restraint.

Hubert, rebuked for pursuing flesh on the holiest of fast days, converted to Christianity. He became the first Bishop of Liège and the "pioneer evangelist of the Ardennes"; but – much to the relief of Christians fond of the chase – this speaking stag apparently did not command Hubert to give up hunting entirely.[78] Instead, the story of Hubert's conversion became a lesson in judicious restraint, and the saint became a celebrated progenitor of hunting ethics and responsible deer management.[79] The Reformation diminished the stature of Saint Hubert in England, but Gascoigne still extols the virtues of the bloodhounds that "aunciently come from Sainct Huberts abbay in Ardene": "These are the hounds which the Abbots of Sainct Hubert haue always kept some of their race or kynde, in honour and remembrance of the Sainct which was a hunter with Sainct Eustace. Wherevpon we may coniecture that (by the grace of God) all good huntsmen shall follow them into Paradise."[80]

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some borrowed from the life of St Eustace, his Roman equivalent. *Histoire en abrégé de la vie de S. Hubert*, p. 25. My translation.

[78] On the role of the monasteries of the Ardennes in the regulation of hunting, see Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape*, pp. 132-139, 204-209.

[79] According to their website, the chapters of the International Order of St. Hubertus across Europe and North America exist to "promote sportsmanlike conduct in hunting and fishing." The IOSH uses a vocabulary of "priories" for its lodges, "ordensbrothers" for its members, and "investiture" for its new member ceremonies, and takes as its motto "Deum Diligite Animalia Diligentes," or, "Honoring God by Honoring His Creatures." The Saint Hubert Club of Great Britain contributed to the reform of deer management in England by advocating for the replacement of efficient but indiscriminate and inhumane "shotgun drives" with more surgical methods of culling herds. "History," *International Order of St. Hubertus*; "Club History," *Saint Hubert Club of Great Britain*.

[80] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, pp. 12-13.

This is the only mention of Saint Hubert in Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie*. But Hubert's speaking stag nonetheless echoes in Gascoigne's four complaint poems written in the voices of hunted animals. "The wofull wordes of the Hart to the Hunter" begins with a hart yielding himself to his human pursuer:

> Since I to him appeale, when hounds pursue me sore,
> As who should say (*Now saue me man, for else I may no more.*)
> Why dost thou then (*ô Man*) (*ô Hunter*) me pursue,
> With cry of hounds, with blast of horne, with hallow, and with hue?
> Or why dost thou deuise, such nets and instruments,
> Such toyles & toyes, as hunters vse, to bring me to their bents?

While Hubert's stag reprimands the saint for taking pride in hunting over his other responsibilities, Gascoigne's woeful hart details the hunter's abuse of power through the unfair use of elaborate equipment. In both cases, sport hunters are not governed by necessity, instinct, or divine sanction, but by vanity or wickedness. The hart does not deny the legality of hunting *per se*, admitting as he does that deer and human are natural foes; rather, he draws attention to the excessive violence of the hunt and questions how a hunter can "in death take suche delight? breedes pleasure so in paynes?"[81]

The emphasis on due process in early modern hawking and hunting manuals testifies to the suspicion on the part of Gascoigne, Juliana Berners, Jacques du Fouilloux, George Turberville, and others that there is something unjust about hunting. In many cases, these manuals respond to the questions raised by the hunted animals' complaint poems. Gascoigne, for example, supports the woeful hart by admonishing, among other things, against the overuse of "toyles" (the large nets) used to corral game.[82] When venery has recourse to equipment designed to kill great numbers of animals efficiently, neither hunter nor hound "learne to hunte nor to

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[81] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, pp. 136-37.

[82] *OED*, "toil, *n.2*."

quest."[83] Nets may have their role in the hunt, but Gascoigne discounts their use when they create an unfair advantage and affirms the benefits of giving deer a sporting chance. The hunting manuals temper the ethical uncertainty of the hunter's bloody work by providing precise methods for pursuing, killing, and dressing a stag.

When, how, and why does one kill a member of the most regal species in the English forest for a meal that only temporarily sustains the hunter? Paradoxically both necessary and superfluous, hunting is an activity in which hunters take responsibility for the deaths of animals even as they acknowledge their privileged participation in what was deemed a sport. Hence, the ethical trap of the heterotroph, who must take more life from the world than he will give back to it, disheartens and disquiets even the most resolute conscience.[84] Although all animals must eat and must die, doubt still arrests the human hunter who strives to rationalize the luxury of his or her sport. Even in *Meditations on Hunting*, Ortega questions the morality of killing an animal in light of that animal's worth and the integrity of the hunter:

> More than once, the sportsman, within shooting range of a splendid animal, hesitates in pulling the trigger. The idea that such a slender life is going to be annulled surprises him for an instant. *Every good hunter is uneasy in the depths of his conscience when faced with the death he is about to inflict on the enchanting animal*. He does not have the final and firm conviction that his conduct is correct. Finding himself in an ambivalent situation which he has often wanted to clear up, he thinks about the issue without ever obtaining the sought-after evidence.[85]

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[83] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 35.

[84] A heterotroph is an organism that "requires an external supply of energy contained in complex organic compounds to maintain its existence." Or, more simply, a heterotroph needs to *eat* in order to live while autotrophs such as plants do not. Carnivorous animals exist on a higher "trophic level" and therefore depend on a vastly greater number of organisms from the upstream food chain. *OED*, "heterotroph, *n.*"

[85] Ortega's "splendid" and "enchanting" speak to the way the voice of the stag arrests Hubert. I discuss comparable moments of surprise in Shakespeare and Gascoigne below. Ortega, *Meditations on Hunting*, p. 88, emphasis in original.

According to Ortega, the hunter's uneasy conscience is symptomatic of the "equivocal nature of man's relationship with animals." It cannot be otherwise, he maintains, "because man has never really known exactly what an animal is."[86] Absent certainty about what, if anything, humans owe to animals, the morality of taking an animal's life remains an open question even as the animal stews in the pot.

The need or effort to rationalize hunting gives rise to a venatic rhetoric whereby hunters invent warrants for their integrity. Confirming *avant la lettre* Ortega's thesis that hunting is a "poetic task," the hunters in Gascoigne's poetry and Shakespeare's plays frequently appear anxious in the moment before the kill; but, unlike Ortega's hunter, the alibis they construct are often more guilt-ridden than solacing. By expressing doubt, these characters tap into a cultural undercurrent of skepticism regarding the nobility's role as apex predator.[87] In their *apologias* for early modern venery, Gascoigne's and Shakespeare's hunters deploy exculpatory language that halfway redeems their grisly acts; but when these characters make doomed animals speak on behalf of human agendas, their shame and embarrassment are unmistakable. Although a poetic epitaph or eulogy for a dying animal reflects upon the honor of the animal's killer, signs of respect for a dying animal that are meant to attest to the righteousness of its slaughter seem all the more impure when they camouflage the possibility that the kill may have no warrant at all.

Perhaps because deer kills are less mechanical and less methodical than the slaughter of domesticated food animals, their depiction in early modern literature gives rise to ethical quandaries infrequently voiced in response to the production of other meat. Especially in the case of error, the hunter runs the risk of becoming a scavenger trying to salvage profit from carrion.

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[86] Ortega, *Meditations on Hunting*, p. 88.

[87] On the class tensions of early modern venery, see, Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, especially pp. 57-64, and Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, especially pp. 133-158.

Gasgoigne poses this hypothetical situation in "Gascoigne's Woodmanship." Following his other failed careers, Gascoigne writes, the "tast of miserie" has "bene always full bitter in his bit" (ll.57-58). The prodigal and notoriously indebted Gascoigne appears weary of his parasitism:

> He cannot spoile the simple sakeles man,
> Which is content to feede him with his bread.
> He cannot pinch the painefull souldiers pay,
> And sheare him out his share in ragged sheetes,
> He cannot stoupe to take a greedy pray
> Upon his fellowes groveling in the streets. (ll. 75-80)

Referring to his past self in the third-person, he despairs at the thought of having to depend on others for food and of his lack of self-sufficiency. Now searching for a meal that will satisfy and sustain him, Gascoigne is struck by the predatory dexterity of Lord Grey and his hunting party. Perhaps a successful hunt – the chance to "put some experience in my mawe" (l. 108) – will cleanse the taste of failure. Yet, when the opportunity presents itself in the form of culling barren does before winter, "The hearde goeth by, and farewell gentle does" (l. 122). Transfixed in thought, he cannot act. Following another flubbed chance added to his *vitae*, Gascoigne imagines that he will be asked by Lord Grey "[w]hat makes me misse, and why I doe not shoote" (l. 126):

> Let me imagine in this worthless verse,
> If right before mee, at my standings foote
> There stoode a doe, and I should strike her deade.
> And then shee prove a carrian carkas too,
> What figure might I finde within my head,
> To scuse the rage whiche ruled mee so to doo?
> Some myght interprete by playne paraphrase,
> That lacke of skill or fortune ledde the chaunce,
> But I must otherwise expounde the case.
> I say *Jehova* did this Doe advaunce,
> And made hir bolde to stande before mee so,
> Till I had thrust mine arrowe to hir harte,
> That by the sodaine of her overthrowe,
> I might endevour to amende my parte. (ll. 127-140)

In a particularly twisted bout of self-deprecation, Gascoigne not only bemoans his consistent failure to hit the right prize, but imagines the death of the beast who would have nourished him in lean winters to come. It remains to wrench a profitable lesson from his terrible bungle. Hence Gascoigne taps his skill in poetic invention and promises to correct his behavior and prodigal lifestyle, but false humility and faux-piety taint his reformation. "Let me imagine" signals a rhetorical fashioning of the situation in order to make the kill seem less clumsy or grotesque. Although others might settle for a "playne paraphrase," Gascoigne pauses and searches for the most persuasive language not only to "expounde the case," but to "scuse the rage which rulde mee so to doo" (l. 132). A justification dawns on him: *This was not butchery but an act orchestrated by Jehova*.

Gascoigne has acted rashly, having been lured by "guylefull markes," which "though they glister outwardely like golde, / Are inwardly but brasse" (ll. 142-144). Now, from this wreckage, he dreams up a moral lesson for his misprision. Anticipating Ortega's meditation on the hunter's "poetic task" – to "invent a plot for the hunter's existence" – Gascoigne gives voice to the wrongfully killed deer:

> And when I see the milke hang in hir teate,
> Me thinks it sayth, olde babe now learne to sucke,
> Who in thy youth couldst never learne the feate
> To hitte the whytes whiche live with all good lucke. (ll. 145-148)

Not a triumphant predator but a suckling, Gascoigne imagines himself crossing over a threshold of embarrassment that ought to lead to his reformation. But none of his poetic skill can "amende" the dead animal, the bloody remainder of this disturbing object lesson. The Latin tag at the end of the poem – *Haud ictus sapio* (l. 151; Struck, but not understanding) – suggests that

Gascoigne's hunt for the sustaining meal of patronage will always be undermined by self-doubt and the suspect aims of his "rhetorical virtuosity."[88]

"Gascoigne's Woodmanship" relies, with questionable success, on the poet's skillful invention to traverse the complex ethics of hunting's terrain. Concerned principally with himself, he does not quite acknowledge the baffling relationship between human and unknowable animal; instead, he authors a statement of faith or aspiration designed to assuage his uneasy conscience. Shakespearean hunters find themselves in similar rhetorical situations, but unlike the speaker of "Woodmanship," characters in *Love's Labor's Lost* and *As You Like It* pause to debate the virtues and abuses of hunting. For her part, the Princess of France in *Love's Labor's Lost* expresses reservations about the leisureliness of lethal sport: "Then, forester, my friend, where is the bush / That we must stand and play the murtherer in?" (4.1.7-8). Perhaps to "play the murtherer" is to guard against actually becoming one; but either way, if one speaks of "murdering" deer, then one is thinking of them as subjects of the law. Here we see the Princess, though an experienced hunter and an excellent shot, vacillating over the venatic act:

> But come, the bow: now mercy goes to kill,
> And shooting well is then accounted ill.
> Thus will I save my credit in the shoot:
> Not wounding, pity would not let me do't;
> If wounding, then it was to show my skill,
> That more for praise than purpose meant to kill.
> And out of question so it is sometimes:
> Glory grows guilty of detested crimes,
> When, for fame's sake, for praise, an outward part,
> We bend to that the working of the heart;
> As I for praise alone now seek to spill
> The poor deer's blood, that my heart means no ill. (4.1.24-35)

[88] McCoy, "Gascoigne's 'Poëmata castrata,'" pp. 36, 40. On Gascoigne's nimble manipulation of rhetorical situations, see also Hedley, "Allegoria," p. 154-156.

Critics routinely read the play's hunting interlude as an extended metaphor for the play's map of gender relations.[89] But, as I have been suggesting, we should also ask why in this scene hunting prompts such self-doubts and finely nuanced defenses. The Princess deliberates her kill from that hazardous ethical ridge running between need and needlessness. Because missing, wounding, or killing each might be "accounted ill," she beats about for a defense that will preserve her "credit," although she seems fully alert to her bad faith. We know this because she has already asked for the bow and committed herself to a predatory role. The Princess acknowledges the moral complexity of the moment, then shoots.

In *As You Like It*, Duke Senior shares the Princess of France's hesitation, but similarly acknowledges his doubt only after he seems to have made the decision to kill:

> Come, shall we go and kill us venison?
> And yet it irks me the poor dappled fools,
> Being native burghers of this desert city,
> Should in their own confines with forked heads
> Have their round haunches gor'd. (2.1.21-25)

Duke Senior follows the Princess of France in worrying that the wounding or killing of deer might be counted "detested crimes." Should the deer in the forest be regarded as venison for the pot or indigenous citizens deserving of immunity? If he and his party are the strangers and the deer are the "native burghers," then human desires should be subordinated to the rules of the local jurisdiction and the best interests of the herd. When told that the "melancholy Jaques grieves at" Duke Senior's hunting and "swears you do more usurp / Than doth your brother that hath banish'd you" (2.1.26-28), the Duke wants to hear more from this conscientious objector:

> SENIOR: And did you leave him in this contemplation?

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[89] A representative example of this reading is found in Breitenberg, "The Anatomy of Masculine Desire," pp. 445-46.

2ND LORD: We did, my lord, weeping and commenting
Upon the sobbing deer.

SENIOR: Show me the place.
I love to cope him in these sullen fits,
For then he's full of matter. (2.1.64-68)

Unlike the French Princess, Duke Senior decides not to hunt – at least not this time – opting instead to tussle with contemplative Jaques. Rather than put aside his doubts, the duke seeks more debate.[90]

Like the speaker of "Gascoigne's Woodmanship," Jaques is a woodsman who thinks too much. He is full of rhetorical flourish, but lacks the willingness to act; his head is full of figures, but his hands remain empty (*AYLI* 4.1.21-25). When Duke Senior asks if Jaques "moralize[d] the spectacle" of the hunting accident, the First Lord relays Jaques's epitaph for the stag:

O, yes, into a thousand similes.
First, for his weeping into the needless stream;
'Poor deer,' quoth he, 'thou makest a testament
As worldlings do, giving thy sum of more
To that which had too much.' Then, being there alone,
Left and abandon'd of his velvet friends,
''Tis right:' quoth he; 'thus misery doth part
The flux of company.' Anon a careless herd,
Full of the pasture, jumps along by him
And never stays to greet him; 'Ay' quoth Jaques,
'Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens;
'Tis just the fashion: wherefore do you look
Upon that poor and broken bankrupt there?'
Thus most invectively he pierceth through
The body of [the] country, city, court,
Yea, and of this our life, swearing that we
Are mere usurpers, tyrants and what's worse,
To fright the animals and to kill them up
In their assign'd and native dwelling-place. (2.1.43-63)

[90] The view of animals espoused by Jaques, a reformed "libertine" (2.7.65) with some Puritanical leanings (not unlike Gascoigne), is helpfully elucidated by Robert N. Watson's recent work on religious reformations and early animal rights discourse. Watson, "Protestant Animals," p. 1123.

Jaques's language here approaches the bathetic, but its manner is quite different from the self-doubt of the speaker seeking patronage in "Gascoigne's Woodmanship."[91] Much of the scholarship on Jaques describes him as "hysterical," a "fabulist," a "dilettante," or a "social dropout or alienated intellectual" whose melancholy is "inexplicable" or explicable only as a fashionable "pose of intellectualism."[92] Questioning why Jaques should profess such sadness, Judy Z. Kronenfeld writes that he indulges in "the luxury of woe" since "it surely is a luxury to weep for deer when men are unkind."[93]

Criticism of Jacques's anthropomorphosis of the stag is based both on doubts about the sincerity of his feelings and the extent to which he co-opts the stag's perspective to advance his own agenda. Robert B. Bennett describes Jaques's eulogy for the sobbing deer as an "absurdity" rife with category mistakes; anthropomorphosis commits the linguistic sin of misrepresenting the elements of nature, "measur[ing] their actions by a standard of responsibility that is properly demanded only of humans. Jaques is also in error when he judges man's rule over the deer in societal terms of tyranny and usurpation." According to Bennett, laws "bind" a man only "with members of his own kind."[94] Robert N. Watson argues that Jacques's inauthenticity is the symptom of incurable "Pyrrhonist anxieties, the suspicion that we can know things only as we

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[91] Many scholars understand this scene primarily in terms of anthropomorphic sentimentalism. The suitability of the scene for allegorization, or what Duke Senior calls moralizing, is apparent enough; but I am asking why hunting scenes consistently beg for moralization. For discussions of the velvet, fat, bankrupt deer as zoomorphic representations of humans, see Daley, "To Moralize a Spectacle," p. 155; Fitter, "The Slain Deer and Political Imperium," pp. 200-05; Egan, *Green Shakespeare*, pp. 101-02.

[92] Hunt, *Shakespeare's As You Like It*, p. 18; Daley, "To Moralize a Spectacle," p. 154; Scoufos, "The *Paradiso Terrestre*," p. 220; Barnet, "Strange Events," p. 129; Bennett, "The Reform of a Malcontent," p. 190.

[93] Kronenfeld, "Shakespeare's Jaques and the Pastoral Cult of Solitude," pp 458-59.

[94] Robert B. Bennett, "The Reform of a Malcontent," p. 196.

liken them, never in or as themselves."[95] As a result, Jaques's "thousand similes" carve out properties of the stag that suit his allegory but are indifferent to the perspective of the stag himself or the stag's relationship to his own death or to his velvet friends. Watson deems treatment of deer as citizens, or even as "the native burghers of this desert city," as perhaps even more sinister than hunting. Readings that see "emotional aid and comfort to the animal rights movement" in *As You Like It* impose the modern environmentalist's sentimental vision of idyllic and innocent nature onto what Watson sees as the wild's natural state, nothing less than "open sporadic warfare." A moralist such as Jaques "becomes all the more invasive the more he tries to be sympathetic…. The 'bankrupt' but fashionably 'velvet' deer, abandoned by companions 'full of the pasture,' does not need Jaques's tears, any more than the stream needs those of the deer." According to Watson, such moralism is the epitome of human narcissism; and, like hunting, it is simply another tactic to gain control of nature.[96]

Steven Doloff's suggestion that the sobbing deer recalls the story of Cyparissus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* might, at first, seem to support Watson's argument.[97] In Arthur Golding's translation, Cyparissus befriends and domesticates a "goodly mighty stag" whom he leads to pastures and springs and wreathes with "sundry flowers between his hornes vppon his hed." Because the domesticated stag has "quyght / Forgot his natiue fearefulnesse," Cyparissus's animal companion does not flee while the young man sports in the grove. One day, while hunting, the "Unweeting *Cyparissus*" – unwitting or uninformed – "with a Dart did strike this

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[95] Watson, *Back to Nature*, p. 77.

[96] Watson, *Back to Nature*, p. 82. Bruce Boehrer largely agrees, arguing that it is "suspicious," "sentimental," even "particularly noxious" "to think of nonhuman animals as subjects." Such thinking requires fantastic, unfounded leaps that endow animals "with the mental and emotional furniture of human experience." Boehrer, *Animal Characters*, pp. 2-3.

[97] Doloff, "Jaques' 'Weeping' and Ovid's Cyparissus," pp. 487-88.

Hart / Quyght through. And when that of the wound he saw he must depart, / He purposd for too die himself."[98] The god Phoebus honors the repentant Cyparissus's last request by transforming him into a cypress tree so that "he myght thenceforth from moorning neuer rest." This tale is consonant with Watson's argument that an over-fondness for animals may precipitate tragic consequences. But the effect of the stag's death on Cyparissus's conscience also part-way atones for his error through the melancholy evident in Phoebus's *ad memoriam* for his beloved: "The God did sigh, and sadly sayd. Myselfe shall moorne for thee, / And thou for others: and ay one in moorning thou shalt bee."[99] Hence, Cyparissus's error was not too much love for the one domesticated stag, but a lack of attachment to all other creatures. In his "unweeting" failure to hesitate in the moment before he threw his spear, Cyparissus fails to anthropomorphize and is left bereft.

I want to suggest that we can take Jaques's apostrophe for the dying stag as pontification in its most literal etymological sense: a *bridge-making* between the experiences of humans and animals. While I agree that the inner life of *As You Like It*'s dying stag is inscrutable, his struggling movement, bellowing, sobbing, and other outward behaviors can be described in figurative language that does not aspire to jurisdiction or power over him. The poet does not necessarily project human experience in order to imagine the perspective of the beast, nor does the use of figurative language necessarily demonstrate anthropomorphic intent.[100] C.M. Coolidge's *Dogs Playing Poker* is anthropomorphic; contemplating the anguish of an injured

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[98] *OED*, "unweeting, *adj.*"

[99] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, 125r-25v.

[100] Anthropomorphism has its fair share of defenders. See Borlik, *Ecocriticism and Early Modern Literature*, p. 182; Estok, "Theory from the Fringes," p. 68; Ingold, "The Animal in the Study of Humanity," pp. 84-99; Raber, *Animal Bodies, Renaissance Culture*, pp. 19-22.

beast is not. The figurations of animal minds are necessarily approximations of the thing being represented; but if we are to care about the suffering of animals, then surely it is better for us to attempt to meet the animal halfway than not at all.

Poetic epitaphs for animals such as Jaques's point beyond consumers and commodities to more meaningful relationships between humans and nonhumans. Responding to the sobbing deer's groans, Jaques both certifies the human subject's authority in the forest *and* grants the stag a respectable place within the cultural and political imagination. Although most productions of *As You Like It* treat Jaques's sentimental moralization of the dying deer with some condescension, no production or critic denies the facts of the sobbing deer's situation, only the values implied by Jaques's epitaph. While Jaques's figurative language may not fully reconcile nonhuman and human consciousness in *As You Like It*, the First Lord and Amiens confirm the grievous wound, the deer's heavy lowing, and the "big round tears" which "Coursed one another down his innocent nose."[101] The First Lord's visceral ekphrasis animates the deer's pain in an affecting manner. After the stag "had ta'en hurt," he "come[s] to languish" at the bank of the

[101] In "Of Cruelty," Michel de Montaigne invokes the sight of a sobbing dear as he describes his own unease with hunting: "As for me, I could never so much as endure, without remorse and griefe, to see a poore, sillie, and innocent beast pursued and killed, which is harmelesse and voide of defence, and of whom we receive no offence at all. And as it commonly hapneth, that when the Stag begins to be embost, and finds his strength to faile-him, having no other remedie left him, doth yeeld and bequeath himselfe vnto vs that pursue him, with teares suing to vs for mercie." Deer were widely believed to weep at their own deaths due to their moist and melancholy nature. In the thirteenth song of *Poly-Olbion*, Michael Drayton describes the death of a hart in a Warwickshire hunt in similar terms: "He who the Mourner is to his owne dying Corse, / Vpon the ruthlesse earth his precious teares lets fall." Gascoigne writes about the "tears" of deer in "The wofull wordes of the Hart to the Hunter." These tears are actually an eye discharge that could be made into a gum believed to have medicinal properties. The tear-like appearance of this discharge probably strengthened the cultural association of stags with melancholics. Montaigne, *Essays*, pp. 239-40; Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, p. 217; Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 137. See also, Schleiner, "Jaques and the Melancholy Stag," p. 176-77 and Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning*, pp. 76-91. On the connection between Jaques and Montaigne, see Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*, pp. 74-79.

brook where he "heav'd forth such groans / That their discharge did stretch his leathern coat / Almost to bursting" (2.1.34-38). These signs are not inscrutable; if anything, they are fully legible to human observers: the visibility of the animal's wound, the audibility of his pain, and the plausibility of his innocence do not suggest anthropomorphosis at all, but recognition of the ways in which a deer is able to express himself. To argue, as does Robert Bennett, that we should be suspicious of Jaques's melancholy because Arden is "remarkably free from the kind of conditions that usually induce the malcontent state" is to discount the meaningful connection made between the human mind and the nonhuman suffering reported by the First Lord.[102] Arden may be free of hardship for Duke Senior or Rosalind, but Jaques's lament recognizes the wounds, groans, and melancholy of those deer whose woods have been usurped and whose habitat has been transformed into a game farm.

In his critique of Jaques's pathetic language, Robert Watson argues that "[r]epresentation is a symptom, not a cure, of otherness."[103] Still, Shakespeare's play suggests that where a cure is impossible, representation of the hunted animal can at least prompt pause and reflection before a hunter commits himself to an irreparable action. When it gives voice to doubts, a hunter's uneasy conscience speaks for nonhuman others. If Duke Senior's assembly is to hear the full range of perspectives in Arden, Jaques's literary representation of *and* political advocacy for the wounded stag must call attention to the network of relations that binds human and stag.

For Shakespeare, the manner in which Jaques "pierceth through / The body of the country, city, court, / Yea, and of this our life" points to how interspecies relationships are embroiled in larger systems, whether political, economic, ecclesiastic, or ecological. Animal

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[102] Bennett, "The Reform of a Malcontent," p. 187.

[103] Watson, *Back to Nature*, p. 91.

cries constitute testimony in the court of human concern; they remind us that injustice works across species lines even as they point to a common ground where, as Ovid's Phoebus says, human and nonhuman can be "one in moorning." Objections to anthropomorphosis erect boundaries across which other species either may or must not trespass and risk diminishing the treatment of animals as a matter of ethical concern. Were the First Lord to have reported dispassionately – were he not to have described the deer as a "poor" stag or a "wretched" animal – his refusal of pathetic terms would only have served to demarcate an exclusive domain of exceptional humanity that disenfranchises animals from *pathos*.

Witnessed by the First Lord and Amiens and by the dying stag, Jaques's testament is an expression of conscience, a reflection on how humans should treat animals. Even if Jaques believes that no one understands his lament and even if he believes that the dying stag is not comforted by his sympathy, we might understand Jaques's railing as an appeal to the collective conscience of Arden. As Christopher Tilmouth writes, humanist discourse in the period conceived of the voice of conscience as an "imaginative experience" or a "public, open, mutual mode of moral consciousness."[104] Living a conscientious life required one to "cultivat[e] an external scrutinizing of his soul, in which respect conscience begins to be constituted as something exterior to the self, an experience generated in conjunction with other men."[105] While Tilmouth's study of early modern conscience emphasizes conscience's role as primarily concerned with regulating human interaction, I have been arguing that the anthropomorphic voices of animals serve as comparable witnesses to interspecies affairs. By imagining the dying

[104] Tilmouth, "Shakespeare's open consciences," pp. 502-03.

[105] Tilmouth, "Shakespeare's open consciences," p. 503.

stag as a moral observer of human actions, Jaques's commentary puts Duke Senior's party under the animal's critical gaze and prompts conscientious reflection.

When hunted animals issue formal grievances against economic and political systems about which, as nonhumans, they can have no clear concept, we are dealing with good old-fashioned anthropomorphism. For example, the animals of Gascogine's complaint poems, which I discuss below, include invectives against landlords who fleece old widows, hypocritical priests, and other matters alien to woodland creatures. But Jaques's stag does and says nothing that is not proper to the behavior of a stag, nor do Shakespeare's characters endow the deer with any characteristics or stature that would be inappropriate to the political ecology of the forest. To regard a wounded stag as an indecipherable "hieroglyph," as many critics do, is to risk pushing animals to the margins of insignificance; Shakespeare, instead, allows us to see that same stag as having a meaning, as bearing signs, as a credible participant that yearns to be heard within the larger multispecies polity of Arden.[106]

According to critics of the pathetic fallacy, animals are as unaided by human emotional response as the stream is "needless" of Jaques's tears. But short of lexical signs common to human and nonhuman, anthropomorphosis is a vital tool for the translation of an animal's bodily passions into language that invites human response and action. In *As You Like It*, Jaques's moralizing prompts characters and audiences alike to adjudicate the debate over hunting's virtues and vices, as well as the needlessness and necessity of sympathetic feeling for nonhumans. By affiliating the body of a human hunter and a dying stag, anthropomorphosis enables a better understanding of cross-species entanglements among Arden's predators and prey.[107] The verse of

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[106] Daley, "To Moralize," p. 105.

[107] Cf. Elizabeth Costello's description of Ted Hughes' poetry in J.M. Coetzee's *The Lives of Animals*: "In these poems we know the jaguar not from the way he seems but from the way he

Gascoigne, the Princess of France, Duker Senior, and Jaques confirms, as Ortega would have it, that hunting is a "poetic task," but in these plays and poems the rhetoric of hunters neither completely convinces nor satisfies its audience. Gascoigne worries that Lord Grey might laugh at his justification ("Woodmanship," l. 6), while Duke Senior settles for "cop[ing]" with Jaques over the analogy between hunting and usurpation (*AYLI* 2.1.67). Figuration is not the perfect bridge – it may not provide access to the dark bower of an animal's mind – but for Shakespeare (and, as we will see, for Gascoigne), anthropomorphosis encourages characters to take stock of conscience.

4. Testament Poems and the Multispecies Polis

When the proponents and detractors of hunting debate the merits and demerits of feeling too much or feeling too little for animals, both sides aim to win the support of the *polis* within the forest and without. If savvy rhetorical invention and anthropomorphic poetry fail to assuage consciences, perhaps animals' last wills and testaments provide more clear and effective instruction about ethical obligations toward nonhumans. Jaques himself references this genre when he responds to the dying stag's groans and acknowledges that the "Poor deer … makest a testament / As worldlings do, giving [his] sum of more / To that which had too much." This is to invoke a minor tradition of sixteenth-century "last will and testament" poems written in the voices of nonhuman entities.[108]

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moves. The body is as the body moves, or as the currents of life move within it. The poems ask us to imagine our way into that way of moving, to inhabit that body. With Hughes it is a matter – I emphasize – not of inhabiting another mind but of inhabiting another body." The language used by Jaques and, especially, the First Lord similarly invites the audience sympathetically to inhabit the body of the dying stag. Coetzee, *The Lives of Animals*, p. 51.

[108] Edward Wilson catalogs many examples of such testament poems in "The Testament of the Buck and the Sociology of the Text," pp. 163-64. The horned Falstaff's "bequeath[al]" of his shoulders, horns, and haunches to the forest keeper and the Pages and Fords at the conclusion of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* also echoes this literary trope (*MWW* 5.5.26).

Sometimes these poems serve anthropocentric interests, as in Lacy's *Wyl Bucke His Testament*. There, a hunter, having struck a buck in the haunches with an arrow, tracks the injured beast "from .viii. of the clocke tile noon" until he finally brings his quarry to bay beneath a "brode pawme." The narrator hears the buck speak and accepts his request to "Make his Testament, yet [e]r he dyed." The hunter takes out pen and ink to set down these last words, noting that such a plea "shuld not be denied." Wyl Bucke proceeds to bequeath his body to the many members of the hunting party.[109] Some parts of that body are awarded to persons according to their rank, some according to their utility, but everything is given away. The buck's bladder is fit for a purse, and his tail becomes a tassel for the hunter's horn. The remainders of the "cabage[d]" head are thrown to the dogs, the "tuell" is tossed to the crows, and the "Rauens morsel" is left on "a thorne faste" for whatever scavengers may creep into camp.[110] Sinews are given to the assembly's harpists so they may "makith meri soundes," while the pudding-wife is handed his "blode & [his] guttis" so she can make tasty morsels for the king. The deeper Wyl Bucke dives into his body, the more this "last will and testament" takes on the form of a menu. If not voluntarily, Wyl Bucke accepts and submits to his preordained place at the dinner table. Once gobbled up, nothing will remain but the document produced by his killer.

Whereas Lacy's poem *cum* receipt book downplays the fraught relationship between animal and hunter in order to dwell on the hunting party's orderly meal, other works in the "last

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[109] Edward Wilson notes that *Wyl Bucke His Testament* is unusual because it is an English poem that uses the animal's will and testament form for instruction rather than satire. The poem outlines which parts of the deer are most prized and how to maximize use of the carcass. "The Testament of the Buck and the Sociology of the Text," pp. 166-67.

[110] The "cabage" is the "crown of a deer's head which bears the pedicels, from which the antlers arise." *OED*, "cabbage, *n.1*, II4. "Tuell" refers to the "anus; the rectum, or lower bowel: now chiefly of animals, esp. horses." It can also refer to the vent on a pie crust or pasty. *OED*, "Tuel, *n.*"

will and testament" tradition bring into the open the animal's discomfort with this arrangement. The complaint poems in Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie* manifestly present the taking of an animal's body as willful usurpation, not as fated victory. In "The wofull wordes of the hart to the hunter," the hart despises the fact that "nouriture" taken from his body "[w]ill still prolong mens dayes on earth, since mine so long endure." The long-lived Hart, elder to the young man who kills him, is extinguished to satisfy the hunter's ephemeral lusts. Men deny harts the opportunity to feed on grains in human fields, but then feel entitled to take flesh from the stateliest stags: "Must I with mine owne fleshe, his hatefull fleshe so feede, / Whiche me disdaynes one bitte of grasse, or corne in tyme of neede?"[111]

Gascoigne's four complaint poems – "The wofull wordes of the hart to the hunter," "The hare to the hunter," "The Otters Oration," and "The Foxe to the Huntesman" – are all framed as the last testaments of victims to their killers.[112] Each animal claims that defenses of hunting only seem self-assured because the beasts of venery cannot articulate their objections in the form of (human) speech that is required to address injustice. The incapacity to speak renders the animal's body susceptible to exploitation. The lack of common language between human and animal seems to make a common multispecies *polis* impossible. When Reynard the Fox is charged with crimes against human property, he pleads his case by emphasizing his inability to plead his case:

> IF dogs had tong at will to talke in their defence,
> If brutish beast might be so bold, to plead at barre for pence,
> If poore Tom Troth might speake, of all that is amysse,
> Then might would beare no right a down: then men would pardon this.[113]

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[111] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 139.

[112] "The wofull wordes of the hart to the hunter" is a loose translation of Guillaume Bouchet's "Complainte du Cerf, A Monsivr dv Fovillovx," included in Fouilloux's *La Vénerie*. The other complaint poems are original to Gascoigne.

[113] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 197.

When Reynard rues animals' (and "poore Tom's") inability to take part in a legal system that systematically punishes vermin, Gascoigne anticipates modern philosophers and literary scholars who argue that it is impossible for humans to have relationships with animals based on reciprocated gestures understood by both parties. But it is neither sentimental nor naive to presume that animals are aware and can communicate (to different extents) their fears, desires, pleasures, and discontents.

Gascoigne's animal speakers address an audience of hunters that knows as well as anyone, and probably better than most, that animals can communicate across species barriers since these same hunters regularly arouse the sexual desire of their prey by imitating their mating calls. And yet, the ability to communicate simple information is not enough to warrant political enfranchisement for animals. Without a human secretary to take and transcribe their testimony, animals lack the eloquence required of the so-called political animal. In noises and cries, a hunter can hear an animal's raw passions and desires, but animal tongues simply cannot channel the abstract, reasoned thoughts that form the basis for political life. Hence animals require proxy orators. For this reason, Bruno Latour argues for the creation and deployment of "speech prostheses" that can enfranchise nonhumans and render them intelligible in political terms.[114] If, as Latour argues, scientists spoke quarks and climate change into existence in the twentieth century, then early modern last will and testament poems could serve as speech prostheses for animal suffering. Poets and playwrights lent their voices to dying animals and established their deaths as matters of conscience.[115]

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[114] Latour, *Politics of Nature*, p. 69, emphasis in original.

[115] Writing about the eighteenth century, Tobias Menely traces a direct line from animal sensibility in the poetry of Alexander Pope, James Thomson, Christopher Smart, and William

Speech prostheses do not assimilate the experiences of the nonhuman to the human, but they do allow the convocation of disparate subjects of the law on common ground. The last will and testament tradition, then, conscripts two forms of representation: *anthropomorphosis* – to transform a nonhuman into a human – and what I call *politimorphosis* – to grant the rights of citizenship and rule of law to those who are and are not human. When Duke Senior finds sermons in stones and tongues in trees and enfranchises the deer as Arden's native burghers, he celebrates their divinely endowed capacity for participation in an expressive political ecology, or, as Todd A. Borlik terms the Forest of Arden, a "Republic of Nature."[116] The ability to hear the language of nonhumans expands the *politeia* so that the conveyance of citizenship is not reducible to the projection of humanity onto the nonhuman. *Politimorphosis* does not represent nonhumans in relation to the human form; instead it creates a larger encompassing frame that is not based on species and that allows animals *qua* animals to attain the rank of "burgher" or "citizen" within a multispecies *polis*.[117] When it affords a stag a civic identity, politimorphosis

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Cowper to animal welfare legislation at the beginning of the nineteenth century. See, *The Animal Claim*.

[116] As Paul J. Willis points out, Duke Senior's "sermons in stones" align him to an exegetical Book of Nature tradition, wherein the forest can be read as a text. Borlik argues that the republican language of *As You Like It* encourages a rethinking of human tyranny over nature. Willis, "Tongues in Trees," pp. 65-67; Borlik, *Ecocriticism and Early Modern Literature*, pp. 165-204.

[117] Thomas Lodge also envisions the avian "Citizens of Wood" as a community where sympathy extends across species lines, and Philip Sidney depicts the "wood" seeming "to conspire with [Kalender's hunting party] against his own citizens." *Rosalynde*, p. L4v; *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, p. 40.

argues that legal and ethical obligations extend to at least certain nonhuman actors *even in the face of their nonhumanity*.[118]

Laurie Shannon points to a plethora of early modern writers who were not wholly convinced that there was an unbridgeable divide between human and nonhuman; because these authors reveal "a substrate of substantial likeness [across species lines], such an identification cannot be described as anthropomorphism."[119] The language of multispecies "membership" in a common Creation – used in texts ranging from the Bible to Conrad Gessner's *Historiae Animalium* to Montaigne and Shakespeare – fosters what Shannon calls a "fundamentally *political* idiom to characterize … the state of relationship thought to hold among the world's creatures. In calling this idiom 'political,'" she maintains, "I do not refer to a general acknowledgment of power between humans and animals, but to a constitutionalist sense of legitimated capacities, authorities, and rights that set animals within the scope of justice and the span of political imagination."[120]

Because politimorphosis is predicated on the incorporation of nonhumans into a political network of relations, it can represent an ecosystem's nonhuman constituents. The results may prove despotic or democratic; but if done with care, politimorphosis opens the *polis* to a world of previously unheard nonhuman perspectives. This is not to argue that the multispecies communities that take shape in Shakespeare's or Gascoigne's forests are democracies. In no way do these texts suggest that all vertebrates are created equal. There is not even the pretense of

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[118] As Laurie Shannon notes, seeing signs in the world as part of a legible Book of Nature makes "'the Word' an attribute of God, *not an index of humanity*." Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal*, p. 46, emphasis in original.

[119] Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal*, p. 10.

[120] Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal*, pp. 2-3, 33, 52.

separate but equal relations among humans and animals. The human right to keep livestock, hunt animals, and eat meat ensured that the killing of the deer was sanctioned by law; and yet, rigorously regulating these rights established legal and moral responsibilities between deer and humans as citizen co-species. As Gascoigne puts it:

> I woulde not haue my wordes wrested to this construction, that it were vnlawfull to kill a Deare or such beasts of venerie: for so should I both speake agaynst the purpose which I haue taken in hande, and agayne I should seeme to argue against Gods ordinances, since it seemeth that suche beastes haue bene created to the vse of man and for his recreation: but as by all Fables some good moralitie may be gathered, so by all Histories and examples, some good allegorie and comparison may be made.[121]

The language of "ordinance" suggests that even though it is lawful to kill deer, the methods and aims of hunting are still strictly regulated by "good moralitie."[122] In the realm of human affairs, forest laws regulated the many ways in which humans were required to care for their cervine neighbors. Many members of England's royal herds were kept in fenced parks that must have familiarized deer with their human caretakers. Gamekeepers were known even to provide "cows to suckle motherless fawns (documented at Falkland, Scotland, in the late fifteenth century)."[123] Thus opens a notable gap between Watson's Hobbesian forest, a site of "open sporadic warfare," and the collective conscientious regard for hunted animals. Instead of a nature red in tooth and claw, forest law creates a kind of feudal system of cross-species vassalage in which deer serve to

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[121] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 125.

[122] Some objectors did decry hunting as immoral *per se*. Agrippa, in *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences*, and Thomas More, in *Utopia*, denounce hunting as a repugnant pastime. However, their criticism is based not on consideration for animals, but on hunting's animalization of humans. See Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, pp. 24-26; Uhlig, "The Sobbing Deer," pp. 94-95n46.

[123] Birrell, "Deer and Deer Farming," p. 116.

recreate their lords and humans are obligated to care for deer until the moment of lawful slaughter.

In order to establish a system that allows for the participation of animals as well as humans, due process of forest law must include the right to be heard. Jaques sees the sobbing deer's "testament" not as a "last will" but as a plea before the court. The plea marks those who hear it as subject to a hunter's uneasy conscience and desire for good morality. The stag's status as a "greasy citizen" should give him the peculiar honor of being killed under the due process of particular circumstances. Small comfort, perhaps, but his venerability means that the stag has the right to have his death memorialized even as his body is distributed to the hunting party.[124]

The complaint poetry in *As You Like It* and *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, then, may be seen as laments for ill-killed beasts rather than indictments of hunting in general. The stag for whom Jaques weeps will die slowly and painfully; it has been injured by a hunter's arrow ("ta'en a hurt" from "the hunter's [poor] aim") and abandoned on the bank. The complaint poems, too, take up the morality of hunting methods and the ethic of good conduct – not whether hunting itself is right or wrong.[125] Although Gascoigne appears to disparage his hunting manual as a "busie booke, / A looking Glasse of lessons lewde, wherein all Huntes may looke," the target of

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[124] The tradition of treating noble harts with respect and lamenting their deaths continues today. "The Emperor of Exmoor," a hart largely regarded as the largest in the United Kingdom, was killed by poachers in 2010, much to the dismay of many of his human subjects. A similar fate befell the 350 lb., 16-year-old "Monarch of New Forest" in 2014. Jones, "Giant Red Stag Exmoor Emperor Shot Dead"; Salkeld, "Poachers Kill Monarch of New Forest."

[125] Charles Bergman offers a different view, speculating that Gascoigne's bloody experiences with the mass slaughter of deer in the parks of his various prospective patrons (as at Kenilworth in 1575), led him to entertain "fundamental question[s]" about animals' "presumed inferiority to humans" and the decency of hunting. The complaint poems, in Bergman's view, represent Gascoigne's inability to "contain these ethical and metaphysical doubts." Gillian Austen, however, has persuasively shown that *The Noble Arte of Venerie* was completed before the Kenilworth hunts. Bergman, "A Spectacle of Beasts," pp. 67-72; Austen, *George Gascoigne*, pp. 105-109.

these poems' complaints is *fashionable* hunting, not the "noble arte" of what Gascoigne sees as humanity's ancient inheritance.[126] Such a distinction has less to do with the language of a nascent animal rights movement than with a vision of an enforced judicial order. Sympathy for food animals does not secure their right to live but it legitimizes their deaths before they are judiciously and courteously dispatched. Gascoigne's "last will and testament" poems defend animals from excessive violence at the same time that they ennoble the status of the good and thoughtful hunter's snout-to-tail feast.

The nuances of the arguments put forward by Shakespeare's hunters and Gascoigne's hunted creatures reflect both authors' understanding that the contest between predator and prey is a matter of *policy* more than bloody and brutish all-out-war. A word not commonly associated with the behavior of animals outside of *The Noble Arte*, "pollicie," for Gascoigne, suggests that animals have the capacity to strategize courses of action and execute deceptive maneuvers.[127] When the hart is chased, he "crosse[s] double within the thicket" so the hunting party will not be able to make sense of his tracks: "the bloudhound should not be able to drawe and hunte so truely as els he would: for oftentimes old beaten Deare, when they go to layre, *do vse all pollicies and subtilties*."[128] Gascoigne also provides very technical descriptions of how harts use craft to outwit hunting parties and their hounds:

> You shal vnderstand herewith that when a Harte feeles that y^{e} houndes hold in after him, he fleeth & seeketh to beguyle them: with chaunge in sundry sortes, for he wil seeke other Hartes & Deare at layre, & rowzeth them before the houndes to make them hunte chaunge: therewithall he wil lie flat downe vpon his bellie in

[126] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 137.

[127] Topsell's *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607) also describes the "pollicies" of dogs, elephants, horses, bears, and other diverse creatures, but the word does not appear to have been conventionally associated with animal cunning.

[128] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 106, emphasis added.

> some of their layres, & so let the houndes ouershoote him: and bicause they should haue no sent of him, nor vent him, he wil trusse al his. iiij. feete vnder his belly & wil blow & breath vpon y^{e} grounde in some moyst place.[129]

The responsible hunter connects with his prey as a meeting of worthy adversaries. These creatures of the forest are not alien to each other – hunter and hunted compete with mutual understanding. Gascoigne's testament poems represent stags and other beasts as "dumbe," able to express their complaints eloquently only because the hunter understands their minds and gives them voice. In "The wofull wordes of the hart to the hunter" and "The Fox to the Huntsman," hunters are proxies; by virtue of their ability to read and understand their prey, they communicate the problems associated with unsustainable overhunting. Without a human proxy, animals cannot participate in the politics of the forest. Since animals must depend on human mercy, huntsmen – those with the closest connection to deer and other beasts of venery – advocate for the fair treatment of the hunted.

When Touchstone tells us that Arden has "no temple but the wood, no assembly but horn-beasts" (3.3.50-51), those "buts" evidently mean that Arden is not a "desert [uninhabited] city" (2.1.23) after all.[130] By recognizing affinity between humans and impassioned deer, and, indeed, all creatures of appetite and suffering, the political ecology of these early modern forests narrows the species divide. Testaments and bequests express human expectations for, and conscientious obligation to, the nonhuman constituents amid this multispecies parliament. Both Shakespeare and Gascoigne envision a process for the "naturalization" of nonhuman citizens that establishes them as entities worthy of political and ethical concern.[131] As Latour writes: "the barbarian sees

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[129] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 111.

[130] On this point, see Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal*, pp. 80-81.

[131] "Naturalise" is a French loan word that first appeared in Elizabethan English and was most commonly used in debates over the rights and citizenship status of immigrants to England. To

barbarians everywhere, the civilized being sees civilized beings everywhere."[132] Hence, for the political ecologist, it is anything but anthropomorphic to see "civilized beings" everywhere. When they describe the government of noble beasts in the language of polity – "native burghers," "city," "citizen," "usurpers," "tyrants," "assembly" – Duke Senior, Jaques, Shakespeare, and Gascoigne simply admit that these are creatures subject and responsive to the laws of civilization. Personifying the doubts of an uneasy conscience, these animals' voices compensate for the hunter's violent intent with sympathetic feeling while reaffirming standards that distinguish moderation from superfluity, need from needless. Such politimorphosis is inarguably preferable to the anthropocentric alternative that regards noble beasts as disposable commodities, unassimilable to the laws of good conduct and fair treatment.

5. Human Proxies and Motley Nature

Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* contains a remarkable example of a bayed stag – Actaeon translated by a vengeful Diana – bewailing his lack of human voice. After he is attacked by his own dogs, Actaeon tries to win their recognition: "He strayned oftentymes to speake, and was about to say. / I am *Acteon:* know your Lorde and Mayster sirs I pray. / But vse of wordes and speach did want to vtter forth his minde." Afflicted with grievous wounds, Actaeon collapses in defeat upon the realization that there is no one to advocate for him:

> He could none other do
> But sigh, and in the shape of Hart with voyce as Hartes are woont,
> (For voyce of man was none now left to helpe him at the brunt)
> By braying shew his secret grief among the Mountaynes hie,
> And kneeling sadly on his knees with dreerie teares in eye,

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naturalize nature in this sense would, somewhat ironically, mean to take what is already native and make it political. *OED*, "naturalize, *v.*"

[132] Latour, *Politics of Nature*, p. 208.

> As one by humbling of himselfe that mercy seemde to craue,
> With piteous looke in stead of handes his head about to waue.[133]

Without a human voice, Actaeon must depend on the poet to act as his procurator or agent, an emissary who can articulate his "secret grief" for humankind. But who will speak for the nonhuman, under what authority, and to what end? In *The Noble Arte of Venerie*'s mixture of objective scientific writing with celebratory poetry, Gascoigne touts the huntsman as best equipped to interpret the signs of nature. This is never more evident than in the poem titled "The report of a Huntesman vpon the sight of an Hart, in pride of greace," in which the chief huntsman testifies before the queen and her assembly. His ekphrastic report attends to the specificity and liveliness of ecological relationships, providing the assembly with information on the size, weight, age, health, diet, and approximate location, direction, and speed of the forest's noble beasts. Once suitable beasts had been located, the huntsmen would return to the assembly and "make their sundry reports, and present their fewmy things vnto the Prince or master of the game in field, one after another, euery man rehearsing what he hath seene."[134] Such huntsmen become nature's spokesmen, even nature's tribunes, before the court. Like Latour's scientists, "*They can make the mute world speak*."[135]

Speaking on Nature's behalf, one of Gascoigne's huntsmen describes tokens that confirm his discovery of a ten-point hart. He remarks on "euery point" of the fewmets: "You shall them finde, long, round, and well annoynt, / Knottie and great, withouten prickes or eares, / The moystnesse shewes, what venysone he beares."[136] There is not a shred of irony but surely plenty

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[133] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, p. 33v.

[134] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 94.

[135] Latour, *Politics of Nature*, p. 14.

[136] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 96.

of art to this rhyming couplet examination of feces.[137] The formal attributes of the hunt align with the formal attributes of verse, each presenting an image of nature that is metrical and ordered. As in husbandry and huswifery manuals, humble things – even the droppings of an animal – are treated with care and ceremony. The raw forest is cooked through the huntsman's eloquence; the mute fewmets are made musical in the huntsman's verse.

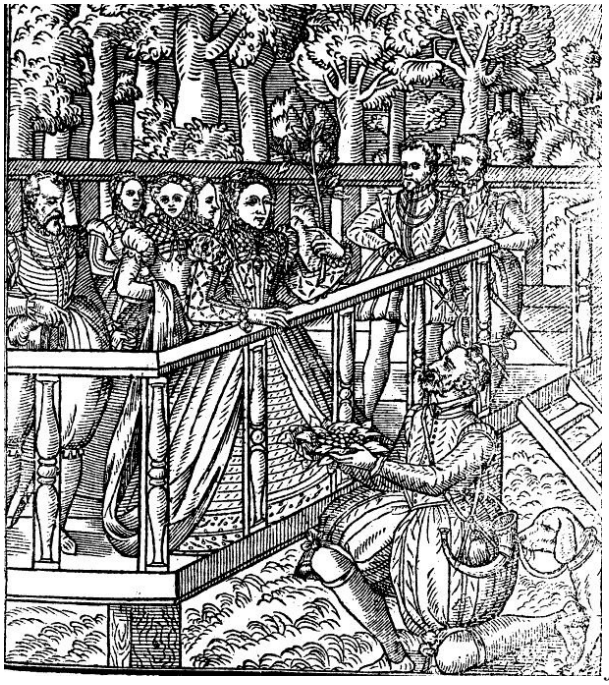

fig. 2

A woodcut from *The Noble Arte of Venerie* depicts the presentation of fewmets to the queen (fig. 2).[138] The formality of this scene stresses that the fewmets deserve their ceremonial place as that which best testifies to the health and quality of the unseen, voiceless animal. In the

[137] I agree with Anne Rooney's dismissal of the idea that these rhymes were solely used as mnemonic devices. Instead, hunter-poets probably "intended [these poems] to lend the text the air of authority and formality." *Hunting in Middle English Literature*, p. 9.

[138] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 95. Hamrick provides an extended analysis of the presentation of the fewmets in this woodcut and the relationship between Queen Elizabeth's love of hunting and the promotion of the cult of Gloriana. "Set in portraiture," p. 19.

accompanying poem, the huntsman describes how his hound caught the scent of the hart and led him to the sight of the stately stag:

> I held him short, and drawing after him,
> I might behold, the Hart was feeding trym.
> His head was high, and large in each degree,
> Well palmed eke, and seemd full sound to be.
> Of colour broune, he beareth eight and tenne,
> Of stately heigth, and long he seemed then.[139]

The huntsman describes for the assembly the worthiness of the hart, emphasizing his "good proportion," "well pearled" head, fair coat, rounded body. The hart is well fed and healthy, "by all the signes I found." The queen interrogates the huntsman on the evidence he presents, asking about the shape of the tracks, the toes, size of the jointbones, and the symmetry of the dewclaws. As an expert, the chief huntsman has the trust of the assembly to reckon with the complexities of the ecosystem in all of its pied motley. The expert turns confusion into clarity. The huntsman's use of jargon is designed not to obscure, but clearly to distinguish among like objects the subtle differences experts and initiates well appreciate. Witness the hunting manual that takes several pages to explain differences among different kinds of droppings: there are the "fewmets" of the deer, the "lesses" of the boar, the "croteys" of the hare, the "feance" of the fox, and the "sprayntes" of the otter.[140]

Every aspect of this report particularizes individual animals, demonstrating the signifying specificity of human-animal relationships – that of *this* queen to *this* hart – as opposed to the broad conceptual relationship between *"the* human" and "*the* animal." Both the degrees of distinction made between individual animals and individual humans, and the worth of a given

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[139] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 96.

[140] The names for scat are grouped by diet – fewmets for browsing animals, lesses for scavengers, etc.

animal to a specific audience, are very clearly brought forward in Shakespeare's theater. The significance of a buck depends on the relationships that converge over his body. In *Love's Labor's Lost*, the same animal that prompts the Princess's self-doubt and feelings of guilt over "detested crimes" can in the next scene become a figure of play for the pompous schoolmaster Holofernes, the obsequious curate Sir Nathaniel, and the simple constable Dull. These characters nod in the direction of Gascoigne's minute discriminations when they show off their hunting vocabulary in an exaggerated display of authoritative knowledge. When they discuss the outcome of the Princess of France's hunt in the park, Holofernes argues that the killed buck was a sorrel (a buck of the second head), but Sir Nathaniel disagrees. The trio put their book knowledge of zoology, hunting vocabulary, and Latin to the test:

> SIR NATHANIEL: [B]ut, sir, I assure ye, it was a buck of the first head.
>
> HOLOFERNES: Sir Nathaniel, *haud credo*.
>
> DULL: 'Twas not a *haud credo;* 'twas a pricket.
>
> HOLOFERNES: Most barbarous imitation! yet a kind of insinuation, as it were *in via*, in way, of explication; *facere*, as it were, replication, or rather *ostentare*, to show, as it were, his inclination, after his undressed, unpolished, uneducated, unpruned, untrained, or rather unlettered, or ratherest unconfirmed fashion, to insert again my *haud credo* for a deer.
>
> DULL: I said the deer was not a haud credo, 'twas a pricket. (4.2.8-21)[141]

Even Dull, thinking that Holofernes believes the dead deer was a "doe" rather than a buck of the first head, brandishes his knowledge of hunting jargon. Holofernes's excessive reaction to the constable's interjection reveals how much pride he takes in his own "expertise." Their fatuous squabble, exemplary of what another character calls the "great feast of languages" from which

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[141] A "pricket" is a male fallow deer in his second year and so his first year with antlers, i.e., "of the first head." *OED*, "pricket, *n*.2a." A "sorrel" is a male fallow deer in his third year and thus a slightly more prestigious prize than a pricket. *OED*, "sorrel, *adj.* and n2., B2."

they have "stolen the scraps" (5.1.36-37), betrays the commonplace acknowledgment on Shakespeare's part that words relate at best imperfectly to their referents.

Even the most technical terms coined to correspond accurately with a specific flesh-and-blood animal leave room for linguistic play that introduces contradiction. If the tradition of last will and testament poems is meant to certify the relationship of hunter-to-animal, here Shakespeare playfully mocks the inability of witnesses even to agree on what they have seen. Though comic, this interchange reminds us that the death of a deer may be interpreted in different ways and for different purposes. Whereas melancholic Jaques weeps during his pontification on the sobbing deer and the speaker of "Gascoigne's Woodmanship" invents a figure to excuse his wrongful killing, Holofernes authors a jovial, even inane, "extemporal epitaph" (4.2.50-51) for the pricket whose death he witnessed:

> The preyful Princess pierc'd and prick'd a pretty pleasing pricket;
> Some say a sore, but not a sore, till now made sore with shooting.
> The dogs did yell: put *l* to sore, then sorel jumps from thicket,
> Or pricket sore, or else sorel; the people fall a-hooting.
> If sore be sore, then L to sore makes fifty sores o' sorel:
> Of one sore I an hundred make by adding but one more L. (4.2.56-61)

While it irks Duke Senior to see "round haunches gor'd," Holofernes puns on the homonymous "sores," meaning either injury or a buck of the fourth head.[142] In all of these instances, we see that the death of a deer invites commentary, sometimes respectful, sometimes mournful, sometimes winsome, sometimes darkly twisted. Like humans, animals never mean one thing across all of Shakespeare's worlds; their signification splinters depending on who partakes in (and under what circumstances) the "feast of language" no less than the feast of flesh.

The forest, full of nonhuman life, depends on eloquent (or, for that matter, mock-eloquent) humans to speak for nature, to usher it forth into our imagination, even at the risk of

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[142] *OED*, "sore, *n.*2."

subsuming animal life forms into linguistic forms. And the theater proved an apt venue for modeling the many possible perspectives on the collision of a pied society of humans with a motley set of nonhumans. In the theater, the implicit politics and ecologies of such scripted convocations call to mind what Bruno Latour calls the Parliament of Things. Perhaps the importance to Latour of the "parliament," from the French *parler*, explains why recent studies have suggested the relevance of his *political* ecology to Shakespeare's drama, but it bears remarking that Latour also has recourse to specifically theatrical and performative language. His new *polis* is composed of "neither nature nor humans, but *well-articulated actors*, associations of humans and nonhumans, well-formed propositions."[143] For Latour, this *polis* is formed not by walling off the city from nature, but through our ability to speak relationships into being and to color those relationships with affects and values. Endorsing the "ambitious" maxim that there must be "No reality without representation!" Latour argues that the collective work of "actors"[144] articulating the relations of humans to nonhumans naturalizes *nature* itself.[145] Latour imagines a

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[143] Latour, *Politics of Nature*, p. 86, emphasis in original. Henry S. Turner's "Life Science" and Julian Yates's "Shakespeare's Kitchen Archives" are representative recent examples of Latourian readings of Shakespeare.

[144] Articulating the networks of Actor-Network Theory depends upon actors: "Just as the notion of speech … designate[s] not someone who was speaking about a mute thing, but an impediment, a difficulty, a gamut of possible positions, a profound uncertainty, so too the human-nonhuman pair … [refers] to an uncertainty, to *a profound doubt about the nature of action*, to a whole gamut of positions regarding the trials that make it possible to define an *actor*." Actors, for Latour, are thus agents who precipitate the relationships that make up political ecology and give rise to the dramatic action intrinsic to different "scenerizations." *Politics of Nature*, p. 73. Latour later defines an "actor" more succinctly as "any entity that modifies another entity in a trial; of actors it can only be said that they act; their competence is deduced from their performances; the action, in turn, is always recorded in the course of a trial." *Politics of Nature*, p. 237. On "scenerization," see *Politics of Nature*, pp. 137-38, 248-49.

[145] Latour argues that our ideas of nature and our awareness of nonhuman entities (ranging from concepts such as climate change to quarks) are "carefully naturalized, that is, socialized right inside the expanding collective." Only through social promotion do new ideas about nature come to be seen as natural. Latour, *Politics of Nature*, p. 127.

collective of actors examining overdetermined relations paying close attention to detail, creating spaces for broad public participation, amplifying the voices of multiple subjects and objects, attending to their promiscuous and various interactions, and steadfastly refusing determinacy.[146] The Shakespearean theater was exceptionally well suited to this sort of collaborative, public, and political work.

Shakespeare's forests contain a variety of relationships between human hunters and hunted animals. His plays produce different natures, and different scenescapes when different characters serve as spokespersons for the deer, the trees, and the forest as a whole. The Forest of Arden is an exemplary site of multiple, coexisting natures: sometimes Arcadian, sometimes Edenic; sometimes idyllic like the Golden World, sometimes fallen like the modern world; sometimes a bountiful *locus amoenus* and sometimes a "desert city" (2.1.23). Arden harbors wild and tame creatures, lions as well as lambs. From one scene to the next, Arden is transformed into an erotic pleasure garden, a setting for masculinist fantasies of rustic camping, a holdover from the Golden Age, "a timeless realm, a perpetual spring of happiness and innocence and leisure," a thicket of confusion, and a place of self discovery.[147] Perspectivalism persists even in the confusing name "Arden": for some of *As You Like It*'s representatives of the forest, this is the romantic, pastoral, exotic French Ardennes and for others it is the workaday, counterpastoral, local Warwickshire Arden, but a short distance from Shakespeare's Stratford.[148]

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[146] Latour, *Politics of Nature*, p. 86.

[147] On the variety of Shakespeare's forests, see Roberts, "Shakespeare's Forests and Trees," pp. 111-12; Theis, "The 'ill kill'd' Deer," p. 63; Hunt, *Shakespeare's As You Like It*, p. 31; Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization*, pp. 100-05; Whitney, "Green Economics," p. 115.

[148] Eccles, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire*, p. 3; Daley, "Where are the woods," p. 175.

Whereas Arden moves between English uplands and a fanciful fairy realm, the Windsor Forest of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* firmly roots itself in local geography with references to the Thames, Datchet Mead, Windsor Castle, and Herne's Oak. Its proximity to a seat of royal power suggests that it is "a fitting place to mediate between the town and the wild woods."[149] The play's Windsor Forest is a place for leisurely recreation, rather than austere camping, a faux-wilderness without predators such as wolves or lions to rival human hunters.[150] And yet, the climactic scene of the play demonstrates that even a tame park can be transformed into a haunted realm populated with creepy crawlies and malicious spirits. Although Windsor's wild side appears contained, Mrs. Page's story about Herne the Hunter suggests that forest ghosts continue to trouble the town:

> There is an old tales goes, that Herne the Hunter
> (Sometimes a keeper here in Windsor forest)
> Doth all the winter-time, at still midnight,
> Walk round about an oak, with great ragg'd horns,
> And there he blasts the tree, and takes the cattle,
> And makes milch-kine yield blood, and shakes a chain
> In a most hideous and dreadful manner.
> You have heard of such a spirit and well you know
> The superstitious idle-headed eld
> Receiv'd and did deliver to our age
> This tale of Herne the Hunter for a truth. (4.4.28-38)

This spirit of *ressentiment* eschews hospitality; the wild hunter's untamed nature infects and corrupts the milk of dairy cows. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* depicts a semi-rural England in which agricultural development reduced England's woodlands and wild spaces to a patchwork archipelago of game preserves, parks, and chases. The forests have been emptied of predators; the bears, as Slender points out in the opening scene, have been chained up for human

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[149] Roberts, "Falstaff in Windsor Forest," p. 10.

[150] The Dukes of Gloucester and Clarence imply that Prince Hal hunts in Windsor Forest in *2 Henry IV* (4.4.13; 4.4.51).

amusement (1.1.286-99). But the legend of Herne the Hunter lives on and so keeps alive the possibility that a wilderness spirit might yet take bloody revenge on the domesticated cattle that have overtaken the primeval ecosystem.[151]

The park of *Love's Labor's Lost*, by contrast, appears to be a space designed solely for human recreation, a setting for lovers' games, wordplay, and idle sport. The Navarrois do not spend much time describing or speaking for the inhabitants of Navarre's forest (certainly less than is said of the woods in *Merry Wives* and *As You Like It*, or for that matter *Midsummer* and *Cymbeline*). This should remind us that with regard to the early modern English landscape, we can and should separate ideas about nature and wilderness from ideas about parks and forests. Forests were not wildernesses dissociated from human society; they were legal entities that were predicated on noble privilege over the ecosystem contained within their bounds.[152]

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[151] Tracts of land extensive and sparsely populated enough to be properly called wilderness still remained at the fringes of Wales and Scotland in the sixteenth century. Rapid deforestation in England prompted the 1543 "Act for the Preservation of Woods," which aimed to restore trees to the landscape. Frederick Waage calls it "one of the first self-conscious environmental preservation actions in England." Waage also argues that the scars of human activity on the forest ecosystem would have been readily apparent to Shakespeare, especially as he traveled between Stratford-upon-Avon and London. Deforestation was even worse in Ireland and on parts of the continent. Ken Albala argues that the rise of beef and poultry and the decline of venison at noble banquets may have been, in part, due to deforestation and the resulting unavailability of wild game. In his *L'Arte di Ben Cucinare* (1660), Bartolomeo Stefani says that because deer have been overhunted in Italy, he must resort to providing English recipes for venison. A sixteenth-century recipe for "mock venison made with mutton, red wine, and bouillon" may have been conjured as a replacement for the landed gentry. Waage, "Shakespeare Unearth'd," p. 143; Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 34-41.

[152] Theis, "The 'ill-kill'd' Deer," p. 59. Law student and hunting rights activist John Manwood defines a forest as "a certaine Territory of grounde and Privileged place for wilde beastes to rest in: marked and bounded with vnremoueable Markes, Meers, and Boundaries, either knowen by matter of Recorde, or else by Description: Which Territorie of grounde is also replenished with wilde Beastes of Venerie, and Chase, and Couerts for the succour of the saide Wilde beasts, which place hath also certeine particular and proper lawes and officers for the preservation of Vert [trees and shrubs] and Venison: So that a Forest both consist of these three things, that is to saye: of Vert, Venison, and of certain particular lawes that are onely proper unto it." Manwood, *The Lawes of the Forest*, p. 139.

The sheer variety of Shakespearean forests and the cross-species relationships within them reminds us that Shakespeare's is a theater of point of view. As such, it corroborates the central thesis of Raymond Williams' seminal essay, "Ideas of Nature." Williams famously asks:

> 'Nature is …' – what? Red in tooth and claw; a ruthlessly competitive struggle for existence; an extraordinary interlocking system of mutual advantage; a paradigm of interdependence and cooperation. And 'Nature is' any one of these things according to the processes we select: the food-chain, dramatized as the shark or the tiger; the jungle of plants competing for space and light and air; or the pollinator – the bee and the butterfly – or symbiote and the parasite; even the scavenger, the population controller, the regulator of food supplies.[153]

Nature is a "singular name for the real multiplicity of things and living processes [that] may be held, with an effort, to be neutral, but," Williams declares, "I am sure it is very often the case that [the idea of "Nature"] offers, from the beginning, a dominant kind of interpretation: idealist, metaphysical, or religious."[154] Such competing representations of Nature can be heard in Shakespeare's dramatic dialogues. No character's concept of the forest fully comprehends the motleyness of the whole. A dappled microcosmos of human and nonhuman ecologies, the forest puts a variety of politics into contact with a variety of natures.

As You Like It depicts this compact of nature and polis in a criss-crossing network of similies that speaks to the complex web of relationships between humans and nonhumans. Invoking a cornucopia of thirty-three different species and an equally diverse human community of gossips, fools, and hunters, these similes address different types of encounter or congregation by employing the language of agricultural production ("as the ox hath his bow" [3.3.79]), animal slaughter ("as clean as a sound sheep's heart" [3.2.422-423]), and eating ("as pigeons feed their young" [1.2.94]; "as a weasel sucks eggs" [2.5.13]). Such similes use the food chain (and sex) as

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[153] Williams, "Ideas of Nature," p. 70.

[154] Williams, "Ideas of Nature," p. 69.

a vehicle for imagining a series of individual encounters without irritably reaching after an overarching or governing idea, save perhaps the need to eat and the desire to copulate. The aggregation of these similes and their particularized relationships does not lead to the discovery of any unifying theme.[155] Instead, the diversity of ties intimated by these figures exemplifies what Laurie Shannon describes as the "cosmological framework [of early modern natural philosophy] in which the sheer diversity of creaturely life is so finely articulated." The rehearsal of highly particularized comparisons of certain kinds of animals to certain kinds of humans inhibits the totalization of human-animal relationships. For Shannon, the proof of this "finely articulated" cosmology is in the rarity of the word "animal" in Shakespeare's works. "Animal" appears only eight times and when Shakespeare does use the word, it does not imply opposition to the "human." Instead, Shakespeare uses "beast" 141 times and "creature" 127 times to represent specific forms of life without necessarily invoking "the radically departicularizing and inevitably grandiose adjectives '*the* human' and '*the* animal,' where humanity refers to some positive attribute, however slippery (language, a soul, existential possibility, tool use, shame, and so forth) and animality to some corresponding deficit or privation that sets its signature feature."[156]

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[155] Although *A Midsummer Night's Dream* does not contain as many examples as *As You Like It*, its use of animal similes is also exceptional among Shakespeare's comedies. Although not alone in his relentless comparison of human and animal (and fairy), Robin Goodfellow is the play's likener *par excellence*, as he often takes on the form of animals: "I jest to Oberon and make him smile / When I a fat and bean-fed horse beguile, / Neighing in likeness of a filly foal; And sometime lurk I in a gossip's bowl, / In very likeness of a roasted crab" (2.1.44-48).

[156] Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal*, pp. 8-9. On animals as "part of physical environment that is represented in Shakespeare's plays," see also, Raber, "Vermin and Parasites," p. 15. Charles Whitney also sees Arden as a space invested in the concept of "biodiversity." Whitney, "Green Economics," p. 112.

A wood such as the Forest of Arden, crowded with nature's creatures and poet's figures, is thus a fitting venue for exploring how Shakespeare's poetry articulates the rich panoply of animal life. As the play progresses, more and more characters appear on stage and more and more animals fill the playwright's ark. How is it possible to bring this increasingly crowded theater into a state of harmony? Is such a thing desirable? Jaques doubts it and, in his embrace of peculiarity, imperfection, and heterogeneity, offers an alternative. Let nature be variegated and disorganized. Let us take nature as a composite entity: "Motley's the only wear" (*AYLI* 2.7.34). Jaques's desire for motley anticipates Latour's desire for a political ecology predicated not on differentiation, nor "unity," nor "utopian 'reconciliation between man and nature,'" but on the concept of the political ecology as a *collective* that remains open and allows for the "progressive composition of the common world."[157] This is precisely the kind of kaleidoscopic representation that characterizes Shakespeare's forests, consistently absent any one or totalizing nature and always available to new readings.

The fool's motley I take to be an apt emblem of disorder and nonsense, a composite of disparate cloths and colors, and hence a representation of nature in all of its variety. Jaques declares that he is "ambitious for a motley coat" after meeting a "motley fool" who "hath strange places cramm'd / With observation, the which he vents / In mangled forms" (2.7.40-43). Endowed with the freedom to call doxa into question, the fool parries the sovereign's summary: "give me leave / To speak my mind, and I will through and through / Cleanse the foul body of th' infected world, / If they will patiently receive my medicine" (2.7.58-61). Ironically, the world's infection here is the desire for purity and clarity; Jaques's medicine is the moralist's administration of doubt that unsettles the unanimity of the assembly. A fool's best quality is not

[157] Latour, *Politics of Nature*, p. 59.

that he is right, but that he has the freedom to be "so deep contemplative" that he has "liberty / Withal, as large a charter as the wind, / To blow on whom [he] please[s]" (2.7.31, 47-49).

Jaques's moralism embraces the dissonant and the discontented, finding beauty in the noise of the forest. Thus, Jaques's refusal to join the dance at the end of the play fulfills the prophecy of Duke Senior in Act 2: "If [Jaques], compact of jars, grow musical, / We shall have shortly discord in the spheres" (*AYLI* 2.7.5-6).[158] But this refusal is not a blot on Jaques's character. The discord in the spheres brought about by Jaques's railing compares well with the magnificent cacophony of the Cretan and Athenian woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[159] As Theseus and Hyppolyta venture forth at the "vaward [i.e., vanguard] of the day," they make plans to tune in to the soundscape:

THESEUS: Go, one of you, find out the forester,
For now our observation is perform'd,
And since we have the vaward of the day,
My love shall hear the music of my hounds.
Uncouple in the western valley, let them go:
Dispatch, I say, and find the forester.

Exit an Attendant

We will, fair queen, up to the mountain's top,
And mark the musical confusion
Of hounds and echo in conjunction.

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[158] Ralph Berry writes, "*As You Like It*'s discordant music can be viewed as complementary to the play's evolving debate [regarding the virtues of art and nature, court and country, etc.]." Although the word "debate" "tends to connote a balanced, objective inquiry into truth," Berry argues that no serious effort is made to resolve these debates; rather, the characters content themselves in the newfound knowledge that allowing for discrepancies and disagreement can strengthen society. In a similar vein, I argue that dissonance, the power to object, is the healthy medicine Jaques wants to administer to the court. Berry, "No Exit from Arden," p. 13.

[159] Cf. the description of Kalender's hunting expedition in Sidney's *Arcadia*. As Kalender's hounds chase down a stag, "their crie" is "composed of so well sorted mouthes, that any man would perceiue therein some kind of proportion but the skilfull woodmen did finde a musick." *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, p. 40.

HIPPOLYTA: I was with Hercules and Cadmus once,
When in a wood of Crete they bay'd the bear
With hounds of Sparta. Never did I hear
Such gallant chiding; for besides the groves,
The skies, the fountains, every region near
Seem all one mutual cry. I never heard
So musical a discord, such sweet thunder. (4.1.103-18)

Rather than hearing a flaw in the spheres' music, Hyppolyta understands this discord as a sweet reminder of nature's ultimate irreducibility or irresolvability. The "one mutual cry" of the Cretan woods suggests the simultaneity of the nonhumans' clamor, but not the homogeneity of their passions. As Latour observes, "*natures* … differ according to bodies."[160] The *discordia concors* of the forest's polyphonic music reflects the motleyness of nature.[161]

The "one mutual cry" of forest noise in the *Midsummer* hunt resonates with Jaques's musical request to the forester in Act 4, Scene 2 of *As You Like It*. Upon learning that the hunting party has killed a deer, Jaques requests a tune to mark the occasion: "Sing it: 'tis no matter how it be in tune, so it make noise enough" (4.2.8-9). As the forester begins singing his song of triumph, the stage directions indicate that the "rest [of the hunting party] shall bear this burden."[162] A "burden" is the undersong, bass line, or refrain of a song.[163] The word derives etymologically from the French word "bourdon," referring to the drone of a bagpipe, the

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[160] Latour, *Politics of Nature*, p. 284n38.

[161] For a contrasting view of this scene, see Watson, "Ecology of the Self," p. 46.

[162] The stage direction, "The rest shall bear this burden," is almost universally amended by editors to indicate an invitation to the rest of the foresters and lords to take up the chorus of the song, although the line is not offset to indicate a stage direction in the First Folio.

[163] *OED*, "burden, *n.*," IV.9, 10, and 11.

reverberating bass string of a violin, or the buzzing hum of honeybees.[164] As Jaques says, the burden need not be in tune; it instead should create "noise enough" to echo through the entire forest, reaching the ears of all who bear the ethical burden of the hunt.

Jaques recommends that the hunters "present [the one who claimed the kill] to the duke, like a Roman conqueror; and it would do well to set the deer's horns upon his head, for a branch of victory" (4.2.1-5). This proposed ritual behavior will transform the unnamed lord into both a Roman and a stag. By donning the deer's antlers, the hunter fuses the natural to the civilized. From one angle, we might see this ritual horn dance as a celebration of the venatic act or the naturalized social contract of human hunters and partially domesticated prey. But from another angle, the fusion of nature and civilization is a kind of confusion or contamination, a ritual that orginates in passionate frenzy and sexual excitement. Far from what Gascoigne calls recreation for noble minds in "good and godly sort," this hunting party falls prey to ribald horn joking.

According to Robert N. Watson, this scene recalls Ovid's tale of Actaeon: "Dressing the victorious hunter in the coat and the horns of the stag he has killed is the logical culmination, but also a brutal parody, of this effort to enter into the unmediated experience of nature, to pluck out the mystery of the hart."[165] In pale imitation of Actaeon transformed into a deer by a vengeful Diana, the donning of the stag's "leather skin and horns to wear" (4.2.11) places the hunter into a liminal space between subjecthood and objecthood. Although confirmation of the nobility of the "Roman conqueror" here only descends into lusty humor, the legend of Actaeon suggests a more severe slippage. For Ovid's Actaeon, however, this transformation is anything but a moment of

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[164] By the Elizabethan period the French word "bourdon" had become etymologically entangled with the English word "burden," a load to be borne. This suggests that the refrain or bass line was heavier than air.

[165] Watson, *Back to Nature*, p. 84.

triumph. Not eater but eaten, Actaeon does not encounter the world – the world encounters him, penetrates his body, undoes his status as subject. If as Mikhail Bakhtin suggests, humanity rejoices victoriously "in the act of eating," then Actaeon's encounter with the world as eaten is just recompense.[166]

When Actaeon's "hou*n*ds in y^{t} wood / Did pull their master to the ground and fill them[selves] with his bloud," the anthropophagic meal reveals how edible flesh occupies the unstable border between subject and object.[167] In Arthur Golding's version of the Actaeon story, it is the hunter's violation of Diana's sacred grove that dooms him. Ironically, Golding's Actaeon quits the slaughter while his company is "[s]till raunging in the waylesse woods some further game to spie." But Actaeon says that it is too late in the day to continue hunting, resolving to start again the following day:

> Our weapons and our toyles are moist and staind with bloud of Deare:
> This day hath done inough as by our quarrie may appeare.
> Assoone as with hir scarlet wheeles next morning bringeth light,
> We will about our worke againe. But now *Hiperion* bright
> Is in the middes of Heauen, and seares the fieldes with firie rayes.
> Take vp your toyles, and cease your worke, and let vs go our wayes.[168]

While "wandring in the frith / He wist not whither (hauing staid his pastime till the morrow)," Actaeon stumbles by chance upon Diana in her bath. Angry at the Theban's intrusion into her sacred bower, the goddess of wilderness punishes Actaeon for his blunder:

> [B]y and by doth spread
> A payre of liuely olde Harts hornes vpon his sprinckled head.
> She sharpes his eares, she makes his necke both slender, long and lanke·
> She turnes his fingers into féete, his armes to spindle shanke.

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[166] Bakhtin, *Rabelais an His World*, p. 281.

[167] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, p. 32r.

[168] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, p. 32r.

> She wrappes him in a hairie hyde beset with speckled spottes,
> And planteth in him fearefulnesse. And so away he trottes.[169]

Actaeon's dogs, with no master to guide them, brutalize the transformed creature, completing the fragmentation of his body: "They hem him in on euerie side, and in the shape of Stagge, / With greedie teeth and griping pawes their Lord in peeces dragge."[170] Diana's punishment suggests that even the ethical, responsible hunting of Elyot, Gascoigne, Ortega, and Shakespeare's conscientious hunters might unwittingly violate sacred space. Like hunting's shadowy border between needlessness and necessity or honor and treachery, the border between the lawful hunting grounds of Cithaeron and the inviolable grove sacred to Diana escaped Actaeon's notice.

Actaeon's undoing is a warning to other hunters whose status as apex predator is not guaranteed. While the culture of venery in the early modern period consolidates a hierarchical relationship of humans to nonhuman nature and predator to prey, Actaeon reminds us that nothing is absolute. The human body is subject to metamorphosis as is the animal body transformed into meat. Hunting both sponsors political authority and is insured by noble prerogatives, but the story of Actaeon graphically illustrates the limits of a hunter's freedom. As we have seen throughout this chapter, the complexity of Shakespeare's and Gascoigne's forest is incomprehensible to any single individual and nearly every hunt occasions doubt. Even when a noble hunter is clearly within his political right at the venatic moment, an animal may call out to a higher power. In Gascoigne's "The wofull wordes of the Hart to the Hunter," the hart gives his final censure of the "man … killing harmelesse Deare":

> I craue of God that such a ghoste, and such a fearefull pheare,
> May see *Dyana nakt:* and she (to venge hir skornes)
> May soone transforme his harmefull head, into my harmelesse hornes:

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[169] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, p. 33r.

[170] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, p. 34r.

> Untill his houndes may teare, that hart of his in twayne,
> Which thus torments vs harmelesse *Harts,* and puttes our hartes to payne.[171]

The poem concludes on these lines, in sympathetic appeal to the twain hearts of human and deer and highlighting the common vulnerability of human and cervine flesh. What with the hart exhausted and all other rhetoric spent, this final curse serves as a reminder that human actions are answerable to a higher power.

In *As You Like It*, skepticism about human exceptionalism is embodied in the person of Jaques whom, at one point in the play, Duke Senior supposes had been "transform'd into a beast, / For I can no where find him like a man" (2.7.1-2). Jaques stands separate from his fellows to the very end of the play, professing a desire to stay in the forest when the rest of the exiles make plans to head back to their cottages and court. Upon hearing that the usurper Duke Frederick met "an old religious man / [and] After some question with him, was converted / Both from his enterprise and from the world" (5.4.160-162), Jaques entertains the prospect of joining this new, radical cell. But before he retires, he makes his own last will and testament for Duke Senior and the play's four newlywed couples:

JAQUES:	Sir, by your patience – If I heard you rightly The Duke hath put on a religious life, And thrown into neglect the pompous court?
JAQUES DE BOYS:	He hath.
JAQUES:	To him will I. Out of these convertites There is much matter to be heard and learn'd.
[*To Duke Senior*.]	You to your former honor I bequeath, Your patience and your virtue well deserves it;
[*To Orlando*.]	You to a love, that your true faith doth merit;
[*To Oliver*.]	You to your land, and love, and great allies;
[*To Silvius*.]	You to a long and well-deserved bed;
[*To Touchstone*.]	And you to wrangling, for thy loving voyage

[171] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, p. 140.

Is but for two months victuall'd. – So to your pleasures,
I am for other than for dancing measures.

DUKE SENIOR: Stay, Jaques, stay.

JAQUES: To see no pastime, I. What would you have
I'll stay to know at your abandon'd cave.

Thus, Jaques disappears back into the forest, but not before doling out the "victuall[s]" that will sustain the restored Duke and the four married couples – some that promise to endure longer than others.

By returning to the cave, Jaques takes up habitation in the the heart of Arden. Twice earlier in the play, exiles from the palace come to the cave to be healed, fed, and entertained (Adam from his famine [2.7.197]; Orlando from the gash received from the lioness [4.3.145]). But Jaques, a traveler whose melancholy is "compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects," proves the heterotrophic nomadic subject of the play. His relation with his ecosystem involves not an imperious projection of his will but a basic, unsatisfied hunger to consume experience that results in a heterogeneous, idiosyncratic, deterritorialized "melancholy of [his] own" (*AYLI* 4.1.15-17). There is still, he says, "much matter to be heard and learn'd" from the "convertites" of Arden (5.4.184-185). The malcontent refuses to join in the play's concluding quadruple wedding with its "dancing measures," providing a final discordant note to the play's *concordia*. With "these couples … coming to the ark" (5.4.36) before the hunting party has finished their debates, Jaques seems dismayed that their exile in the woods has led only to recreation and not *conversion.* Jaques imagines that heretofore unimagined possibilities for the forest polity might yet emerge. The relationship of humans to the wood's noble beasts remains unsettled; the creatures of the wood are still alien others in spite of anthropomorphosis, politimorphosis, even Ortega's "poetic task" meant to ensure that animals receive their due

consideration. But I, with Orlando, say that this should not foreclose the “desire [that] we may be better strangers” (3.2.258).

CHAPTER 2

The Multispecies Flocks of the Chester and Towneley *Shepherds' Plays*

Sheep and shepherds, even when they serve as ecclesiastic symbols or purport to represent the divine as the *Agnus Dei*, are filthy creatures. The audiences of the Chester and Towneley Shepherds' Plays would have known this, given the number of sheep herded across the moors and wolds, the ovine waste splattered across droveways and beast markets, and the bloody work of sheepskin manufacture. Filth fouls up the language of the plays, too. When Coll tells Mak to set his tooth "in a torde," effectively telling him to "eat shit," he unmistakably links speech to the well-manured pasture (*TSSP* 311-12).[1] Rather than reading the plays' dirty materials as opposed to the transcendent Christological significance of the Nativity Play, this chapter posits poetic meaning and ecological materialism as coextensive elements equally essential to the production of biblical pastoral drama. It counters analyses of the theatrical role of sheep, food, parasites, and manure that frequently reduce the agricultural details of the Shepherds' Plays to an allegorical function or to petty concerns erased by the promise of salvation. Instead of inscribing a boundary between the sacred and the secular, I examine how images of the shepherds' dung-stained labor and the sheep's maggoted body necessitate and enable the eco-theology of the Shepherds' Plays' pastoral setting. Rooted in the agricultural vision of the Book of Isaiah, these plays imagine the sheep's body as the host for a great ecological feast, a convener of sacrosanct hospitality within a community of faith.

The central question of this chapter concerns the relationship between real-world fleshly animals raised in pastoral agriculture and symbolic use of animals in religious drama. As Lisa J.

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[1] For the sake of brevity, I will refer throughout to the Towneley *First Shepherds' Play*, the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play*, and the Chester *Shepherds' Play* as *TFSP*, *TSSP*, and *CSP*. All citations from the Towneley Plays are from Stevens and Cawley, Eds., *The Towneley Plays.* All citations from the Chester Cycle are from Lumiansky and Mills, Eds., *The Chester Cycle.*

Kiser argues, the dynamic relationships of humans and animals in religious drama establish them "as co-enactors of biblical history."[2] This is undoubtedly true, but as co-*actors* on stage, our conclusions about the presence of living animals in the Shepherds' Plays are made necessarily more tentative by Chester's spotty performance records and the nonexistent performance records for the Towneley Plays. We do know that many French, Swiss, and German Creation-to-Doomsday cycles used live animals in performance (although we must admit that comparisons between these plays and English biblical drama are imperfect). Production records show that animals featured in plays of Creation, Cain and Abel, Noah's Flood, Abraham and Isaac, the Flight into Egypt, the Entrance into Jerusalem, and the Antichrist, among others.[3] The 1509 Mons Creation-to-Pentecost cycle called for reptiles, fish, birds, sheep, cows, horses, mares, rabbits, a goose, two ducks, three doves, and two lambs. Live camels were used in Modane and Bourges. The accounts for the 1583 and 1597 Lucerne Passion Play record the use of donkeys, a calf, two sheep, two goats, three kids, two lambs, and a basket of pigeons. Other towns used other technologies to represent animals: clay donkeys, wooden rams for sacrifice scenes, and humans in animal costumes.[4] In England, Chester's Creation-to-Doomsday cycle is especially remarkable for its many references to humans and animals. Extant production records confirm

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[2] Kiser, "The Animals in Chester's *Noah's Flood*," pp. 30-31. Karl Steel also briefly discusses some exceptional Christian rites outside mainstream doctrine where "[s]ome animals might even be honored as co-worshippers, as in the Southern German ritual of the *Umritt*, in which horses were blessed with holy water and ridden into specially designed churches to gaze upon the Host." Steel also details how some sects of early Christianity embraced nonanthropocentric doctrines and gives the example of the fourth-century *Acts of Philip* which features the baptism of a goat and a leopard. Steel, *How to Make a Human*, pp. 58, 94.

[3] Meredith and Tailby, *The Staging of Drama in Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 117-22, 133-34; Berliner, "The Origins of the Crèche," p. 260-62.

[4] The Lucerne production notes calls for an off-stage stall to be constructed near the performance site where the animals could be housed for the duration of the day-long performance. Meredith and Tailby, *The Staging of Drama in Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 117-18.

the use of live horses in several of the Chester plays while others draw attention to animals in the biblical story through the use of stage properties or humans in animal costume.

Biblical drama uses animals in performance not just as spectacle, but as representations of the economic and ecological bonds formed through relationships to animal bodies. Even if live sheep do not feature in the Chester and Towneley Shepherds' Plays, audiences would be conscious of their presence in their communities; they would be aware that the same marketplaces and banquet halls that served as performance spaces for religious drama also trafficked in mutton and wool. The presence of sheep and their byproducts in these performance spaces replicates the dunged pastures of Cheshire and Yorkshire and destabilizes the innocent image of the Lamb of God. Meaning and metaphysics take root together in the rich, positively vital manure of the "tathed" stage that allows the organic growth of meaning amid a dynamic dramatic ecology.[5] The eighteenth-century agricultural writer William Marshall offers the following definition of tathing:

> This is a provincial term, conveying a compound idea, for which we have no English word. When we make use of the term *fold*, as applied to the fertilizing effect of sheep pent upon land, we do not mean to convey an idea merely of the faeces they leave behind them, in this case, but also of the urine, the trampling … or by their breath – their perspiration – and the warmth of their bodies.

The productivity of the soil depends on the presence of living sheep, not just dung. The soil would feel a difference if sheep were removed from the landscape and replaced with manure harvested elsewhere. The relationship between sheep and soil is not reducible to the singular

[5] "The dung of cattle, sheep, etc. left for manure on land on which they have been pastured." *OED*, "Tathe, *n.*"

mechanistic function of provider of dung, but is defined by an array of "fertilizing effect[s]," that are "communicated to the soil by the practice of folding."[6]

Tathing, then, highlights the dialogue between the biotic (plants, animals, microorganisms, etc.) and the abiotic (earth, water, air, light, etc.). Animals cannot be removed from the pasture without disrupting the entire system. For this reason, I argue that an analysis of the Chester and Towneley Shepherds' Plays demands consideration of sheep as living, vital constituents of the socio-ecological imagination that informs religious thought. Along with their use of stage properties, the language of these plays is also "heavy with matter,"[7] but the animal imagery does not solely serve an allegorical or teleological end. By populating the plays with the sheep (used as props or simply referenced) that were present in the wool-, mutton-, and dung-filled lives of the residents of Chester and Yorkshire, the playwrights draw attention to the spirited creatures that make up the agricultural ecosystem and economy. In the extant corpus of late medieval English drama, the Chester and Towneley Shepherds' Plays are especially interested in the material exchange that occurs among taxa: sheep, grasses, dogs, and humans. The gathering together of diverse species on stage, both alive and dead, in the flesh and as flesh byproducts, creates what I will call a *multispecies flock*.[8] By enacting links between human and

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[6] Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Norfolk*, pp. 33-34. On the role of "tathing" in agricultural improvements in the early modern period, see Allison, "The Sheep-Corn Husbandry."

[7] Zimbardo, "A Generic Approach," p. 83.

[8] This thesis is inspired by Donna Haraway's work on the relationship of domesticated dogs to humans. Like sheep and shepherds, dogs and humans are "constitutively, companion species." Their history of co-evolution and co-adaptation has driven the development of the agricultural landscape and the food economy. Scientific consensus dates the domestication of dogs (i.e., the divergence of dogs from wolves) to at least 15,000 years ago in eastern Asia; *The Companion Species Manifesto*, pp. 2-3, 28-29. Sheep and goats were the first animals domesticated for human consumption; the ancestor of all modern domestic sheep breeds, the Asiatic Mouflon, originated in southwest Asia 11,000 years ago. Chessa, et al., "Revealing the History of Sheep Domestication," p. 532; Gifford-Gonzalez and Hanotte, "Domesticating Animals in Africa."

nonhuman bodies in the ecosystem, the Chester and Towneley Shepherds' Plays display the complexity of each component's meaning and purpose.

The Christmas setting of these plays brings together human, animal, plant, and God through gift-giving, feasting, pastoral care, and neighborliness. In this chapter, I will discuss four scenes of gathering, obligation, and exchange in the Chester and and Towneley Shepherds' Plays that trace interspecies relationships across multiple scales. First, I will discuss each play's parallel representation of parasitic sheep diseases and the parasitic economy and the ways that these phenomena direct attention to the care for individual human and animal bodies. I then turn to the plays' depictions of herding, especially the scenes with Trowle and his dog Dottynolle in Chester *Shepherds* and Gyb's imaginary herd in Towneley *First Shepherds.* In the third section, I move from care and management of flocks of sheep to their consumption at the feast scenes in Chester *Shepherds* and Towneley *First Shepherds* and Mak and Gyl's plot to eat the stolen wether in Towneley *Second Shepherds*. Finally, I will examine how these earthy matters bear upon the sacred communion at Jesus's manger that serves as the conclusion to all three plays.[9] Each of these scenes stages the ecological relationship between eaters and eaten, consumers and producers that is essential to the co-existence of species. The shepherds' roles are

[9] For discussion of what makes the Chester and Towneley Shepherds' Plays distinct from other extant English Shepherds' Plays, see Clopper, "The Chester and the Other English Shepherds." The three other Shepherds' Plays – N-Town, York, and Coventry – contain only two much briefer and far less humorous scenes: the appearance of the Angel and the adoration scene at the Manger. Because these plays do not feature animal herding or feast scenes, they are not included in this analysis. It is worth pointing out, however, that some elements of the Chester and Towneley Shepherds' Plays are included in other Nativity plays. For example, in the York *Nativity*, Joseph complains about the cold weather in terms that resemble the Chester and Towneley shepherds' complaints. The Coventry *Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant*, a wide-ranging and often comedic play that depicts the Nativity from the prophecy of Isaiah through the Massacre of the Innocents, includes a brief forty lines in which the shepherds are searching for a lost flock before the appearance of the angel; Craig, Ed., *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*. See also, the *Officium Pastorum* in the Shrewsbury Fragments; Davis, Ed., *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*.

comprehensible only to the extent that we understand their relationships with their sheep, the animals they raise, care for, kill, and then eat. This paradox – the sheep must be cared for by shepherds so they can later kill them – is at the heart of the plays' violent interpenetration of human and animal. But it is not enough to say that the shepherds and their sheep exist in mutual co-relation. The sheep are entangled with other nonhuman agents as well: grasses, herding dogs, liver flukes, murrain, scabies.

All of the pasture's species are tied together in a living drama, which, when realized on stage, impresses upon audiences the codependent relation between eaters and eaten along the path from farm to fork. In the long sixteenth century, theater increasingly became an important forum for exploring the ecological relationships of the rural foodshed.[10] Sponsored and patronized by guilds, civic organizations, and gentry families heavily invested in the business of animal agriculture, these plays model and represent the local effects of changes in the

[10] Although Corpus Christi plays in Chester date to 1422, the first reference to the Chester *Shepherds' Play* in the historical record does not occur until 1516. As Lawrence Clopper has demonstrated, it appears that circa 1516 Chester's Corpus Christi Celebration expanded from a Passion play to a full Creation to Doomsday cycle. Without evidence to the contrary, we must consider the Chester *Shepherds' Play* as a sixteenth-century work. All five extant manuscripts of the Chester Cycle post-date the suppression of the cycle in 1575; Clopper, "The History and Development of the Chester Cycle." It is impossible to date the performance of the *First* and *Second Shepherds' Plays* with any precision, but recent evidence strongly suggests they are from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and nearly contemporaneous with the Chester *Shepherds' Play*. The Towneley Manuscript (Huntington MS HM1) is now generally thought to be a collection of biblical plays from various locations in the West Riding, Lancashire, and Westmorland, collected sometime during the reign of Queen Mary (1553-1558). Scholarly consensus still maintains that the unique stanzaic form of some of the Towneley Plays, including *TFSP* and *TSSP*, shows that some plays were written by an author conventionally known as the Wakefield Master. The two Towneley Shepherds' Plays reference the geography around Wakefield, but as Barbara Palmer has shown, there are no definitive records of dramatic performance in Wakefield before 1550 and, as others have shown, the themes are readily identifiable with the Tudor enclosure crisis. See Palmer, "'Towneley Plays' or 'Wakefield Cycle' Revisited"; Palmer, "Recycling the Wakefield Cycle"; Coletti and Gibson, "The Tudor Origins of Medieval Drama"; Kiser, "Mak's Heirs."

agricultural landscapes of Chester and the West Riding of Yorkshire.[11] This is evidenced in the unusual attention the plays pay to sheep, reflecting the centrality of animal husbandry to the culture and changing economy of this part of England.[12] As examples of what Sarah Beckwith calls the "communal enterprise" of theater, these plays were bound to reflect on the larger social systems and ecosystems of which they were a part.[13]

The ecclesiastic metaphors associated with lambs, shepherds, and flocks are rooted in an ancient model of animal husbandry that imagines a relationship between pastoral agriculture and the church community. In fact, it is only because a sheep is already significant in so many ways to so many constituents of the ecosystem and economy that the *Agnus Dei* serves as an

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[11] For example, the Stanleys possessed large landholdings in southern Lancashire and were the major landowning family in Cheshire. They also possessed holdings in Flintshire and Yorkshire. See MacLean, "In Search of Lord Strange," p. 42; Zevin, *The Life of Edward Stanley*. The effects of new agricultural development presented new questions to the residents of the West Riding, particularly in the area around Wakefield. In the middle of the sixteenth-century, the fulling industry transformed Wakefield into a profitable business center and a change in the landscape surrounding the town followed as a result. The cloth boom fell into nationwide decline in the 1550s following a series of bad harvests, the revaluation of currency in 1551, and a severe outbreak of influenza in 1557-58. See, Kew, "The Disposal of Crown Lands," p. 99; Frampton, "The Date of the Flourishing of the 'Wakefield Master,'" p. 654; Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 54-55. On the importance of Chester as the major market center for a broad swath of land in northwestern England and northeastern Wales, see Thirsk, "The Farming Regions of England," p. 65; Thacker, Laughton, and Kermode, "Later Medieval Chester."

[12] I take it to be highly significant that the compiler of the Towneley Manuscript included two versions of the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Adoration of the Shepherds. This is the only biblical episode to be represented twice in the manuscript. I cannot make any definitive claim as to why this is since no performance records exist. Various theories have been put forth. Erik Kooper, following Rosemary Woolf, suggests that the the *TSSP* is a later, more perfect revision of *TFSP*. Rose Zimbardo suggests that the two plays are "companion pieces that are meant to be understood together and in ideational relation to one another" as comedy and satire. But because we now know that the plays did not belong to a cycle performance in Wakefield, it seems highly unlikely that the plays would have been performed together. Kooper, "Political Theory and Pastoral Care in the Second Shepherds' Play," p. 143; Zimbardo, "A Generic Approach," p. 85.

[13] Beckwith, *Signifying God*, p. xvi.

appropriate metaphor for Jesus. The holy symbolism of sheep and pastures in the Bible, as recorded in the Books of Genesis, Isaiah, Micah, the Psalms, Proverbs, and the Gospels, is itself founded on the role of sheep in the ecology and economy of ancient Judea.[14] The Shepherds' Plays' religious symbolism grows from the ground up, weaving together metaphors and symbolism drawn from a wide variety of cultural origins and ecological conditions. As a result, parsing the full significance of human and sheep to each other – each bound and obliged to the other ecologically, socially, and ideologically – is an impossible task. What is constant in this relationship, however, is the fact that these metaphors are never far from the pasture – Judean, English, or otherwise. For cultures that depended on sheep for the production of wool, leather, parchment, meat, milk, and manure, the symbolic use of sheep in religious texts could never be separated from the quotidian experience of animal agriculture.

Following Julian Yates's reading of Thomas More's *Utopia*, I will put real meaty, woolly, dungy sheep at the center of my analysis of these biblical pastoral plays. Yates encourages us to read "from within the multiplicity of the flock," using "the abjected herd animal as our point of departure."[15] I contend that such an analysis is uniquely possible within the context of theatrical production that brings actors, animals, props, and audiences into a common collective within the same networks of exchange. If we are to understand why ecclesiastic

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[14] Miller, *A History of Ancient Israel*, pp. 49-51; Silver, *Prophets and Markets*, pp. 15-16, 75, 144; Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism*, pp. 202, 203, 264. Although Daniel Sperber focuses on Late Roman Palestine, his research does look back to biblical Judea as well. "Trends in Third Century Palestinian Agriculture," pp. 238, 245.

[15] Yates, "Counting Sheep," pp. 2-6. Incidentally, *Utopia* was first published in 1516, the same year as the first recorded performance of the Chester *Shepherds' Play*. Yates's analysis of sheep turns from the deindividualized flocks of sheep in early modern culture to Dolly, the "miraculously singular sheep" who came to worldwide attention in 1996 as the first cloned mammal. Although Yates does not discuss parallels to the *Agnus Dei*, the story of Dolly – immaculately conceived and born into this world in order to bring humans closer to eternal life through the science of cloning – has its own parallels to Jesus, Lamb of God.

metaphors and religious symbolism originate in the "abjected herd" of peasant laborers and stock animals who traverse the wolds and moors, we must take seriously the sacred possibilities of the interspecies encounter.

1. A Parliament of Parasites

Although the feast scenes of the Towneley *First Shepherds' Play* and the Chester *Shepherds' Play* are clearly major set pieces, both plays open with descriptions of very different meals: parasitic infestations of the sheep tended by Hankeyn and First Gyb.[16] These references demonstrate the "abject" quality of the herds and the shepherds' lack of mastery over their flocks. In *CSP*, Hankeyn lists all the herbs he must carry with him, "wisely wrought for everye wounde" (*CSP* 18) and for scabs caused by parasites, sheep-rot, coughs, bacterial infections, and "the thursse."[17]

The *CSP* and *TFSP* describe the battling of disease as a constant labor for shepherds. *CSP*'s Hankeyn says that disease is present, but he is managing the situation. In *TFSP*, First Gyb is less fortunate. Parasites have won out: "All my shepe ar gone, / I am not left oone, / The rott has theym slone" (*TFSP* 36-38). The flock has been taken by bouts of sheep-rot (38) and murrain (57). Murrain was a blanket term for a variety of viral and bacterial diseases which affected livestock, including anthrax, foot-and-mouth disease, rinderpest, and streptococcal bacteria. Sheep-rot had a more readily identifiable culprit for the sixteenth-century shepherd: liver flukes,

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[16] There are shepherds named Gyb in both the Towneley *First* and *Second Shepherds' Plays*. I will call them First and Second Gyb in order to avoid confusion. It is conceivable that the playwright actually means them to be the same character, played by the same actor. Further suggesting a relationship between the plays, Mak says that John Horne, a character who appears in *TFSP* but not *TSSP*, served as a witness at the baptism of Mak's newborn "son," (i.e., the stolen wether) *TSSP*, ll. 813-15.

[17] The cough probably refers to pseudotuberculosis, a particularly nasty disease for pastured animals. A thurse is a "giant of heathen mythology; in mediæval times, often, the devil, a demon; later, a goblin or hobgoblin of rustic superstition." *OED*, "thurse, *n*."

parasitic flatworms that ravaged the sheep's body. Germane to the plays' December setting, the rot was especially common during the wet winter months when much of the pasture land became soggy and marshy with standing pools of water.[18]

Most critics argue that the presence of pestilence in these plays symbolizes ecclesiastic corruption, with the two shepherds serving as metaphors for clergy who do not minister to their flocks. Because First Gyb says he "nap[ped] on my cod"[19] (*TFSP* 33) while his animals die from sheep-rot and murrain, he has been charged with moral slackness. As Kiser notes, scholars have argued that "we are to judge their performances as keepers of sheep to be subpar at best." Instead of recognizing that shepherding actually induces exhaustion or that parasites are inevitable in any ecosystem, critics assume the death of the sheep invites the audiences' indictment of the shepherds. But, as Kiser states, "the dramatic effect of this scene leads us to sympathize with [First] Gyb rather than criticize him."[20] Scholarly accusations of pastoral neglect ignore the challenging material conditions of First Gyb's labor. Dreaming nostalgically for "care that has bene, / And sorrow" (*TFSP* 34-35), he naps not out of laziness but world-weariness.

The prominence given to methods of treating disease in the widely read genre of husbandry manuals demonstrates that working with livestock means tending to infestations of parasites.[21] According to John Fitzherbert's *Boke of Husbandry* (1523), there are many ways

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[18] Pastoral laborers often avoided befouling themselves with mud by walking on stilts through marshland. In a clever analysis, John Marshall links the pastoral habit of stilt-walking with the stilts the Chester Glaziers and Painters Guild used in their daily occupation; Marshall, "Walking in the Air."

[19] *OED*, "cod, *n.*2," "pillow or cushion."

[20] Kiser, "Mak's Heirs," pp. 350-51.

[21] Print publication of husbandry manuals in English began in 1508, with Wynkyn de Worde's translation of the thirteenth-century *Le Dite de Hosebondrie* by Walter of Henley. John Fitzherbert (1460-1531) first published *The Boke of Husbandry* in 1523 and it was reprinted

"[t]o knowe a rotten shepe … some of them wyll not fayle." Each method requires that the shepherd examine the sheep's body carefully and closely: "Take bothe your hands, and twyrle vpon his eye, and if he be ruddy, and haue reed stryndes in the white of the eye, than he is sounde; and if the eye be white, lyke talowe, and the stryndes darke-coloured, thane he is rotten." To read rot on the sheep's body, the husbandman must pull back the fleece, inspect eyes and skin, and tug at the wool. Like words on vellum parchment, the marks on the skin have a legible meaning. When the husbandman slaughters a rotten sheep, he will find inside the liver "lyttell quikens lyke flokes, and also the lyuer wyll be full of knottes and whyte blysters." Fragile flesh of sheep is knotted together with the liver flukes: "if he be rotten it wyll breke in peces," whereas "if he be sounde, it wyll holde together."[22] Such rot, a horrifyingly painful disease for the sheep, is economically devastating for the shepherd. In *CSP*, Hankeyn has balms to soothe the dry and ruddy skin of infected sheep, but he can do nothing to excise the flukes from the livers except offer his thoughtful consideration, or perhaps even his condolences: "My taytfull tuppes are in my thought" (*CSP* 10).

These "knottes" of sheep and liver flukes stress the intimacy of suffering on the pasture. As First Gyb deals with the economic consequences of a diseased herd in *TFSP*, his suffering becomes linked to the rotting bodies of his sheep:

> My handys may I wryng
> And mowrnyng make,

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eleven times in fifty years. Thomas Tusser (*c.*1524-1580) debuted his *A Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie* in 1557. Including the 1573 expanded edition, *Fiue hundredth points of Good Husbandry*, Tusser was republished eight times before 1580. I focus on Fitzherbert's *Boke* and Tusser's *Hundreth Good Pointes* since their dates overlap with the production of the Towneley Manuscript and the performance of the Chester *Shepherds' Play*. Barnabe Googe's 1577 translation of Conrad Heresbach's *Foure bookes of Husbandry* might also overlap with the performance dates of the Towneley Plays.

[22] Fitzherbert, *The Boke of Husbandry*, pp. 33v-34v.

Bot if good will spryng,
The countré forsake;
Fermes thyk ar coming,
My purs is bot wake,
I haue nerehand nothing
To pay nor to take.
I may syng
With purs penneles,
That makys this heuynes,
'Wo is me this dystres!'
And has no helpyng. (*TFSP* 40-52)

This speech expresses the drastic consequences the loss of animals can have on small-scale shepherds. Unless something "good will spryng" from this misfortune, he will have to "forsake" this countryside. "Fermes," the seasonal rents or taxes charged to tenants, are on the horizon, but he can only "syng / With purs penneles." And yet, his reaction is surprisingly selfless. Despite his desperation, First Gyb recognizes crying "Wo is me!" is "no helpyng." Instead, he makes "mowrnyng." Excepting Kiser, most scholars have viewed First Gyb's lament with skepticism, but we must consider the extent to which this character represents the economic conditions of impoverished laborers forced into vagrancy and beggardom. At this point in the play, First Gyb is more concerned about surviving life on earth and its gross inequalities than he is about discovering the path to eternal salvation – at this time unbeknownst to him.

The parasitic diseases that plague sheep thus find a counterpoint in the parasitic relationship of the shepherds to their sheep. Utterly dependent on the flock that nourishes him and provides income, First Gyb fears he will now be homeless. Michel Serres's analysis of the parasitic structures of human relationships offers a profitable illustration of this point. Serres epitomizes his philosophy with the image of the peasant farmer who lives off livestock, dependent on the propagation and survival of the herd. The farmer is a parasite who takes from the flock, harvesting its lambs, but insuring that the mothers live to reproduce again: "he does not

destroy nonrenewable resources, like a vulgar industrialist, but lives off the newborn."[23] Serres admits that a parasitologist would object: "We never live in the animals we eat, he says. Indeed. His objection, it seems to me, is the following: every parasitic animal lives, eats, and multiplies within the body of its host. Men, whom I call parasites, are never, as far as we know, inside another animal."[24] The shepherd does not live inside the sheep in the manner of the liver fluke, but he is surrounded by the flock and he does sink into the muddy, filthy tathe produced by the sheep on the moors. Shepherds exemplify Serres's parasitic relation of herder to the herd; they fleece meat, milk, wool, and manure while allowing the flock to live on, reproducing, growing, and spreading like a clonal colony across the hillsides. The shepherds can cull singular sheep from the herd, but the flock remains vivacious.

The parasitism present in the Chester and Towneley Shepherds' Plays presents a challenge to literary scholars who have argued for a "profoundly anthropocentric view of animals" in late medieval and early modern religious culture. David Salter, for example, contends that representations of animals in medieval romance and hagiography do not "reflect attitudes towards the animal kingdom itself." Instead:

> [It] is perhaps more useful to think of what they reveal about our perceptions of ourselves as human beings…. We shall find that through their depictions of animals, medieval writers were able to reflect upon their own humanity, as well as clarifying for themselves and for their readers the meaning of more abstract

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[23] Serres, *The Parasite*, p. 4.

[24] As Serres explains, the vocabulary for the science of parasitology (the "host" animal; the "*para-sitos*," which is derived from the Greek phrase for eating at another's table) "comes from such ancient and common customs and habits that the earliest monuments of our culture tell of them, and we still see them, at least in part: hospitality, conviviality, table manners, hostelry, general relations with [human and nonhuman] strangers." Overriding the scientist's strict definition of parasitic relation, Serres proposes a "more interesting" relationship "to the animals we eat…. [We] get under these animals' skins as well, in their plumage or in their hide. Men in clothing live within the animals they devoured"; *The Parasite*, pp. 6-10.

> values and ideas – such as civility, sanctity, and nobility – that were central to the culture of the time.[25]

This may be true for some of the animals that figure into Salter's analysis: lions and wolves, for example, belonged by and large only to the cultural imagination and not to the English ecosystem or economy.[26] Lions and wolves were not part of the every day lives of the people who created and enjoyed the Shepherds' Plays. Sheep, however, are too important to sixteenth-century English culture to be reduced to a vehicle that merely reflects upon humanity. Surely, by reading the Shepherds' Plays, we learn at least as much about what people thought of sheep as we do "our perceptions of ourselves as human beings," as Salter would have it.

The opportunity to represent animal husbandry and food production on the stages of early English biblical drama challenged the producers of the Shepherds' Plays to communicate, even to "play" with, these complicated relationships. Rather than conscripting sheep into an anthropocentric ideological narrative, what obtained in theatrical representations of pastures was a convocation of several species of animal, a theater akin to what Bruno Latour calls the Parliament of Things: a legislative body in which the human and the nonhuman can be discussed together, at once, without either achieving priority over the other. Latour argues that the resolution of ecological dramas can only occur when "Natures are present, but with their representatives, scientists [or husbandmen] who speak in their name" *and* when "Societies are present, but with the objects that have been serving as their ballast from time immemorial."[27] Natures and Societies collaborate in the creation of the new landscape, and this new ecosystem

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[25] Salter, *Holy and Noble Beasts*, pp. 6-7.

[26] Lions, of course, were never native to England and wolves had been hunted to extinction in Great Britain by the end of the fourteenth century.

[27] Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, p. 144.

can only be understood if many human and nonhuman voices are allowed to speak. If we were to apply Latour's litany of potential parliamentarians to the Shepherds' Plays, one actor-representative would talk about the plague of sheep-rot, another would represent the owner of the pasturage, a third the laborers who practice sheep-corn husbandry, another the wives with hungry children at home, and a fifth the weather systems that bring catastrophic floods. Let still another speak in the name of the Church, another for the dogs who work alongside the humans, another for the local market town, another for the dairy cows who compete with sheep for grazing land: "what does it matter, so long as they are all talking about the same thing, about a quasi-object they have all created."[28] In these plays, what results are multispecies flocks that bring ecology, economy, nutrition, theology, veterinary science, and politics all into overdetermined discourse. For the Chester and Towneley playwrights, pastoral agriculture is an ecological act. And an economic act. And a social act. And a physiological act. And a religious act. Attending to the nature-culture hybridity of these sheep proves much more convincing than any anthropocentric hierarchy that we might impose.

Examining the Shepherds' Plays as parliamentary investigations into the complexities of pastoral agriculture helps us understand why, more than any other medieval English drama, these particular plays are so firmly rooted in place. Dramatic adaptation of the Adoration of the Shepherds (Luke 2:8-20) includes an Englishing of the weather, geography, and husbandry practices. Switching out the pastures of biblical Judea for Yorkshire and Cheshire, these plays

[28] Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, p. 144. Given the extent of political disenfranchisement in the Tudor and Stuart period, an "Assembly of Things" or a "Forum of Things" might be a more inclusive descriptor than "Parliament," but "Parliament" is an important word for Latour because of its etymological relation to the French *parler*, "to speak."

dramatize evolving agricultural networks of the sixteenth century.[29] The dissolution of the monasteries provided for sale to private owners large tracts of land held by the Roman Catholic Church. The effects of the Dissolution on land use and the agricultural economy rippled throughout the century, accelerating the nationwide movement of engrossing farms into larger holdings and enclosing open fields.[30] Lynn Staley notes that as absentee landlords engrossed and enclosed the rural landscape, many local residents saw a need for reform to prevent further depopulation of the northern countryside. The Parliament of 1548's "Bill on Decay of Tillage," charges the landowners with "forgetting they are shepherds to the people, rather than 'grasiers' and 'shepemasters,' tearing down towns and villages and houses of husbandry in order to convert tillage into pasture." The bill also blamed the Dissolution for the worsening condition of the people.[31] Prior to the suppression of religious houses, the presence of monasteries, abbeys, and

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[29] It is a mistake to assume that the playwrights of the Shepherds' Plays Anglicize the setting solely to make the story of the Adoration of the Shepherds accessible to sixteenth-century audiences. The idea that the work of biblical drama is only to make timeless spiritual concerns accessible dismisses how invested these plays are in the politics of their present moment. As Greg Walker, V.A Kolve, and Gail McMurray Gibson, among others, have shown, these playwrights draw on biblical story and add anachronistic elements to comment on, celebrate, or condemn the social conditions of their own time. Walker, "The cultural work of early Drama," pp. 87-88; Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi*, p. 104; Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion*, pp. 40-41.

[30] As Joan Thirsk puts it, enclosures were erected with "ruthless disregard for the rights and interests of the smaller farmers and cottagers, and were the cause of much misery and social unrest." Thirsk's survey of the pamphlet literature identifies five main strands of protest: enclosure, engrossment, emparkment, the keeping of cattle for fattening, and the keeping of a large number of sheep. But, as Joyce Youings notes, the efforts of reformers "did little to remedy a situation whose causes were deeper than mere avarice." Thirsk, "Farming Regions of England," p. 65; Youings, *Sixteenth-Century England*, p. 51. See also, Thirsk, "Enclosing and Engrossing," pp. 238-239; Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy*, p. 134. The Tudor enclosure movement's new emphasis on large-scale animal agriculture hit the economies of Cheshire and Shropshire especially hard. See also, Dyer, "Woodlands and Wood-Pasture in Western England," p. 115.

[31] Staley, *The Island Garden*, pp. 103-04. Zevin demonstrates that Edward Stanley, Third Earl of Derby attempt to stave off the dissolution of several religious houses connected to his family.

rural churches that were invested in glebe lands encouraged the presence of more craftsmen and retailers, resulting in more diversified and healthier local economies. But as land was sold off, engrossers geared agriculture toward monocultural production of flax and other cash crops. Agricultural development trended toward produce destined for markets in London and abroad, not to the local rural consumer. Unlike the monastic economies, the new monoculture did not require that landowners live on their estate, thereby opening the food system to still more potential for abuse.[32] With increasing frequency, landowners erected hedgerows and dug ditches between fields, converted tillage to pasturage – thereby replacing ploughmen with sheep and other grazing chattel – and depopulated rural villages.[33] Even before the Dissolution completely

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When this did not work, "the earl quickly changed tactics and went along with the government by attempting to purchase or lease the properties in question." Stanley acquired many former church holdings and gave, leased, or sold them to servants and extended family: "Almost all of the earl's purchases are connected in one way or another with the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII, beginning in 1535, and the dissolution of the remaining chantries, free chapels, and colleges beginning in 1547 during the reign of Edward VI." To give one germane example, Stanley had been steward of the lands of Whalley Abbey (possibly the site of the Towneley Manuscript's compilation) prior to its dissolution in 1537. In 1540, the lands of Whalley were sold to Thurstan Tyldesley, a deputy-keeper and deputy-forester to the earl. Zevin, *The Life of Edward Stanley*, pp. 67, 90, 139.

[32] Harold Fox, "Wolds," p. 59.

[33] Sheep were not central to the Cheshire economy, but Kiser's suggestion that since "Chester itself was not located very close to actual pastoral communities, the problems of enclosure … would not have been personally felt" is mistaken ("Mak's Heirs," p. 353). Flocks of up to 1,000 sheep were kept in eastern Cheshire and the rearing of sheep was especially important in Flintshire, in northeastern Wales, the county directly to the west of Cheshire. Chester's civic authorities had been designated the administrators of Flintshire since 1353. Moreover, Chester would have been the main market town for Flintshire producers. David Mills identifies the shepherds as Welsh stereotypes based on their names and their fondness for leeks in *Recycling the Cycle*, p. 177. Hankyen mentions that the shepherds have come "From comlye Conwaye unto Clyde," indicating that they have been driving the sheep from northeast Wales toward the markets in Chester (*CSP* 5). This point is especially significant for the final recorded performance of the Chester *Shepherds' Play* in 1578. When Henry Stanley, Fourth Earl of Derby and his son Ferdinando, Lord Strange visited Chester in August of that year, the mayor received him with a "[c]ommodie out of the book of Terence" and the "Shepeards playe played at the hie Crosse"; Qtd. in MacLean, "In Search of Lord Strange," p. 42. The decision to stage the

overturned the rural landscape, the countryside had become increasingly secularized. As populations left the rural villages and concentrated in greater and greater numbers in towns, and cities, cemeteries and churchyards were converted to spaces for agricultural production and bodies buried in the earth went untended by prayer.[34]

Ditches and thorny hedges fractured the rural foodshed and created new physical and symbolic partitions between producers and consumers, laborer and landlord. The entire rural landscape was undergoing a profound remaking,

> its wastes tamed, fens drained, trees cut down, fields measured, hedgerows constructed. Any late medieval nostalgia for a primordial world was as misplaced as is a contemporary lament for primordial hedgerows. Despite their intricacy and their benefit to birds and to the ecology of the fields, they are not originary. It is these hedgerows, the means by which land was enclosed for private use, that were the occasion for the complaints about enclosure that become more prominent from the fifteenth century on.[35]

Market pressures and changes in tax policy motivated by a need for increased government revenues drove landlords to increase agricultural productivity. Because of this drive to "improve" the land, Joan Thirsk observes, "men made war upon the forests, moors, and fens with

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Shepherds' Play is especially interesting since, as Zevin notes in his biography Edward Stanley, the Third Earl, the Stanleys had a chronically confrontational relationship with the tenants in Flintshire, North Wales, "where locals had a tendency to dispute any lord's title to collect rents…. The troubles continued, and in the late 1530s, Earl Edward was busy attempting to eject tenants from several of his Welsh estates." Whether this influenced the depiction of Welsh shepherds in Chester – another area over which the earl exhibited considerable sway – remains to be seen. Notably, wastes in the Yorkshire Dales of the West Riding, enclosed by the earl in the 1530s and '40s, were another site of discontent for the Stanleys: "Apparently, Derby had enclosed four great closes there on Bentham Moor, but in 1554, 30 people 'in very riottous maner did pull up and cast downe' the hedges surrounding the land and killed one of the earl's officers. Unfortunately the records contain only a bare statement of Earl Edward's accusations, and nothing further is heard of the case." *The Life of Edward Stanley*, pp. 153-57.

[34] Staley describes the "elegiac" tone of Henry VIII's statutes against the pulling down of towns, noting that "the effects of enclosure" were the "fracturing [of] community"; *The Island Garden*, pp. 96-98.

[35] Staley, *The Island Garden*, pp. 91-92.

a zeal which they had not felt for some three hundred years."[36] Anti-enclosure pamphlets of the period vociferously lambasted agricultural development as an attack on tenant farmers and the underemployed. The growing appetite for material wealth on the part of agricultural producers was said to be a sign that personal gain took precedence over the interests of rural communities.

Economic pressures in the wool market, the related explosion in sheep husbandry, and the evolving land use policies of enclosure and engrossment formed feedback loops that changed the face of the rural landscape. As shepherds and ploughmen competed for the same land, the relationship between sheep and human changed. Demand for agricultural profits encouraged an increased role for sheep in the foodshed, and national and international markets subsumed local concerns for fields, houses, and towns. In response to the changes in local food systems, Thomas More's *Utopia* famously offered a scathing indictment of what he saw as misplaced economic priorities. As More's Raphael Hythloday puts it, the English sheep:

> that were wont to be so meek and tame and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities.[37]

Conservative moralists and opponents of enclosure idealistically championed the old manorial system of agriculture as an ideal moral economy (without, it must be noted, attending to its limited productivity, social immobility, and structural inequality). With the trend toward developing the wastes and redeveloping tillage, sheep had suddenly become carnivorous. They

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[36] Thirsk, "Farming Regions," p. 2

[37] More, "Utopia," pp. 21-22. McRae traces the use of the imagery of anthropophagic sheep in the pamphlet debate from More through the end of the sixteenth-century. The puritan moralist Philip Stubbes provides another example in his *Anatomy of Abuses* (1581): 'For these enclosures be the causes why rich men eat up poor men as beasts do eat grass. These I say are the Caterpillars, and devouring locusts that massacre the poore, & eat up the whole realme to the destruction of the same.'" Qtd. in McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, p. 66.

devour the rural poor. The anthropophagic sheep, and their shepherds, violate the proper hierarchy of the food chain.

The enclosure movement took on a life of its own in response to market forces deriving from the complicated structure of the multispecies flock. As wool accrued more and more economic value, the agency of sheep on the pasture increased correspondingly.[38] Sheep altered the pastoral ecosystem through manuring and improving soil fertility, mowing grasses, and providing impetus to plant more fodder crops. As market forces subordinated the agency of some ecological actors to that of others, sheep were elevated and humans diminished. The relationship between herder and herded, eater and eaten, parasite and host grew confused. And soon it was no longer clear that humans – certainly not the lowly species of poor laborer who lived among the animals – were at the head of the food chain. The multispecies flock ambled across the newly reshaped wolds and moors, at once stimulating and following the appetites and whims of market forces.

Even as the landscape was tamed for maximal agricultural productivity, the grazing lands became hostile in a new way. In the sixteenth century the greatest enemy of the rural farmer turned out to be, not the wolf, but other men – exploitative landlords, grim enforcers with long knives, and rustlers in the night.[39] But, as Serres argues for agriculture more generally, the emergent economic relations of enclosure are not so much those of predator and prey as of

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[38] Similar arguments about the agency of animals in creating new landscapes can be found in Virginia DeJohn Anderson's account of livestock in colonial New England and the Chesapeake Tidewater region and in Alfred W. Crosby's more general environmental history of the relationship between the commodification of plants and animals and economic development of wilderness. Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*; Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*.

[39] K.J. Allison catalogs abuses of the foldcourse system, as well as the disproportionate power of lords and tenants, noting the increasing difficulty of "secur[ing] the essential co-operation of their tenants" in the period. "The Sheep-Corn Husbandry," p. 25.

mutual parasitism. The shepherd is just another creature wandering the wold at night, held hostage by his obligation to his sheep. Often portrayed as a leech on society, the impoverished, underemployed, vagrant husbandman is a member of a parasitic underclass. At the other end of the relation, opponents of enclosure and engrossment depict landlords as undeserving spongers who profit off of the hard work of peasant labor, extracting exorbitantly high rents but giving little in return. The enclosure literature helps us understand Serres's update of Plautus's maxim *homo homini lupus*. Instead of a wolf, Serres posits, "Man is a louse for other men."[40]

The religious work of biblical drama could not help but reflect these changes in the cultural *and* natural landscapes that environed the performance of these plays. Amid competing visions for land use following the Dissolution, the Shepherds' Plays negotiate between sacred and secular spheres. This point is especially apposite to the Chester Cycle whose surviving performance records allow us to theorize the ways in which the plays signified against the backdrop of Chester's city landmarks.[41] At a time when enclosers erected hedges and ditches around former glebe lands and common pasture, performances of the Chester *Shepherds* before churches, markets, and the seat of government had particular resonance.[42] As Robert W. Barrett

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[40] Serres, *The Parasite*, p. 5.

[41] Because there are no surviving performance records for the Towneley *Shepherds Plays*, we cannot say whether or not they signified in the same way. Still, the explicit references to the topography in and around Wakefield in the *First* and *Second Shepherds*, as well as in *Mactacio Abel* – another biblical drama depicting a rivalry between a tiller and a shepherd probably written by the same playwright – highly suggest that both author and audience had a particular investment in the meaning of emplacement.

[42] A 1545 Star Chamber, Glazier *v.* Rogerson, illustrates the tensions in Tudor Chester's agricultural economy during the enclosure movement. William Glazier had capitalized on the dissolution of Chester's St. Werburgh's Abbey by purchasing one of the abbey's pastures located just beyond Chester's Northgate. He began improving the land and for six years "enjoyed the premises" until his property was beset by an enclosure riot in February of 1545. Glazier issued a complaint to the Star Chamber stressing his need to defend his property from the community in which he lived. Glazier writes that "riotous persons to the number of 400 riotously entered the

has shown, the complex cultural significance of the Chester Cycle's performance sites, such as St. Werburgh's Cathedral and the High Cross, mirrors the interrelation of the city's socio-economic and religious values (to which I would also add the signification of Chester's agro-ecological networks). Following David Mills, Barrett explains that the "very name" of the Pentice Building, the center of Chester government, "inscribes a politics of appropriation: … *appentis* means 'that which appends to a building,' that which is added on. In the Pentice, secular, urban government mediates and manages access to spiritual experience."[43] Similar entanglements of secular and sacred can be found throughout the city. For example, inside Chester's Northgate the market square was framed on one side by the Corn Market and on the other by Chester Cathedral, *née* St. Werburgh's Abbey. All of Chester's performance spaces drew attention to the interlacement of food production with both secular and religious authority: the Pentice, Chester's civic center and court, and the market cross at Chester's most ancient commercial space; the Beast Market beside St. Peter's Church at Watergate; and the Common Hall that doubled as a surplus grain warehouse. It was in these spaces, between market and church, that sixteenth-century Chester's cycle of Whitsun Plays were performed. It follows that these plays were deeply invested in both the material economy and the spirituality of Chester's

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said pasture, and by procurement of William Holcroft cut down and pulled up quykwood, thornes, and other trees growing in the dyches and hedgerows on the E. and S. sides for the defence of the same to the valewe of 10 marks"; Qtd. in Stewart-Brown, *Lancashire and Cheshire Cases*, pp. 102-03.

[43] Barrett, *Against All England*, p. 56. Barrett's account of the palimpsestic nature of urban development in late-medieval Chester closely resembles the composted nature of ecological and theological metaphors I have been describing in this chapter; see, especially, Chapter 2 of *Against All England* on the Whitsun Plays. See also Jean-Christophe Agnew, who argues that the close spatial proximity of marketplaces and marketplace stages to houses of worship is "testimonial to the importance of ceremonial and redistributive gestures to the legitimation of class power and authority"; *Worlds Apart*, p. 26.

citizens.[44] William Newhall, the town clerk, wrote in 1531-32 that Chester performed the Whitsun Plays "not only for the augmentation and increase of the holy and catholick faith of our savior Jesu Christe and to exort the mindes of comon people to good devotion and holsome doctrine therof, but also for the comon welth and prosperity of this citty."[45] Not only did the performances reinforce the audience's communal identification with sites of local cultural significance, the wagons' route through the city also traced an itinerary for both economic and spiritual development. As Barrett puts it, "[l]ocating the Whitsun plays involves more than placing them within a given moment in Tudor history and culture; it requires their situation within the local spaces of Chester as well as the recognition that these spaces inflect performance even as performance shapes them in turn."[46]

The Chester Cycle's pertinence to both the producers and consumers poised at different positions in the foodshed is made explicit in the post-Reformation Banns that would announce a performance of the plays: "By Craftes men and meane men these Pageanntes are playde / And to Commons & Countrymen accustomablye before."[47] These Banns do not suggest symmetry between city and play, but triangulate the asymmetric economic relationship among performers, city residents, and residents of the countryside. The performance of the Chester cycle involved the exchange between Chester's urban consumers and the agricultural producers of Cheshire and environs that already was occurring in the city's marketplaces. With this in mind, we must

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[44] As David Mills and others have pointed out, the dual etymology of *mystery play* from both *mystērium* ("a rite, happening or feeling with religious or mystical significance" [*MED* 1b]) and *ministerium* ("Ministry, office, service" "handicraft, an art," "a guild" [*MED* 2a, 2b, and 2c]) bears out the Whitsun Plays' fusion of material and spiritual concerns. *Recycling the Cycle*, p. 8.

[45] Qtd. in Mills, "'None had the like," p. 4.

[46] Barrett, *Against All England*, p. 81.

[47] Baldwin, Clopper, and Mills, *REED: Cheshire*, p. 243, ll. 21-22.

reinsert the rural pastures into Alexandra F. Johnston's too-neat chiasmus that "the play was the city and the city was the play."[48] In order to examine how the Chester *Shepherds' Play* thinks through the complex semiotics and ecological function of sheep to the Cheshire landscapes, we must investigate the ways in which the Cycle was bound up in broad regional concerns.

Matthew Sergi has recently argued that, of the extant biblical cycles, Chester places the most attention on food, with forty percent of the plays prominently featuring food, drink, or occupations associated with consumption.[49] Following Peter Meredith, Lisa Kiser makes the same point about the Chester Cycle's attention to living animals.[50] I propose that we attend to Chester's animals and its food *together*. Positioned as it was at the intersection of the urban and rural food economies, the marketplace stage is a fine site upon which to consider the process by which living animal becomes consumable meat. As Sergi observes, "The salesmen of the town centre had been selling food for centuries in precisely the spots where Tudd [in the Chester *Shepherds' Play*] yelled out 'hott meate — wee serven yt here'; they had done so before the Corpus Christi movement began, and would continue well through the end of the Whitsun plays."[51] Located between market and church, the performance spaces became sites of confluence where cultural forces and economic forces from the city and from the surrounding region ran together. With each market bell, each mass bell, and each performance of the Shepherds' Plays, the people of Chester assembled to examine the basic material and spiritual concerns of the community's consumers and producers.

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[48] Johnston, "Cycle Drama in the Sixteenth Century," p. 10.

[49] Sergi, "Festive Piety," p. 89.

[50] Kiser, "The Animals in the Chester *Noah's Flood*," pp. 30-31.

[51] Sergi, "Festive Piety," p. 103.

2. Herding, Pastoralism, Counter-pastoralism

The herdsmen's dignity or lack thereof differentiates two traditions of literary shepherds: the pastoral and the counter-pastoral.[52] Some allegorical *pastores* highlight the ways in which the herdsman's humility and dignity transcend the pasture. The bucolic landscapes of pastoral poetry imagine shepherds as figures of simple, humble, naked humanity, at peace with their compliant flocks. Some elegiac shepherds may nostalgically yearn for the greener pastures of yesteryear, but their concerns are generally motivated by something more transcendent than the environmental and economic conditions of labor. By contrast, the counter-pastoral shepherd is never at ease with his flock, as both are mired in the tathed pastures. The sheep of the counter-pastoral Chester and Towneley *Shepherds' Plays* are livelier creatures than the unremarkable flocks of the York, N-Town, and Coventry plays. The Chester and Towneley shepherds spend no time pining for lost loves or friendships because they must respond to the behaviors and actions of sheep.

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[52] I am drawing on Raymond Williams' distinction between "Pastoral" and "Counter-Pastoral." In Williams' account of pastoral poetry and drama, the figure of the shepherd is a "pretender to simplicity" or "an idealised mask, a courtly disguise: a traditionally innocent figure through whom, paradoxically, intrigue can be elaborated." Whereas the pastoral tradition of, say, Herrick's "The Hock-Cart" or Jonson's "To Penshurst," suggests a harmony of "natural and moral economy," the counter-pastoral tradition emphasizes a modern economy out of step with a nostalgic ideal of rural life. As William Empson puts it, "The essential trick of the old pastoral, which was felt to imply a beautiful relation between rich and poor, was to make simple people express strong feelings (felt as the most universal subject, something fundamentally true about everybody) in learned and fashionable language (so that you wrote about the best subject in the best way)." Paul Alpers points out that it would be a gross oversimplification to say that this pastoral trick is "naïve" as he affirms Empson's argument that the "alternative to calling pastoral 'weak' is to say … that 'the pastoral process consists of putting the complex into the simple.'" It may also be admitted that many poems and plays oscillate between the hardships and pleasures of rural life. For our purposes here we may roughly draw a distinction between "pastoral" and "counter-pastoral" as, respectively, texts that praise or idealize the system of production and/or its patrons and texts that commiserate with the laboring class. Williams, *The Country and the City*, pp. 13-34; Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral*, p. 11; Alpers, *What Is Pastoral?*, 8-43.

The urine- and dung-stained laborers of the Shepherds' Plays may not be the stuff of "Lycidas," but they can offer a positive image of labor – especially the assiduous and detail-oriented shepherds' boys – that contrasts with the overly idealized romantic shepherd. These *garcios* can be likened to the figure of the husbandman depicted in sixteenth-century agricultural manuals. Accordingly, in this section, I read John Fitzherbert's *Boke of Husbandry* and Thomas Tusser's *A Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie* alongside the Shepherds' Plays to demonstrate the playwrights' understanding of the ecological complexity of the tathed fields. I argue that the pastoralist's husbandry may be described as a kind of neighborliness to the nonhuman.[53] The husbandman watches, listens, smells, and tastes the ecosystem to which he belongs. He cares for his flock, but he does not care for the ecosystem for its own sake; as a parasite, the husbandman cares about the land because he cannot live without it.

In the counter-pastoral political ecology of the Chester and Towneley *Shepherds' Plays*, the shepherds conspicuously fail to achieve sovereignty or autonomy from the ecosystem. The agricultural laborer is situated within an extensive food web, not positioned in a place of privilege. This position dismays the husbandmen of the Shepherds' Plays as they complain about everything from their wives to the weather. It is evident that the world does not revolve around men. The relationship of shepherd to pasture is coextensive with the flock of sheep he tends and of which he is, in effect, a member. Shepherds are, first and foremost, "sely husbandys / That walkys on the moore" (*TSSP* 14-15). Editors generally gloss the word "sely" as simple, hapless,

[53] The etymological overlap of and difference between "husbandry" and "ecology" is instructive. Although "husband" most directly descends from Old Norse "*húsbóndi*," that is, "master of the household," the Old Norse combines the Old Norse word for "house" - "*hús"* – and the present participle form of the verb "to dwell," "*búandi."* "Ecology" derives its name from the Greek, "*οἶκος"* – "home" or "dwelling." *OED*, "husband, *n*" and "ecology, *n*."

or spiritually blessed. But given the generally pitiful and despairing tone of these monologues, we should also consider other definitions of "sely": "weak, feeble, frail; insignificant, trifling."[54]

If participants in the pastoral economy believed that husbandmen were not just simple and rustic, but also weak and feeble, then they must have understood their relationship to the flock more in terms of abiding the difficult climatic conditions than in mastery over the environment. The plays foreground the challenges of the counter-pastoral ecosystem, leading the shepherds to bemoan the cold wind, rain, and mud that must be endured when they live and work on the moors and wolds.[55] The Towneley *First Shepherds' Play* begins as First Gyb compares these poor herding conditions with the perceived good fortune of the herdsman of a past age:

> Lord, what thay ar weyll
> That hens ar past!
> For thay noght feyll
> Theym to downe cast.
> Here is mekyll vnceyll,
> And long has it last:
> Now in hart, now in heyll,
> Now in weytt, now in blast;
> Now in care,
> Now in comfort agane;
> Now is fayre, now is rane;
> Now in hart full fane,
> And after full sare. (*TFSP* 1-13)

First Gyb claims the dead "that hens are past" belonged to a world that was more hospitable. In *TFSP,* First Gyb's world is one of ceaseless change, one in which peace is difficult to find. Even though he sees that the pasture provides some favorable moments ("Now in hart, now in heyll,"

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[54] *OED*, "Seely, *adj*" and "Silly, *adj* 2a." Cf. *The Wakefield Mystery Plays*, Ed., Martial Rose; *Early English Drama: An Anthology*, Ed., John C. Coldewey; *Medieval and Tudor Drama*, Ed., John Gassner; and *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: Volume 1*, Eds., Stephen Greenblatt, et al.

[55] Harold Fox notes that standards of living were particularly poor in the northern wolds, as the late adoption of three-field system meant that many residents practiced subsistence farming into the fourteenth century. "Wolds," p. 52.

"Now in care, / Now in comfort agane; / Now is fayre"), the bad weather has a disproportionately negative effect on the downtrodden poor, so much so that he describes the whole as a "mekyll vnceyll," that is, a "great misfortune."

The situation for the pastoral laborers in the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play* is much worse. The weather has turned fouler: unlike the *TFSP*, where the weather patterns of the pasture alternate between "fayre" and "rane," the pasture of the *Second Shepherds' Play* is entirely antagonistic to its human inhabitants. *TSSP* opens with a shepherd, Coll, describing the toll winter weather takes on his body.

> Lord, what these weders are cold!
> and I am yll happyd
> I am nerehande dold,
> So long haue I nappyd
> My legys thay fold,
> My fingers ar chappyd
> It is not as I wold,
> For I am all lappyd
> In sorrow.
> In stormes and tempest,
> Now in the eest, now in the west
> Wo is hym has neuer rest
> Mydday nor morrow! (*TSSP* 1-13)

Doubling-down on this description of an inhospitable landscape, another shepherd, Second Gyb, echoes Coll's complaint:

> Lord, thyse weders are spytus
> And the wyndys full kene,
> And the frostys so hydus
> Thay water myn eeyne,
> No ly.
> Now in dry, now in wete,
> Now in snaw, now in slete,
> When my shone freys to my fete
> It is not all esy. (*TSSP* 83-91)

A third shepherd, Daw, later reconfirms the difficult conditions of their labor: "Whoso couthe take hede / And lett the warld pas, / It is euer in drede / And brekyll as glass, / And slythys. / This warld fowre neuer so, / With meruels mo and mo: / Now in weyll, now in wo, / And all thing wrythys" (*TSSP* 175-182). Emphasizing the increasing volatility of a tempestuous living system, Daw's account of the landscape draws attention to the vulnerability experienced on a pasture beset by catastrophic weather. In the next stanza, he describes an environment struck by natural disaster:

> Was neuer syn Noe floode
> Sich floodys seyn,
> Wyndys and randys so rude,
> And stormes so keyn
> Som stamerd, som stod
> In dowte, as I weyn.
> Now God turne all to good!
> I say as I mene,
> For ponder:
> These floodys so thay drowne,
> Both in feldys and in towne,
> And berys all downe;
> And that is a wonder. (*TSSP* 183-95).

Intimations of disenchantment, despair, and disaster pervade the Shepherds' Plays. As Lynn Staley points out, these monologues speak to each shepherd's "loneliness, his sense that he has no control over his immediate environment."[56] Amid the worst flooding the world has seen since the days of Noah, the only thing keeping the shepherds' heads above water is faith in God to "turne all to good."

The shepherds' are so mired in their environment that their bodies blend in with the mud and dung. J.W. Robinson connects the mudstained imagery of the Shepherds' Plays with the

[56] Staley, *The Island Garden*, p. 108.

creation of Adam in Genesis, formed from "the slime of the earth" (Genesis 2:7).[57] Robinson imagines that the *TSSP* opens with Coll lying on the earth, rising from the soil as he declares that he has "nappyd" "so long" (*TSSP* 4): "The sorrows of the Old Testament world are evoked by the first thing the audience sees, an old man rising up out of the mud."[58] By comparison living on the pasture has made *TFSP*'s First Gyb "heuy as a sod" (*TFSP* 31).[59] Muddied and soaked through with rain, the shepherds' bodies are sullied by the earth on which they stand.

FIRST GYB: I am euer elyke,
Wote I neuer what it gars;
Is none in this ryke,
A shepard, farys wars.[60]

JOHN HORNE: Poore men are in the dyke
And oft-tyme mars.
The warld is slyke;
Also helpars
Is none here. (*TFSP* 131-39)

The world is "slyke" (or "such," as editors Martin Stevens and A.C. Cawley gloss the word): humans are helpless beings caught up in the world's miseries. But "slyke" also calls to mind the

[57] Both the Wycliffe Bible and the Douay-Rheims version translate "de limo terrae" as "slime of the earth."

[58] Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, pp. 117-18.

[59] When First Gyb says he is as "heuy as a sod," he compares himself to a thick patch of earth on which grass grows. Turf is substantially heavier when waterlogged. This use of "sod" is one of the earliest recorded in English, supporting a late fifteenth century to mid-sixteenth century date of composition. The *OED* lists no definition of "sod" before 1475.

[60] Cawley and Stevens gloss these two lines to mean "In this kingdom there is none [who is] a shepherd [who] fares worse"; *The Towneley Plays*, p. 2.484n133. This interpretation of "ryke" as "realm" is plausible, but I would argue that "ryke" supposes more nuance than this. Instead of claiming that he fares worse than any other shepherd in all of England, First Gyb claims hardship above other shepherds in the "space of ground over which livestock usually move or graze; pastureland" or the "right of pasture"; *OED*, "raik, 2*n*.1." This sense of "ryke" heightens the regional concerns of the play over its application to the entire kindom.

contemporary homophone "slike," that is, mud, slime, and sludge.[61] The world's "slyke" can be interpreted to mean the same slimy tathed substance from which Adam was created. With this image we may compare John Fitzherbert's view of humanity in his *Boke of Husbandry*: "S. Bernarde sayth, *Homo nihil aliud est, q*uam *sperma fetidum, saccus, stercorum, et esca vermium:* That is to saye, A man is nothynge but stynkynge fylthe, a sacke of dounge, and wormes meate. The whiche sayings wolde be reme*m*bred."[62]

The desolate and hostile ecological conditions of the Shepherd Plays' wild moors and muddy wolds resemble the setting of the messianic prophecy proclaimed in the Book of Isaiah:[63]

> The vois of a crier in desert, Make ye redi the weie of the Lord, make ye riytful the pathis of oure God in wildirnesse. Ech valey schal be enhaunsid, and … the glorie of the Lord schal be schewid, and ech man schal se togidere, that the mouth of the Lord hath spoke. The vois of God, seiynge, Crie thou. And Y seide, What schal Y crie? Ech fleisch is hei, and al the glorie therof is as the flour of the feeld…. Verely the puple is hey; the hey is dried vp, and the flour felle doun; but the word of the Lord dwellith with outen ende. (Isaiah 40:3-8)[64]

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[61] "Sich, *adj*." and "Slike, *n*.," *OED*. Stevens and Cawley gloss "slyke" as a variant of "siche," i.e., "such," which the playwright made to rhyme with "dyke" in Line 135. The passage would thus read, "The world is such [as this]; there is no help here."

[62] Fitzherbert, *The Boke of Husbandry*, p. 66v.

[63] In *TFSP*, Slawpase quotes from Isaiah's messianic prophecy (Cf. Isaiah 11:1) at ll. 491-503 and in *TSSP* Second Gyb restates the same prophecy at ll. 972-984. The relationship between Isaiah and the Nativity is made explicit in other medieval drama as well. Isaiah delivers a prophetic prologue at the start of the Nativity Play in the Coventry *Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant*. The N-Town *Prophets' Play* also stages Isaiah's messianic vision. In the Chester Cycle, the role of messianic prophet falls to Balaam in the Cappers' *Play of Moses and the Law and of Balaack and Balaam*; the Magi later recount the fulfillment of Balaam's prophecy in the Mercers' *Play of the Offering of the Three Kings*. It should also be noted that the Towneley Manuscript contains a Prophets' Play with no mention of Isaiah, but this play is very different in tone, style, and meter from those most frequently ascribed to the Wakefield Master and is very possibly by a different author. My analysis of the language of Isaiah and the *CSP, TFSP*, and *TSSP* is indebted to J.W. Robinson's reading of the shepherds as "criers in the desert." However, Robinson does not explore the ecological implications of the Book of Isaiah's vision. *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 87.

[64] I quote from the Wycliffite Bible because that is the translation Fitzherbert used in his *Boke of Husbandry*, published in 1523, a dozen years before Myles Coverdale's translation of the Book

Like the plays' shepherds, solitary voices who enter the scene in the dark of night, the Book of Isaiah's crier in the wilderness is poignantly situated an unstable ecosystem in which human flesh is equated with feeble grass: "Verely the puple is hey."[65] The Wycliffite translation of the Latin *omnis caro faenum* as "Ech fleisch is hei," that is, hay or animal fodder, suggests that people are constituted of the same stuff as the animals in the field. Nevertheless, humans and sheep will, together, tame the unproductive landscape. Isaiah's ecological vision sees the heaths of Israel much in the same way that the Chester playwright and the Wakefield Master see their environs. As Andrew McRae explicates, the pamphlet debates often cited the Book of Isaiah as an authority *against* enclosure and engrossment and *for* a well-ordered moral economy. But, as McRae points out, what was best for the economy, the land, and the laboring and landowning classes, was a hotly contested issue: "The discourse of [land] improvement not only challenged the orthodoxies of moral economics, but itself erected a powerful new set of values, which would underpin the consolidation of capitalism in both country and city."[66] Although Isaiah 5:8 objects to the engrossment of estates ("Wo unto them that joyne one house to another, and bring one lande so nygh unto another, that the poore can get no grounde, & that ye maye dwel upon the earth alone"), engrossers could also look to Isaiah's promise that "[e]ch valey schal be enhaunsid" as a countervailing argument. By enclosing land and engrossing estates, the agricultural development that occurred across the northern landscapes sought to enhance the

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of Isaiah, the first English translation since the Wycliffite Bible. Tyndale was executed before he finished his translation of the Hebrew Bible.

[65] Beginning with Myles Coverdale's 1535 translation of Isaiah, the same passage in the Latin Vulgate, "omnis caro faenum," was translated as "All flesh is grass." Coverdale's translation deemphasizes the idea that all flesh is animal fodder but grass and hay are synonymous in many husbandry manuals.

[66] McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, p. 18.

productivity of erstwhile common pastures. Just as Isaiah forecasts a divinely sanctioned, improving ecological destiny for the land of Israel, proponents of engrossment and enclosure converted the tillage and common fields of Cheshire and Yorkshire foodsheds into productive (and profitable) pasture.

Following the death of his flock, First Gyb concocts a new plot to bring order to this hostile landscape that threatens his survival:

> My shepe haue I tynde[67]
> By the moren [murrain] full euen;
> Now if hap will grynde,
> God from his heuen
> Send grace!
> To the fare will I me,
> To by shepe, perdé,
> And yit may I multyplyé,
> For all this hard case. (*TFSP* 57-65)

As if writing himself into Isaiah's prophecy, First Gyb, a crier in a supposed desert, resolves to realize the economic potential of the pastoral ecosystem. He will buy more sheep, and the depopulated fields of the West Riding will be reformed into a productive landscape. The aims of pastoral agriculture finds warrant in Isaiah's teleological vision of an untamed landscape made fit for the coming of the messiah. This plan runs into immediate trouble, however when the ploughman John Horne points out a serious obstacle to First Gyb's plan: the land is already being used for tillage! When he encounters First Gyb, John Horne expresses concern that his rival tramples his corn: "How, Gyb, goode morne! / Wheder goys thou? / Thou goys ouer the corne! / Gyb, I say, how!" (*TFSP* 118-21). Upon discovering that First Gyb is on his way to buy sheep, John Horne grows even more concerned about the fate of the common tillage: "Nay, not so! / What, dreme ye or slepe? / Where shuld [the sheep] go? / Here shall thou none kepe" (*TFSP*

[67] "Tine" means to lose; to suffer deprivation of; to cease to have or enjoy. *OED*, "Tine, *v.*".

147-50). John Horne cannot fathom that anyone would prioritize sheep over corn, but First Gyb grows even more insistent, saying "I wyll pasture my fe / Wheresoeuer lykys me; / Here shall thou theym se" (*TFSP* 153-55). They are so far from accord here that when John Horne demands "Not oone shepe-tayll / Shall thou bryng hedyr," First Gyb responds by saying that he will purchase a rather large flock of one hundred sheep (*TFSP* 157-60).

The play exposes central anxieties of rural villages forced to depopulate to expand pasture and brings to the fore the question of who should receive priority in rural communities: humans or sheep. Not only are the economic futures of First Gyb and John at stake, the play also raises the central question of how local communities will be fed and who will suffer the consequences of agricultural development. Such tensions were common as the landscape evolved from the late medieval through the early modern period.[68] As sheep were herded up and down the sheep walks that ran between winter and summer pastures and criss-crossed the landscape from rural estates to market towns, pastoral husbandmen inevitably came into conflict with ploughmen. Nevertheless, despite the competition for tilling and pasturing space, the two types of agriculture depended on each other: the ploughmen depended on tathing and the herdsmen needed pasturage on ploughmen's land following the harvest.[69]

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[68] A hundred sheep would be a medium sized flock. Large flocks in Norfolk had over 2000 head of sheep. Allison, "The Sheep-Corn Husbandry," p. 18. H.A. Eaton has identified the folk-tale of the Madmen of Gotham, in which shepherds argue over an imaginary flock of sheep, as a possible source for the *TFSP*. Stevens and Cawley argue that the tale of the Madmen of Gotham "has a realistic background in the endless disputes over rights of common that are recorded in the manor-court rolls of the period." Eaton, "A Source for the Towneley Prima Pastorum," pp. 265-68; Stevens and Cawley, *The Towneley Plays*, p. 2.485n146.

[69] Allison, "The Sheep-Corn Husbandry," p. 20.

The staging of First Gyb's sheep has been the subject of much critical discussion. Following A.C. Cawley, all readings of the *TFSP* sheep allege that the flock is imaginary.[70] The suggestion that the flock is imaginary originates with the lines in which First Gyb and John Horne argue over their different visions of husbandry practiced on the wold.

JOHN HORNE: What, art thou in ayll?
Longys thou ought-whedir?[71]

FIRST GYB: They shall go, saunce fayll.
Go now, bell-weder!

JOHN HORNE: I say, tyr!

FIRST GYB: I say, tyr, now agane!
I say skyp ouer the plane.

JOHN HORNE: Wold thou neuer so fane,
Tup, I say, whyr!

FIRST GYB: What, wyll thou not yit,
I say, let the shepe go?
Whop!

JOHN HORNE: Abyde yit!

FIRST GYB: Will tho bot so?
Knafe, hens I byd flytt.
As good that thou do,
Or I shall the hytt
On thi pate – lo,
Shall thou reyll!
I say gyf the shepe space. (*TFSP* 161-80)

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[70] Cawley recognizes, however, that the argument between First Gyb and John Horne doubtlessly resembles disagreements between the practitioners of animal agriculture which appear in court records on a regular basis through the late medieval and early modern period; "The Wakefield First Shepherds' Play," p. 114.

[71] Stevens and Cawley gloss Line 158 as "Do you want to go anywhere?"; *The Towneley Plays*, p. 2.485n162. For "ought-whedir," see *OED*, "Anywhither, *adv*."

The linguistic cruxes in this scene are difficult to resolve since it is not clear whether or not First Gyb has already purchased the flock of sheep. Although First Gyb has said that he "go[es] to by shepe" (*TFSP* 146), indicating he has not yet purchased them, the subsequent lines imply that he has already obtained a flock. Scholars who have discussed this scene agree that First Gyb has already purchased a flock, which he leads on stage when he reenters the scene at Line 122; and critics tend to resolve this seeming contradiction – he either has or has not purchased a flock – by supposing that the sheep are a delusion of First Gyb's drunkenness or an imaginative fantasy of upwardly mobility. Robinson claims that John and First Gyb are "foolish": "looking at invisible, because non-existent, physical things … is a ridiculous shadow of divine mysteries to come"[72] Zimbardo says that First Gyb's imaginary flock connects to what she sees as the play's "breaking down and casting out false images of man and the human community…. The first is the illusion of plenty, the flock of imaginary sheep that the first shepherd buys at an imaginary fair, a grace for which he has prayed to God."[73] Like the parasites about which the shepherds complain, the imaginary flock in the Shepherds' Play is often said to be allegorically significant: the sheep are a "metaphor for fallen humanity."[74] Suzanne Speyser claims that only when the herd is understood metaphorically or allegorically does "the imaginary flock acquires significance as well as substance."[75] But the sheep already has significance to all who feed off of her: the lamb who suckles milk; the fluke who makes knots out of the liver; the soil and grasses enriched by manure; the humans who eat the mutton and cheese, wear the wool and leather gloves, and who

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[72] Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, pp. 92-94.

[73] Zimbardo, "A Generic Approach," p. 82

[74] Speyser, "Dramatic Illusion and Sacred Reality," p. 10.

[75] Speyser, "Dramatic Illusion and Sacred Reality," p. 10

write on parchment. None of this is illusory, but Speyser insists that only when we imbue "objects of the real world [such as the play's sheep] with a sacred significance," greater than what "the objects themselves" inherently possess, can they be considered meaningful or have value.

To be sure, it is unlikely that 100 live sheep could occupy the performance area, but the audience would surely be aware of the traffic of sheep through Wakefield and the West Riding. Sheep are not *false images*, but a real presence in the communities of these plays. Returning to these plays' tathed soil may help us better understand the significance of sheep here. That the plays use sheep in a range of ecclesiastic metaphors is undeniable, but critics' attempts to separate the ecclesiastic metaphors from the fleshly presence of sheep in the ecosystem deny the fertile soil from which metaphors originate. A sheep has significance to a broad community of humans and nonhumans without solely being a symbol of Jesus. Spiritual signifance in the Shepherds' Plays depends upon intimate knowledge of sheep, real sheep who urinate and defecate, whose warm breath, milk, skin, and flesh nurture human and nonhuman alike. Speyser's claim that sheep are substance without significance devalues animals far more than anyone working in Yorkshire or Cheshire agricultural enterprise did (or does).

In the absence of real live sheep in the performance space, I believe it is much more likely that First Gyb and John Horne are not addressing "imaginary" when they use the drovers' commands of "tyr," "whyr," and "whop," usually used to direct sheep along a road.[76] Instead, they are addressing each other *as sheep*, as animalized laborers. They call each other "tup" (meaning "ram") and "bell-weder," a male sheep adorned with a bell that allows the shepherd to track his movement. Fighting over a piece of ground, the two rivals use the language of

[76] *OED*, "tyr, *int*.," "whyr, *int*.," and "whop, *v.*2a."

husbandry to herd one another back and forth across the stage. When First Gyb shouts "I say, Tyr!" it is met with equal force: "I say, Tyr, now agane!" (*TFSP* 166-67). The two are left in an irresolvable dialectic, circling around the stage, even as First Gyb threatens to strike John Horne, just as he would urge an animal forward: "I shall the hytt / On thi pate" (*TFSP* 177-78).[77] In this agricultural system where both ploughmen and shepherds are striving to gain an economic foothold and ecological stability amid foul weather, First Gyb and John Horne have lost (or, indeed, never possessed) a sense of strong boundaries between human and animal, laborer and commodity.

We see a similar abdication of human privilege in the Chester *Shepherds' Play*. Trowle, the shepherds' servant boy in that play, recognizes that on bleak pasture depopulated of humans, he has more in common with the dogs and sheep than men: "Good lord, look on mee / and my flocke here as the fed have. / On this wold walke wee; / are no men here, that noe waye. / All is playne, perdee; / therefore, sheepe, we mon goe. / Noe better may bee / of beast that blood and bonne have. / Wotte I not, day or night, / necessaryes that to mee beelongen" (*CSP* 165-74). The first-person plural *we*, repeated twice in this stanza, refers not to an interpersonal but an interspecies communion. Trowle has a greater bond to the sheep who walk ahead of him than he does with the play's other shepherds. Christina Fitzgerald notes that Trowle's main companion is

[77] The animalization of First Gyb and John Horne has a more explicit parallel in the *CSP* in the scene where Harvye greets Tudd: "Welcome be thow, well fayre wedder. / Tudd, will we shape us to some solace?" (*CSP* 99-100). A similar joke is made about Tudd and his mother: "Call him Tudd, Tybbys sonne, / and then wyll the shrewe come; / for in good fayth yt is his wonne / to love well his damys name" (*CSP* 65-59). As Clopper explains, "This minor detail suggests that Tudd himself is a lamb in search of his dam, his mother"; "Chester and Other English," p. 90. In *TSSP*, further animal insults can be found: Second Gyb compares his wife to "Sely Copyle, oure hen, / Both to and fro / She kakyls; / Bot begyn she to crok, / To groyne or to clok, / Wo is hym is oure cok, / For he is in the shakyls" *(TSSP* 98-104). He also describes her "as great as a whall, / She has a gallon of gall" (*TSSP* 153-154). Even worse than these animal insults, Slawpase chastises Iak Garcio as the excrement of animals. He dismisses Iak from their presence as a "torde" (*TFSP* 278), a tathe-stained blight on their gathering.

his dog Dottynolle, with whom he shares a similar attitude toward the world: "Yf any man come mee bye / and would wytt which waye beste were, / my legge I lifte up wheras I lye / and wishe him the waye easte and west where," says Trowle (*CSP* 180-83).[78] Trowle's transgressive gesture conflates the rural laborer and working dog. Trowle imagines a scenario in which a man, perhaps another tenant farmer relocating to the city, asks him for directions ("which waye beste were"). By responding to the slightest intrusion with urination, he claims the land for his own in the manner of a dog marking his territory.

The character of Trowle has parallels to the servant boy Iak Garcio in the *TFSP*: both are moralizing figures who rebuke their masters as bestial fools more concerned with fleshly self-interest than the practice of good husbandry. Like Trowle, Iak Garcio collapses the distinction between human and nonhuman animals. As he spitefully tells his masters, livestock are more valuable than the shepherds who care for them:

> Now God gyf you care,
> Foles all sam!
> Sagh I neuer none so fare
> But the foles of Gotham.
> Wo is hir that yow bare!
> Youre syre and youre dam,
> Had she broght furth an hare,
> A shepe, or a lam,
> Had bene well.
> Of all the foles I can tell,
> From heuen vnto hell,
> Ye thre bere the bell;
> God gyf you vnceyll [misfortune]! (*TFSP* 257-69).

This stanza reinforces the idea that the shepherds are insulting each other with ovine epithets, not referring to a flock of imaginary sheep. Iak's masters have become intransigent bell-wethers (*TFSP* 268). All the better if they actually were sheep, says Iak. If their "syre" and "dam" had

[78] Fitzgerald, *The Drama of Masculinity*, pp. 103-04.

brought forth a "shepe, or a lam" then the shepherd boy might have something worth caring for, since livestock is worth at least as much as the lives of poor laborers. As Lisa J. Kiser argues, these scenes denote the proximity of human and animal in a highly stratified economy:

> The humans are 'becoming animal' and the animals are gaining humanity…. [In *TSSP*] the shepherds are so constrained and hardened by the condition of their poverty, that they see themselves as animals being dominated and tamed by the 'gentlery-men.'[79]

Kiser's essay brings to light the important difference between pastoralism interested in ecological commensality and agriculture driven by a profit motive. These plays stress how the rise of agricultural enterprise actually "impoverished and animalized its humans, making them seem to be worth less than the multiplying flocks of sheep it privileged."[80]

The zoomorphic or anthropomorphic equivalence of shepherd and sheep is, according to Fitzherbert's *Boke of Husbandry*, a function of human's ethological imperative. That is, Fitzherbert claims that working in the fields is as natural to humans as grazing is to sheep: "*Sit ista question.* This is the question, whervnto is euerye manne ordeyned? And as Job saythe, *Homo nascitur ad laborem, sicut auis ad volandum:* That is to saye, a man is ordeyned and borne to do labour, as a bird is ordeyned to flye."[81] Thus, the zoomorphic condition of the husbandman is not entirely debasing. As we will see, the commensality among the shepherds is preceded by acts of husbandry. John Fitzherbert and Thomas Tusser speak of neighborliness between humans, but it is always coupled with good husbandry of nonhumans.[82]

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[79] Kiser, "Mak's Heirs," p. 352-53.

[80] Kiser, "Mak's Heirs," p. 358.

[81] Fitzherbert, *The Boke of Husbandry*, Front Matter, p. A1r. Cf. the Wycliffite translation of Job 5:7.

[82] Tusser describes sharing food with the animals tended to by the husbandmen: "Serue first out thy rie strawe, then wheate & then pease: / then otestrawe then barley, then hay if thou please. /

Husbandry, as an ethics of care, means balancing interests across the ecosystem: care for the soil, the grass, the sheep, and the human laborers. (The liver flukes get a raw deal in this political ecology but they still thrive regardless.) By practicing attentiveness to the world, the husbandman can improve the productivity between humans and nonhumans on the pasture. Michel Serres is relevant here: "we cannot claim to be subjects in the midst of a world of objects, for our behavior resembles that of other insects, other rodents or poisonous plants. Not separated, but plunged, immersed in Biogea, in cousin company."[83] Rather than establishing themselves as exceptional beings, the husbandmen in the Shepherds' Plays and the husbandry manuals both lead and follow their "cousin" companions. The shepherds are not just guardians, but members of the flock. Resolved to acknowledge and accept their dependence on the landscape and on the animals whom they serve (rather than the animals that serve humans), each of the Shepherds' Plays turns to a scene of human/nonhuman commensality: the feast.

3. Dining and Manging, Hospitality and Hostility

An analysis of human/food animal relations in the Chester and Townley Shepherds' Plays offers a basis for an ethics of hospitality and an effective starting point for organzing the pastoral agriculture of Cheshire and Yorkshire around an equitable distribution of food. The commensality of the feast scenes invites comparison to Jacques Derrida's thesis on "eating well": "The infinitely metonymical question on the subject of 'one must eat well' must be nourishing not only for me, for a 'self,' which would thus eat badly; it must be *shared*, as you might put it, and not only in language. 'One must eat well' does not mean above all taking in and

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But serue them with haye, while thy straw stoouer [fodder] last: / they loue no more strawe, they had rather fast." *A Hundreth Good Pointes*, stanzas 36-41, 5v-6r.

[83] Serres, *Biogea*, p. 107.

grasping in itself, but *learning* and *giving* to eat, learning-to-give-the-other-to-eat."[84] As Derrida describes it, the hospitality through which food is shared with others, even (or especially) strangers, is a sacred obligation in each of the Abrahamic faiths. By opening up the table to others, the host not only nourishes individuals but whole communities. In the ecological perspective of the Shepherds' Plays, however, food takes on an even broader significance. In a pastoral food web where all flesh is hay, these plays stage a metamorphic chain of interspecies commensality: the sheep ingest grass, humans ingest sheep, and humans are "fed" back into the earth through the processes of burial, manuring, and tathing. The acts of eating central to these plays – sheep "grassyd to the kne," flukes turning livers into knots, humans devoured in dykes – represent the Cheshire and Yorkshire pastures as a universal table where the *hôte*, both guest and host in French, must both give and receive. As the plays move from scene to scene, we see how, according to Michel Serres, the parasitic "feast changes hosts."[85] In one scene the sheep can be eating grass in the field; in the next moment the shepherds are eating sheep from their board. The host and guest are tied together in this parasitic relation of eating and dying, even as the larger organism, the multispecies flock, goes on living. Hence, for the agricultural producers in the Shepherds' Plays, eating becomes a way to discover their place in the ecosystem, an abasement that becomes a resacralization of the ecological whole over and above self-interest.

The reward for laboring on the moors, wolds, and pastures is a meal. A meal is, after all, the proper outcome for the process of turning animals into meat. Thomas Tusser's *An Hundreth*

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[84] Derrida's translators include a note on Derrida's phrase usage of the phrase "Il faut bien manger" in this passage. "Il faut bien manger," which was also the original title of the interview, "can be read in at least two ways: 'one must eat well' or 'everyone has to eat.' In addition, when the adverb 'bien' is nominalized as 'le Bien,' there results the sense of 'eating the Good.'" Derrida, "Eating Well,", pp. 282, 475n15.

[85] Serres, *The Parasite*, p. 62.

Pointes of Husbandrie celebrates a grand feast that brings together a panoply of laborers working across the foodshed:

> With some folke on sundayes, their tables to reke:
> and halfe the weke after, their diners to seke.
> At no tyme to much, but haue alway ynough:
> is housholdly fare, and the guyse of the plough.
> For what shal it profet, ynough to prouide:
> and then haue it spoiled, or filched a side.
> ….
> Good laboring threchers, are worthy to eate:
> Good husbandly ploughmen, deserueth their meate.
> Good huswifnely huswiues, that let for no rest.
> should eate when they list, and should drinke of the best.
> Beware raskabilia, slouthfull to wurke:
> proloiners and filchers, that loue for to lurke.
> And cherishe well willers, that serueth they need:
> take time, to thy Tutor, God send the good spede. (2v-3r)

Tusser's threshers, ploughmen, and housewives need none of Iak or Trowle's chastising. Good husbandmen earn their meat if they are obedient to what Tusser sees as the proper ethology of human laborers that I analyzed in the previous section.

The Chester and Towneley *Shepherds' Plays* also invoke a wide range of agricultural producers through their representation of feast scenes. Featuring foodstuffs from across the region, these feasts are indicative of the vast interconnectedness of the late medieval local food economy. In *CSP*, Harvye brings "butter that bought was in Blacon," and Tudd provides "ale of Halton" and a "jannock of Lancastershyre" (*CSP* 115, 117, 120). Blacon, Halton, and Lancastershire represent the sizable economic foodshed that feeds into Chester's markets.[86] John

[86] The geographical references in the Chester *Shepherds' Play*, including the Welsh rivers mentioned in Hankeyn's opening monologue, might also refer to the sizable foodshed controlled by the Stanley family. The Stanleys were stewards of a royal manor in Halton and were the largest private landowners in Lancashire and in Flintshire. See, Zevin, *The Life of Edward Stanley*, pp. 139-62 and Barry Coward, *The Stanleys,* pp. 11, 22. This representation of the foodshed should also be understood within the context of its remaking, from the late medieval to

Horne's "good ayll of Hely" (*TFSP* 354) is the only food item in *TFSP* with a similarly local appellation, but the variety and quantity of food that the shepherds consume give some hint of the food producers, animals, plants, good weather, and good soil on which the foodshed depends.[87] But even Trowle notes that this interconnectedness seems a kind of contamination. When Harvye invites Trowle to "come eate of this sowse," the shepherds' boy refuses: "Nay the dyrte is soe deepe, / stopped therin for to steepe; / and the grubbes theron do creepe / at whom thy howse" (*CSP* 213-17). The tathed pasture is at the very heart of the meal. The foodshed weaves together not only the communities of Cheshire, but the species that compete for meat.[88]

The Towneley *First Shepherds* and the Chester *Shepherds* are linked by their representation of these feasts of local food, but the shepherds' boy Trowle's refusal to eat with the other shepherds calls into question their moral corruption and the physical corruption of the agricultural system.[89] Indeed, it is precisely by staging scenes of unrestrained eating that the

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the early modern period, as macroeconomic market forces supplanted the close-circuited microeconomies of manorial farms; Williamson, *Shaping Medieval Landscapes*, pp. 13-18.

[87] Stevens and Cawley suggest "Hely" is likely the West Riding township of Healey, a few miles from Wakefield. *Towneley Plays*, p. 2.488n352.

[88] Compare Trowle's grubbed meat with an item on the menu for the *TFSP* feast: "moton / Of an ewe that was roton" nonetheless is "[g]ood mete for a gloton" (*TFSP* 319-20). This corrupted flesh perhaps comes from an animal killed in the same infestation of sheep-rot that took the lives of First Gyb's flock.

[89] The feast scenes (the two in *TFSP* and *CSP* and the attempted feast in *TSSP*) have received more critical attention than any other aspect of these plays. Although critics have written extensively about social and religious transgressions in *CSP* and the *TFSP* and the plot to eat the stolen wether in *TSSP*, the feasts' ecological and economic contexts have been overlooked or underappreciated. A notable and welcome exception is Kiser's "Mak's Heirs." See Adams, "The Egregious Feasts"; Cawley, "The 'Grotesque' Feast"; Clopper, "English drama," p. 748; Grennen, "Tudd, Tibbys Sonne, and Trowle the Trewe"; Kolve, *The Play Called Corpus Christi*, pp. 156-65; Mills, *Recycling the Cycle*, pp. 175-77; Lepow, *Enacting the Sacrament*, pp. 82-96; Morgan, "High Fraud"; Travis, *Dramatic Design in the Chester Cycle*, pp. 108-28; Travis, "The Semiotics of Christ's Body," pp. 76-77.

plays critique inequalities in the food economy. Trowle (like Iak Garcio in *TFSP*) refuses the remainders of the shepherds' feast, angrily objecting to being forced to work while the others rest: "nay, yee lades, sett I not by yee. / For you have I manye a fowle fit. / Thow fowle filth, though thow flytt, I defye thee" (*CSP* 194-97). At the bottom of the shepherds' pecking order, the boy Trowle angrily objects at having to work while the others rest and sneers at the other shepherds with contempt. Tellingly, while Trowle labors among the animals, he identifies the leisurely shepherds as the true "fowle filth," as if it is their working habits or the manner in which they eat that pollutes the board.

Amid the air of festivity and religious feasting concurrent with performances of medieval drama, these plays walk a fine between celebrating commensality and criticizing gluttony. The Chester playwright taps into the sacred discourse of holy feasts, such as Corpus Christi and Christmas, while also negatively depicting the voracity of the shepherds' Christmas Eve supper. Beginning the meal, Hankeyn declares: "My sotchell to shake out / to sheppardes am I not ashamed. / And this tonge pared rownd aboute / with my teeth yt shalbe atamed" (*CSP* 133-36). Although, as Christina Fitzgerald demonstrates, the *CSP* feast scene is part of the shepherds' fantasy of a "self-contained, self-sustaining, male community," they risk over doing it.[90] A meal that is ecologically and economically sustainable, yet also spiritually and corporeally satisfying, depends on striking a balance between dearth and excess that nowhere seems evident in their menu. Although Hankeyn, Harvye, and Tudd are limited by "whot meate I had to my hyer" (*CSP* 118), they are eager to spoil themselves:

> HARVYE: Welcome be thow, well fayre wedder.
> Tudd, will we shape us to some solace?
>
> TUDD: Solace would best be seene

[90] Fitzgerald, *The Drama of Masculinity*, p. 103.

> that we shape us to our supper;
> for meate and drinke,
> to eych deede is most dere. (*CSP* 99-104)

Lacking solace, the shepherds immoderately indulge in meat and drink. The shepherds delight in the flesh; Harvye and Tudd proclaim that "in good meate ther is mych glee" and "[s]uch lickour makes men to live" (*CSP* 112, 147). Included in the feast are "greene cheese that will greese your cheekes," "a sheepes head sowsed in ale," and "sowre milke" (*CSP* 116, 121, 123), foodstuffs that emphasize pleasurable tastes, sensations, and textures. Travis calls the feast "a rapid ocular parade ... [giving] a sense of corporeal chaos and rampant slaughter."[91] So much for sustainability.

The *TFSP* feast has a similar parade of flesh. The shepherds' menu includes head cheese from a boar, mustard, a well-sauced cow's foot, a cured sow leg, two blood puddings, liver, boiled and roasted oxtails, mincemeat pie, two pig snouts, a hare, a leg of goose, more pork, roast partridge, and a calf-liver in verjuice (*TFSP* 300-45). Even if we assume some of the cuts of meat come from the same animal, the meal still includes ten different species of plants and animals, all of whom are bound together in the space of the board. In *TFSP*, Slawpase first describes the board they set up as a "mangere" or feeding trough, claiming that he will "fare full yll" at this meal (*TFSP* 290-91). The figuration of their meal as feeding (an activity fit for livestock) as opposed to dining (the polite commensality proper to humans) signals the collapse of human/animal hierarchy at the pastoral board, a point further emphasized when John Horne suggests that they "let vs go foder / Oure mompyns."[92] The word "mangyng" nicely captures the

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[91] Travis, "The Semiotics of Christ's Body," p. 77.

[92] *OED*, "Fodder, *v*.," "To give fodder to (cattle); to feed *with* (something) as fodder. In early use *gen.* To feed."

problem: on the one hand, "to maunge" means "to eat; to devour greedily and noisily,"[93] a sense underscored by the shepherds' refusal to use "sponys [spoons]" (*TFSP* 333); on the other hand, "mangyng" clearly anticipates the shepherds' adoration of the infant Jesus in the manger at the end of the play. We are dealing less with a dichotomy between fleshly and spiritual meals than we are with defining the boundary between gluttonous excess and religious feast.

Like the "imaginary" herding scene in the *TFSP*, the feast scenes have generally been understood as mimed performances imbued with allegorical meanings demonstrating the transience of the material world. A.C. Cawley was the first to argue that the *TFSP* feast is "surely make believe"; subsequent readings all follow his and do not challenge any of the assumptions that he held about the provenance of the play or its performance space. Margery Morgan calls the feast a "sham meal," but her suggestion of a scene that is "supposedly produced by magic" seems to be rooted in the assumption that the actors did not use any props.[94] If, however, we consider the culture of festivity associated with Shepherds' Plays and the immanence of the pastoral ecosystems surrounding the communities that produced these plays, we would have to reconsider this critical commonplace. As Matthew Sergi has shown, the assumptions we make about staging and provenance produce radically different interpretations of a dramatic scene. If we assume the feast is imaginary or uses foodstuffs made from artificial plaster of paris, then this

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[93] *OED*, "Maunge, *v.*"

[94] Cawley, "The Wakefield First Shepherds' Play," p. 116; Morgan, "High Fraud," p. 679; See also, Nitecki, "The Sacred Elements of the Secular Feast," pp. 229-33; Zimbardo, "A Generic Approach," p. 82; and Kiser, "Mak's Heirs," p. 355. Comparing the flock of sheep to the "imaginary" feast, Kiser claims a "mordant irony … displayed by the feasting scene in the *Prima Pastorum*, for the shepherds are engaged in an imaginary feast (they have no food), whereas the sheep they are caring for are extremely well-fed, alluded to as happily grazing away in the background. A world where sheep have food but humans do not is upside-down indeed." While I am deeply sympathetic to Kiser's efforts to contextualize the Shepherds' Plays within the ecology of the sixteenth century, I would note that keeping animals healthy and well-fed is essential to the meat production that keeps human bellies full.

"false food" constrasts neatly with the real presence of the infant Jesus in the manger.[95] But this sharp contrast between the sacred and the profane – a bogus banquet juxtaposed with the incarnate God – falls apart once we take into account what we have learned about the performance of medieval drama since Cawley's initial proposition of an imaginary feast.[96] Although we do not know whether performance featured real food, we do know that eating and commensality were vital parts of the festive celebrations at which drama was performed (always during feasting times, not fasting times), and that food and ale were sold in the streets of Chester to the audience watching the performances.[97] We also know that fleshly food is not necessarily symbolic of the Eucharist. As Sergi contends,

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[95] Sergi, "Festive Piety," p. 97. Robinson speculates about the use of plaster of paris props in *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 97.

[96] In a persuasive analysis, Matthew Sergi has made the strongest case for the Chester Cycle's staging of real food. One of the reasons literary scholars have assumed the food in *CSP* and *TFSP* was imaginary is its seeming unstageability; the *CSP* feast, "as a playable piece of drama, to be repeated at four wagon stations … is a prop master's nightmare." But, as Sergi observes, the *REED* records from 1575 show that the Painters and Glaziers' food orders for Whitsuntide exactly line up with the menu described in the *Shepherds' Play*; Sergi, "Festive Piety," pp. 92-97.

[97] Peter Meredith and John Tailby have documented extensive use of real food in the performances of religious drama on the continent. Sometimes plays stage a small amount of food in order to give the impression of a larger feast, but some of the records and stage directions indicate much more elaborate scenes. The properties list for the 1501 Mons Cycle details the use of mutton for the Three Kings' meal, mutton, veal, and chicken pie for the Marriage at Cana, carp and pike for the Feeding of the Five Thousand, roast lamb for the Last Supper, and, in a wonderful demonstration of interspecies commensality, hay for the donkeys and horses to eat while on stage. The 1545 Lucerne Passion Play is gruesomely specific: "They eat the Easter lamb…. The Savior cuts up (*zerleyts*) the Easter lamb…. They are to stand girt (*gegurttet*), have stave in their hands, and eat the lamb and leave nothing but the bones." More shockingly, the Semur Passion Play indicates that the Jewish priests are to slaughter a lamb and then cook another lamb already prepared on a spitroast: "Here Godibert and Malferas kill the lamb, and let them have another lamb roasted on a spit (*assatum in quodem veru*)." Several Last Supper Plays call for bread, wine, and a salad course. Meredith and Tailby, *Staging Religious Drama*, pp. 125-27.

> The body of Christ was always important to late medieval lay piety, and the Chester Shepherds' bread and sheep-meat might invoke it if they were taken on their own, but unless it is assumed *a priori* that any onstage eating would automatically bring the Eucharist to mind — particularly unlikely when so much offstage eating and drinking was underway — the Shepherds' cheese, onions, and pickled pig parts can hardly be understood as sacramental symbols.[98]

The staging of plays in markets and banquet halls lends extra credence to the meaning of food, not as illusions of the material world or ethereal religious symbols, but as a manifest substance essential to the everyday lives of the people who produced and watched these plays.

Instead of demonizing festive culture amid a time of festive celebration – Christmastide, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, et alia – the *Shepherds' Plays* celebrate the judicious enjoyment of food and the production of community that commensality enables.[99] Nonetheless, the moralizing interjections of Trowle and Iak Garcio draw our attention to the unequal distribution of food in the laboring class.Trowle's refusal to take part in the *CSP* feast marks his rejection of the restructured food system that privileges consumption over commensal fellowship. Trowle's diatribe against the "parade" of body parts described by Travis hinges on this very point: "Fye on your loynes and your liverye, / your liverastes, livers, and longes, / your sose, your sowse, your saverraye / your sittinge withowt any songes!" (*CSP* 202-05). Trowle's verbal attack on the feast quickly turns into a physical attack on the shepherds' own bodies: "Both your backes here to mee bendes; / for all your boastes I hould you to bad. / Hould your arses and your hinder loynes; / then hope I to have as I have hadd" (*CSP* 270-73). With a convincing show of strength, the most impoverished shepherd demonstrates that consolation is not to be found in commodities purchased at the market (or stolen from their wives' pantries), but in song, charity, and

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[98] Sergi, "Festive Piety," p. 101.

[99] According to Sergi, the plays perform a sacralizing function for Chester's food and hospitality industry, especially evident in Cooks' play of *The Harrowing of Hell*. Sergi, "Festive Piety," p. 126.

hospitality. Just before he throws Hankeyn to the ground, Trowle declares, "And this, syrs, here to solace. / Hankyn, sheoparde, shame thee I shall" (*CSP* 254-55). The shaming of Hankeyn, Harvye, and Tudd aims to reinstate the social order and moral economy championed by the Book of Isaiah, More, Fitzherbert, and Tusser. Trowle joins those who rebuke the immoral appetites of shepherds and agricultural producers large and small.

Trowle and *TFSP*'s Iak's calls for restraint seem to work: the antagonism gives way to a more charitable mood in each play. In both texts there are suggestions that the actors may share food with the audience. In *TFSP*, when the shepherds cannot finish their meal, they debate what will be done with the leftovers:

JOHN HORNE: Furth let it rest;
We will not brall.

FIRST GYB: Then wold I we fest,
This mete who shall
Into panyere kest.

SLAWPASE: Syrs, herys!
For oure saules let vs do
Poore men gyf it to.

FIRST GYB: Geder vp, lo, lo
Ye hungré begers frerys! (*TFSP* 403-412)

Robinson believes First Gyb's "Lo, lo" and "ye" are directed at the audience and suggests the shepherd might throw some food to the audience. This is conceivable, but it is also possible that the audience might be directed to their own half-eaten plates.[100] This is a call to look at the meal anew, without brawling and without suspicion of one's messmates. As Slawpase has come to realize, there is an essential connection between caring for his own soul and caring for the bodies

[100] Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 101.

of his poor and hungry neighbors.[101] The paradoxes of "sacred gluttony" and "festive piety" Sergi describes can be at least partially resolved through thanksgiving and through a broad and inclusive commensality for human and nonhuman alike.[102] Turning our attention to the full diversity of the meal, to the cheese and onions as well as to the lamb and bread, not only allows us to grant the feast's significance in excess of its theological symbolism, but also puts us on a path toward understanding the ecological significance of the banquet. The shepherds' flesh is made up of an entire foodshed's worth of plants and animals that have been killed and harvested.

In the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play*, the playwright differently investigates whether there is enough food to go around. As I noted above, the weather conditions of *TSSP* are harsher and the shepherds are more impoverished than they are in the *TFSP*. Instead of First Gyb's flock of one hundred sheep, these shepherds have only fifteen sheep in their possession (*TSSP* 656-659).[103] They have no magic sack of food and no bottomless bottle of ale. The threat of sheep-rustlers is supplanted by Mak, an actual thief with "an yll noys / Of stelyng of shepe" (*TSSP* 324-25). The *TSSP* tests how far the shepherds are willing to extend charity and hospitality to hostile others, particularly amid economic and ecological conditions that are more adverse than those of the *TFSP*.

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[101] Alternatively, since performances of religious drama were often associated with sponsored banquets or other festivity, the actors may be acknowledging that the audience *is eating* before, during, and after the performance: "What is drynk withoue mete? / Gett mete, get, / And sett vs a borde; / Then may we go dyne, / Oure bellys to fyll" (*TFSP* 279-84).

[102] Sergi, "Festive Piety," p. 126.

[103] Coll says, "I haue soght with my dogys / All Horbery shrogys, / And of xv hogys / Fond I bot oone ewe" (*TSSP* 656-659). According to the *OED*, "Hog, *n.* II4a," can mean "A young sheep from the time it is weaned until its first shearing; (also) a yearling sheep." Cawley and Stevens gloss this passage to mean that the shepherds found the young lambs and their dam, but not their sire, i.e., the wether.

Scholarly assessments often align Mak with allegorical figures of vice, noting the degree to which he is associated with the devil and pagan magic. But, as with the imaginary feasts and flocks, to allegorize Mak is to ignore his status as a representative of the real conditions of the pasture. I am not saying that the Wakefield Master takes the side of Mak or wants us to see Mak in a positive light. Mak *does* lie when he says he is "trew as steyll," but there is no reason to believe that he is faking all the symptoms of wasting away that are characteristic of humans on the barren heath:

> Bot a sekeness I feyll
> That haldys me full haytt:
> My belly farys not weyll;
> Is it out of astate.
> …..
> Therfor
> Full sor am I and yll.
> If I stande stone-styll,
> I ete not an nedyll
> Thys moneth and more. (*TSSP* 326-38)

It is Mak's desperate condition that exuberantly leads him to claim that the mere prospect of a hardy meal brings him more joy than he has known in a long time: "This twelmonthe was I not so fayn / Of oone shepe-mete" (*TSSP* 467-68).[104]

Mak's complaint is notable particularly for its contrast with Daw's own complaints about his need to eat. Daw, the youngest of the three shepherds, has worked hard; but when he meets Coll and Second Gyb he is disappointed to learn there are only scraps of dry bread left to eat:

> Sich seruandys as I,
> That swettys and swynkys,
> Etys oure brede full dry,
> And that me forthynkys.
> We ar oft weytt and wery

[104] That Daw searches Mak's cottage and cannot find any meat inside supports the position that Mak is not lying about his hunger: "I can fynde no flesh, / Hard nor nesh, / Salt nor fresh" (*TSSP* 785-787).

> When master-men wynkys,
> Yit commys full lately
> Both dyners and drynkys;
> Bot nately
> Both oure dame and oure syre,
> When we haue ryn in the myre,
> Thay can nyp at oure hyre,
> And pay vs full lately. *(TSSP* 222-34)

The Wakefield Master may be drawing a contrast here between Daw and Mak as representatives of the deserving and undeserving poor, respectively. Confronted with the dearth of food, Daw simply expresses resignation: "Wherto shuld I threpe?" he asks.[105] Caught in a system that provides little recourse against the injustices of unequal food distribution, Daw resolves to "do a lytyll, syr, / And emang euer lake, / For yit lay my soper / Neuer on my stomake / In feyldys. / With my staf can I lepe" (*TSSP* 239-245). Daw sarcastically claims that because he does not receive a full meal as a reward for hard work, his body is light enough to leap and play in the fields. A proportionate reward for the difficulty of his labors would make him sedentary, but wage inequality encourages idleness and frivolity at work. Thus, to read Mak's idleness as immoral, but not Daw's, misses the point of structural inequality in the pastoral economy. Furthermore, the suggestion that Mak simply needs to work harder to earn his food, instead of stealing it, oversimplifies the degree of misery present on the pasture and so oversimplies the different food needs of Daw, a healthy, young, childless shepherd boy, and Mak, a sick, older, unemployed man with a large family to support.

Mak's distress may therefore be on Daw's mind when he invites the vagrant into their circle. Even though he knows Mak's reputation for falsehood – he later admits that he thought Mak "was lapt / In a wolfe-skyn" all along (*TSSP* 531-32) – Daw is the most hospitable of the

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[105] *OED*, "Threap, *v.* 2a," means "To contend in words; to inveigh against; to argue, dispute; to quarrel, bicker, disagree; to wrange about terms, haggle."

three shepherds: "Bot, Mak, com heder! Betwene / Shall thou lyg downe." (*TSSP* 378-79). Mak abuses this hospitality to satisfy his own hunger and concocts a plan to steal, shear, kill, and eat a "fatt shepe" with a "good flese" from the shepherds' flock and thereby "mendys oure chere / From sorow" (*TSSP* 420-23). Although Daw's work in the fields may qualify him as one of the "deserving poor," it is arguable that Mak's hardships are greater, considering the size of his family.[106] Even if his plot to eat the wether is not a basis for sustainable food security, it nevertheless can be seen as a *necessary* immediate action, especially if we take seriously the hunger Mak professes.[107]

To what extent, then, does Mak's desperate hunger exculpate him? Do we believe Mak when he says, "I am worthy my mete" (*TSSP* 448-51)?[108] And does *TSSP*'s depiction of Mak and Daw challenge Tusser and Fitzherbert's ethological and ethical claims that some laborers are more deserving of food, health, and wellbeing than others? Because of the interdependent economic and ecological structures of agricultural production, the play implicitly asks whether or

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[106] We do have to decide whether or not we believe Mak's claims about the size of his family. We never see any of Mak's human children in the play, but he and Gyll have a cradle in their cottage and Gyll tells Mak that she has been mending clothes. For the purposes of this chapter, I will be operating under the assumption that Mak and Gyll do have many children.

[107] Scholars have not taken Mak's hunger seriously. The sheep he steals becomes the central "prop" of the play, but in this creature Robinson only sees "confusion of the worldly value of a real sheep, a fat ram, with the ineffable value of the figurative Lamb [of God]." Robinson suggests that Mak is "foolish" to eat the sheep, because his wool can provide income from year-to-year, but if the alternative to satisfying his hunger now is a starving family, then Mak might not make it until shearing season. Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 134, 113-14. See also, Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice," p. 504.

[108] For his own part, Mak doesn't couch his own argument for why he deserves to eat meat in his common humanity, much less his common animality. Instead, he boasts that he is worthy of his meat because he can "earn" more food stealing than the shepherds who "swynk and swette / All the long day" (*TSSP* 450-51).

not we can confidently say that one shepherd deserves to eat and live any more than any other shepherd, vagrant, lamb, grub, or liver fluke.

Even Kiser's innovative and modestly sympathetic reading of Mak does not take his hunger seriously. She depends on a questionable dichotomy when she argues that the body of the stolen weather "is an economic site, not an affective one, with each of its body parts desired by somebody for some purpose."[109] The sheep is an economic site, to be sure, but Mak's hunger, desperation, fear, joy, eagerness, and salivation *are* affective states that are aroused by the presence of the sheep's body. Considering human kinship with the sheep within the multispecies flock, we cannot reduce the relationship the shepherds have with the sheep to their economic utility. They are members of a parasitic family bound to each other both economically, ecologically, and emotionally. Mak seriously cares about killing and eating the sheep so that he may survive. This is not a decision that he makes lightly. Mak and Gyll fully know and fear the death penalty which they may face (*TSSP* 452-64).[110]

Hunger places Mak's family in the abject position of parasitic animals who can only attend to their needs for food, shelter, and reproduction. His language is itself symptomatic of human/livestock hybridity. He uses porcine insults to describe his wife, Gyll, as a dirty, lazy animal who "Lyys walteryng – by the roode – / By the fyere, lo!" (*TSSP* 341-342).[111] He also claims to have a "howse full of brude" (*TSSP* 343), a family that closely resembles the

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[109] Kiser, "Mak's Heirs," p. 355.

[110] Three references to hanging thieves and Coll's brief consideration of suicide – "Thus lyf we in payne, / Anger, and wo, / By nyght and day. / He must haue if he langyd, / If I shuld forgang it; / I were better be hangyd" (*TSSP* 47-52) – are all suggestive of the particular harshness of *TSSP*'s setting when compared to those of other Shepherds' Plays.

[111] The *OED* defines "walter, *v.*" as "To roll to and fro, move from side to side; to tumble or toss about; to lie sprawling on the ground, in mire, etc." Mak's description suggests the wallowing of a pig.

multispecies flock we have seen wandering across Yorkshire and Cheshire's wolds. Mak laments how his flock of parasitic children (not unlike a voracious infestation of liver flukes) keeps him in a state of constant need: "Bot were I now more gracyus / And rychere be far, / I were eten out of howse / And of harbar" (*TSSP* 352-55). Later, when Mak lies about a dream he has had about Gyll giving birth, he extends the metaphor of his family as multispecies flock:

> I thought Gyll began to crok
> And trauell full sad,
> Wel-ner at the first cok,
> Of a yong lad
> For to mend oure flok.
> Then be I neuer glad;
> I haue tow on my rok
> More than euer I had.
> A, my heede!
> A house full of yong tharmes,
> The dewill knok out thare harness!
> Wo is hym has many barnes,
> And thereto lytyll brede. (*TSSP* 556-68)

Language such as "crok" and "flok" destabilizes the human status of Mak's family, a point emphasized when his children metynomically become mere "tharmes" ("guts") and he calls on the devil to bash in their "harness" ("brains").[112] When Mak chooses sheep as metaphor for his family, he draws attention to the manner in which the pastoral economy drives the rural poor to starvation. His increasing "flock" has given him more "tow on [his] rok" (that is, "cloth fibers on his distaff or spindle") than he can handle. Mak subtly suggests that an increase in bairns, and also perhaps an increase in barns or sheep-cotes, has led to a decrease in wheat and bread.[113] In

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[112] "Croak," a word typically used to describe the guttural vocalization of certain animals, also recalls Second Gyb's earlier comparison of his wife to his old hen, "Sely Copyle": "begyn she to crok, / To groyne or to clok" (*TSSP* 101-02).

[113] TSSP mostly uses "barne" to mean "child," but Gyll uses the word once to give the impression that her cottage is like a stable: "Outt, thefys, fro my barne!" (*TSSP* 764).

so doing, *TSSP* slyly reconfigures the *TFSP* debate between the shepherd First Gyb and the ploughman John Horne about sheep-corn husbandry.

Mak and Gyll's plot to kill and eat the wether further hybridizes their family when they conscript the sheep to play the part of a human child:

> GYLL: A good bowrde haue I spied,
> Syn thou can none:
> Here shall we hym hyde,
> To thay be gone,
> In my credyll. Abyde!
> Lett me alone,
> And I shall lyg beside
> In chylbed, and grone.
>
> MAK: Thou, red,
> And I shall say thou was light
> Of a knaue-childe this nyght.
>
> GYLL: Now well is me day bright
> That euer was I bred! (*TSSP* 478-90)

Knowing the shepherds will come to search their cottage for the "fat wedir," Mak and Gyll deploy their theatrical talents (the audience has already witnessed Mak's attempts to disguise himself and fake a southern accent). Using the cradle, childbed, and well-timed groans, they will stage a scene they hope will pull the wool over the eyes of the three shepherds. Gyll quickly assumes the part of stage manager for this "fals cast":

> GYLL: Com and make redy all,
> And syng by thyn oone;
> Syng 'lullay' thou shall,
> For I must grone,
> And cry out by the wall
> On Mary and Iohn
> For sore.
> Syng 'lullay' on fast
> When thou heris at the last,
> And bot I play a fals cast
> Trust me no more. (*TSSP* 636-46)

The theatricality of this moment, in which a member of one species acts the part of a member of another species, contributes to the hybridization of human and animal. This dramatic metamorphosis of sheep to human relates the practice of husbandry to the rituals of theater. As Michel Serres supposes, if the parasitic husbandman is a man,

> he is an actor. He goes on stage, sets up the scenery, invents theater, and imposes theater. He is all the faces on the screen…. He is social technique and knows how to play at the mastery of men and at their domestication.

But, Serres continues, if the parasitic husbandman "is an animal, he is a servant."[114] The drama of domestication binds human and sheep through the shepherds' impersonation of roles within the flock. Part of the function of husbandry is to play the role of mother, father, midwife, brother, and neighbor to animals of another species; he suckles lambs, he mates ewe and ram, he births newborns, he drives them along the road, he lives with them in the field or beside them in the sheepcote.[115] Despite the theatricality of ritual slaughter and celebratory feast, in which the human proclaims that he is the master and the animal the servant, the logic of parasitism maintains that the relationship is actually reversed. It is the husbandman who tends to the needs of the animal. The shepherd kneels before the wether and washes his feet (or hooves).[116] The theatricality of the husbandman, the practitioner of ecology and executor of the the parasitic process that transforms the animal into meat, results in a metamorphosis in which master takes the place of servant. This is a transubstantiation of human and animal.

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[114] Serres, *The Parasite*, p. 64.

[115] Cf. Touchstone's claim that shepherds play the "bawd to a bell-wether, and … betray a she-lamb of a twelve-month to a crooked-pated old cuckoldly ram, out of all reasonable match" (*AYLI* 3.2.80-82).

[116] On the importance of maintaining hoof health, treatment of foot diseases, and washing sheep, see Fitzherbert, *The Boke of Husbandry*, pp. 31r-34r.

While commentators have described the cradle play as a parody of Eucharistic theology, it is also a mockery of animal husbandry.[117] When Mak and Gyll disguise the wether and place him in the empty cradle, their actions recalls Fitzherbert's advice "To make an ewe to loue her lambe." Should a lamb die while its dam still has "moche mylke," Fitzherbert says the husbandman should:

> fley that lambe, and tye the skynne vpon an other lambes backe, that hath a sory damme, with lyttell mylke, and put the good ewe and that lambe together in the penne, and in one houre she wyll loue that lambe; & than mayst thou take thy sory weyke ewe awaye, and put her in an other place: and by this meanes thou mayste fortune to saue her lyfe, and the lambes bothe.[118]

Mak and Gyll attempt a similar act of transubstantiation. Initially, Mak wishes the wether "were flayn" so that he may "well ete" (*TSSP* 465-66). But ultimately, instead of dressing the wether as a lamb for an ovine step-parent, they dress him as a human child for his human step-parents. A blanket lovingly replaces the woolly coat: "Wyll ye se how thay swedyll / His foure feytt in the medyll?" (*TSSP* 864-65).[119] Mak and Gyll swaddle the lost wether in order to costume him so he may play a part in their staged scene. In the labor of husbandman and housewife exists the dynamic relationship of anthropomorphosis and zoomorphosis inherent to the structure of the multispecies flock.

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[117] A great deal has been written on Eucharistic parody in *TSSP*. See, especially, Sinanoglou, "Christ Child as Sacrifice."

[118] Fitzherbert, *The Boke of Husbandry*, pp. 27r-27v.

[119] The swaddling of the sheep and the costuming of the animal-actor has a clear incarnational register as well. In her discussion of Margery Kempe, Gail McMurray Gibson notes, "[Jesus's swaddling] cloth's significance lies in its substitution for an abstract theological concept – Mary as the mother who clothes the Logos in fleshly mortality – of an extremely concrete image for the Incarnation mystery"; Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion*, p. 53.

When the shepherds come knocking at his cottage door, Mak feigns the role of good neighbor inquiring about their troubles. The lost wether's body is, after all, an affective as well as an economic site for the shepherds, too:

> MAK: Why, syr, alys you oght bot goode?
>
> DAW: Yee, oure shepe Þat we get
> Ar stollyn as thay yode;
> Oure los is grette. (*TSSP* 729-32)

Their despair at having lost one of their fifteen sheep is on par with Mak's desperation, but we are sympathetic to the shepherds because of their desire to save a member of their own flock, even if they are saving him for their own consumption. Despite their flourishes of mock heroism – Coll, Second Gyb, and Daw refuse food ("Shall I neuer ete brede"), alcohol ("Nor drynk in my heede"), and rest ("Shall I neuer slepe one nyght"), until the lost wether is restored to his proper place (*TSSP* 675, 677, 684) – we should understand the distress of both the shepherds and Mak and Gyll as completely real and legitimate. That is, we should understand that they all with good reason value sheep as much as they value their fellow humans. In light of the essential role of sheep in the ecological vision of Isaiah, the food economy, and religious symbolism, Mak's claim that "Any lord myght hym haue, / This chyld, to his son" (*TSSP* 801-02) does not ring hollow. The play is not predicated on Mak and Gyll feigning hardship; instead, Mak and Gyll comically recreate just how far a truly desperate family might go for a decent meal in an unjust landscape.

If the Chester *Shepherds' Play* and Towneley *First Shepherds' Play* center on the dynamic meaning of the meal, the *Second Shepherds' Play* focuses on the sheep himself, this living creature who is not yet food. When the other shepherds come looking for the missing

sheep, they begin to examine the body of this unusual "hornyd lad" (*TSSP* 867). It is the presence of a sheep that causes the shepherds' suspicions of Mak to grow:

> DAW: Whik catell bot this,
> Tame nor wylde,
> None, as haue I blys,
> As lowed [loud] as he smylde [smelled].
>
> GYLL: No, so God me blys
> And gyf me ioy of my chylde!
>
> COLL: We haue markyd amys;
> I hold vs begyld. (*TSSP* 790-97)

Daw's deictic indication of "this" baby clues us in to the material presence of the wether as the slow-witted shepherds slowly realize the "child" is not human. First, Daw is struck by the stench of the child: no cattle smells as "lowed" or as strong as this baby. Gyll quickly objects to this examination, but Daw picks up the half-tame, half-wild sheep-cattle-child and notes that "he pepys" (*TSSP* 839). The young shepherd asks permission to touch the child: "Gyf me lefe hym to kys / And lyft vp the clowtt" (*TSSP* 842-43). Shocked by the peculiar sight of the sheep-child's nonhuman face, he exclaims,"What the dewill is this? / He has a long snowte!" The shepherds note that the sheep-child "is markyd amys" and they "know hym by the eere-marke" and his broken nose (*TSSP* 844-45, 881-84). Finally, the shepherds have their epiphany: "Ill-spon weft, iwys, / Ay commys foull owte. / Ay so! / He is lyke to oure shepe!" (*TSSP* 842-52).[120] The shepherds practice pastoral care for their flock through a careful close reading of the sheep's body. The stolen wether communicates his presence on the stage in his own way through sound, smell, and shape. The sheep might also bleat, "a sound not too far removed from a baby's

[120] The reference to the sheep-child's "ill-spun weft" brings to mind both the image of the poor husbandry and poor clothmaking of Mak and Gyll, but also furthers the comparison between the sheep-child and Jesus, for whom there is a whole range of religious iconography that represents the Virgin Mary "spinning" Jesus's garment of flesh in her womb; Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion*, pp. 159-66.

cry."[121] The sheep is not an inert object, not a prop; his vitality as an actor on the stage influences the action of the plot.

The desire for this lost wether brings into conflict two multispecies flocks: that of Mak and Gyll and their brood and that of three shepherds and their fifteen ewes. The competing affections of the humans for the sheep hinges on a question of kinship: which parasite belongs to this host? Mak still insists on his genealogical relation to the fat wether:

> MAK: Peasse, byd I. What!
> Lett be youre fare!
> I am he that hym gatt,
> And yond woman hym bare.
>
> COLL: What dewill shall be hatt? –
> Mak? Lo, God, Makys ayre [heir]! (*TSSP* 868-74)

Mak and Gyll claim that this miracle child is the result of an elf's magic inevitably evokes the Holy Family. So, too, the shepherds scoff at an interspecies family that is as strange as one made up of gods and humans.

According to Catholic theology, through the miracle of transubstantiation the material substance of God is substituted for the Eucharistic bread. This miracle has a double irony in the play. Once the shepherds confront Mak and Gyll over the obvious fact that Mak has stolen their sheep and dressed him up as a human child, Gyll fakes righteous indignation: "A, my medyll! / I pray to God so mylde, / If euer I you begyld, / That I ete this chylde / That lygys in this credyll" (*TSSP* 772-776). Gyll's threat that she would eat her own son parodies the Eucharist. Mak pretends to plead with his wife: "Peasse, woman, for Godys payn, / And cry not so! / Thou spyllys thy brane / And makys me full wo" (*TSSP* 777-780). But, as the audience knows, she and Mak actually *do* plan to eat the wether. Their child *is* noble food, but not the *agnus dei* – Mak's

[121] Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 134.

heir, their secular host, is an unnamed wether from the pastures between Wakefield and Horbury. This child will be eaten one way or another – either at the hungry hands of Mak and Gyll or by whichever customer eventually buys his flesh at the market.

In the plot to eat the stolen wether, the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play* features what could be – depending on the adventurousness of the production – a living, bleating, breathing sheep.[122] My reading of this scene assumes that the *TSSP* did use a live sheep, since other options seem implausible in terms of sixteenth-century stagecraft. There are records of the use of live sheep in contemporary continental drama and there is no known example of the kind of plush doll stage property some modern productions have used.[123] A swaddled yearling could make for both a manageable stage presence and a source of unscripted comedy. The presence of a live sheep would individuate this wether from a flock of metaphors. The multispecies flock is structured in such a way that no single life is essential for the continuation of a flock as a whole, but ultimately each sheep who belongs to the flock is unique and irreplaceable. The lost wether cannot be exchanged for another; and the sheep is irreducible to an allegorical reading of his body; to his significance to the regional wool economy; and to Isaiah's ecological vision for

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[122] Kiser cites Meredith, "'Make the Asse to Speake," pp. 65–66. The *REED*: *Chester* documents include guild accounts that substantiate the use of live animals on stage. See Kiser, "The Animals in Chester's *Noah's Play*," p. 44n79. Pamela King notes indoor Latin plays in the late medieval church were known to make use of live animals such as doves; King, "Playing Pentecost in York and Chester," pp. 63 and 72n11. Some twentieth-century productions have used live dogs in the Shepherds' Plays. At a *Second Shepherds' Play* performance in 1907 at Leeds University Union on February 8, the "shepherds had a magnificent collie' dog (not called for in the script) to keep them company"; Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, pp. 2-3. Additionally, Harold Mantell's *Early English Drama* (1975), a collection of filmed stagings produced for Mantell's Films for the Humanities documentary series, includes a production of *TSSP* that uses a live sheep.

[123] There are records of wooden donkeys and horses, but it is difficult to imagine how such a stiff prop would work for the staging of intimacy swaddling entails. Meredith and Tailby, *Staging Religious Drama*, pp. 117-122.

untamed heaths transformed into productive pasture. He is not a shadow of the ultimate sheep, the *Agnus Dei*, but his own entity. The lost wether is first alive, possessed of his own life. He is only subsequently a metaphorical representation of broader concerns.

From every direction – shepherd, landlord, tathed grass and corn, pseudotuberculitic bacteria and liver fluke – the sheep's body is subject to the interplay of metaphors, meaning, and value that give shape to the sheep's body – real *or* imagined. Analysis of this creature exposes the insufficiency of any single metaphor and the inability of any ideology to totalize the meaning of a wether. The playwright, the actors, and play's sponsors are not solely responsible for the wether's liveliness; he is at least as much an agent of organic creation. The sheep's body – as a simultaneously linguistic and material construction – is both figuratively and literally a composite, adulterated, and permeable thing. Viewing the sheep from an anthropocentric perspective transforms the sheep into a synecdoche, a commodity, or a utilitarian metaphor, a shadow of an animal. Attention to the complexity of the sheep's body, the unknowability of the sheep's being, acknowledges that the sheep is significant to his ecosystem in many mysterious ways and encourages us to view the sheep on stage as something more than a vessel for human signification.

4. Betwixt the Beasts in the Manger

This chapter has focused on rethinking the relationship between spiritual and material. I have sought to secularize the biblical aspects of the plays by putting the *Agnus Dei* into relation with its earthly ecology. At the same time, I have sought to resacralize the economic aspects of the plays by bringing the lost wethers and imaginary sheep back into the fold as meaningful and valued members of the multispecies flock that constitutes sixteenth-century agrarian society. While many critics have argued that the manger scenes that conclude each of the Chester and

Towneley *Shepherds' Plays* starkly contrast the earthly concerns of the Shepherds with the eternal salvation promised by the Nativity, I argue these scenes provide the clearest demonstration of the hypostatic union of material and spiritual concerns. [124] The Christian theology of sixteenth-century culture celebrates the hypostatic union of the word made flesh at Christmastide; it rejoices in the resacralization of flesh.

The contrast between the Shepherds' Plays' secular feasts and manger scenes does not represent a conflict between the material and the spiritual, but between good commensality and bad. Opposed to the pastoral economy's antagonistic competition for meat is the sacred feast's collaborative, but no less meaty, communion. Thomas Tusser's husbandry manual demonstrates how at Christmastide good neighbors welcome others to the table. Drawing a clear connection between the spirit of Christmas hospitality and the practice of good husbandry, Tusser correlates a well ordered, moral economy with a festive abundance of food and pleasure:

> Get Iuye and hull, woman deck vp thyne house:
> an take this same brawne, for to seeth and to souse.
> Prouide vs good chere, for thou knowst the old guise:
> olde customes, that good be, let no man despise.
> At Christmas be mery, and thanke god of all:
> and feast thy pore neighbours, the great with the small,
> yea al the yere long, haue an ete to the poore:
> and go shall sende luck, to kepe open thy doore.
> Good fruite and good plenty, doth well in thy loft:
> then lay for an orchard, and cherishe it oft.
> The profet is mickell, the pleasure is mutch:
> at pleasure with profet, few wise men will grutch.
> For plantes and for flockes, lay afore hande to cast:
> but set or remoue them, while twelue tide doe last.
> Set one from another, full twenty fote square:
> the better and greater, they yerely will bare. (Stanzas 42-45, 6v)

[124] For example, Zimbardo argues that the *TSSP* contrasts Daw's desire to "cryb" (i.e., to eat) at the feast with Jesus's crib – "the true crib laid in the manger – the Eucharistic promise made real." Zimbardo, "A Generic Approach," p. 83.

With its language of profit and plenty, this poem fits right into Tusser's financial promise to those who buy his book: follow his points of husbandry and a good harvest will follow! But the spirit of charity, the practice of "feast[ing] thy pore neighbours," regardless of their economic status, is also an invitation to be *with* one's community, to share material bounty and material hardships, and to embrace the difficulties and pleasures of rural life.

As food production evolved over the course of the sixteenth century, the religious obligations of both landlords and laborers to be good neighbors emerges as a recurrent theme in land use debates.[125] This bond between landlord and tenant parallels the relationship between human and animal. As we see in the feast scenes in the *CSP* and *TFSP*, the cold depths of winter tempt people to use more food than they can spare in order to ameliorate present hardships. But Tusser presents as an alternative vision a responsible balance between dearth and debauched excess:

> When Christmas is done, kepe not Christmastime still:
> be mindefull of rering, and loth for to kill.
> For then what thou recut, thou need not to dout:
> will double thy gaine, ere the yere come about. (Stanza 46, 6v-7r)

Tusser's command to be "loth for to kill" is reinforced by a cautionary lesson. If the husbandman "[b]e wilfull to kill, and unskilfull to store," Tusser warns that he will "sone giue vp houskeping longe any more" (Stanza 46, 6v).[126] In contrast to the eagerness of Mak's animalistic hunger in

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[125] Andrew McRae quotes as an example a 1553 prayer entitled "For Landlordes" that is heavily influenced by Isaiah's invective against engrossment. The prayer pleads that landlords "maye be content, with that that is sufficient, and not joyne house to house, nor couple lande to lande, to the impovryshment of other, but so behave them selves in letting out theyr tenementes, lands, and pastures"; *God Speed the Plough*, pp. 39-40.

[126] The motivation for Tusser is always anthropocentric and is always centered on profit, but it is worth pointing out that humane treatment, population management (through gelding and killing some members of large litters), and resource management all factor into Tusser's profit motive. One healthy animal is better than three starvelings, he argues. Mothers deserve the most care, because their ability to rear their young is essential for the operation of animal agriculture: "Thy

TSSP, Tusser's husbandman must loathe slaughter if he wishes to maintain the herd. If Mak had killed the shepherds' only ram, the flock would peter out and vanish. The husbandman cannot simply live in the moment, but must incline toward the principles of sustainability.

As the husbandman gains knowledge of his livestock over the course of the agricultural calendar year, he produces a healthier flock and better meat. Instead of an anonymous and gluttonous relation between food and consumer, Tusser's husbandry stresses its foundations in closeness to animals, involvement in herding and slaughter, and a diet of moderation:

> Who both by his calues, and his lambes will be knowne:
> may well kill a neate, and a shepe of his owne.
> And he that will rere vp, a pig in his house:
> shall eate sweter bakon, and cheaper fed sowse.
> But eat up thy veale, pig, and lambe being troth:
> and twice in a weeke, go to bed without broth.
> As that man that pas not, but sell away sell:
> shall neuer kepe good house, where euer he dwell. (stanzas 58-59, 8r)

Tusser also emphasizes the difficulty of balancing economic self-interest, limited resources, and care for sheep. The husbandman must measure the satisfaction of human desire against the needs of animals. Thus, during the Lammastide dairying season, Tusser advises the husbandman to:

> milke not to long:
> for hardnes make pouerty, scabbed among.
> To milke and to folde [cattle], is much to require:
> except thou haue pasture, to fill their desire.
> But nights being short and such hede thou mayst take:
> not hurting their bodies, much profit to make. (stanzas 73-74, 10v)

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sowes great with fare, that come best for to rere: / loke dayly thou seest them, and count them full dere. / For that time the losse, of one fare of thy sowe: / is greater, then losse of two calues of thy kowe. / A kow good of milk, big of bulke, halye and sounde: / is yerely for profet, as good as a pounde. / And yet by the yere haue I proued ere now: / as good to the purse, is a sow as a kow. / Kepe one and kepe both, so thou maist if thou wilt: / then all shall be saued, and nothing be spilt. / kepe two beafe and one kow, and liue at thine ease: / and no time for need, by they meate but thou please"; Tusser, *One Hundred Pointes*, Stanzas 59-60, pp. 7v-8r.

Animal welfare plays a central role in *Hundreth Pointes of Husbandrie*: "hard" treatment of sheep and dairy cows makes for an impoverished herdsman. As animals are prepared for their place of prominence at holy feasts, Tusser's interests in animal welfare are not necessarily founded entirely on profit motive; rather, they are rooted in the idea of husbandry as a kind of neighborliness to and basic respect for the nonhuman. The religious tenor of Tusser's manual (and that of Fitzherbert's) suggests that the end goal of animal husbandry is not gluttony, but *eating well* in a Derridean sense.

The ethical treatment of food animals is therefore implicated in this idea of "eating well." By emphasizing commensality among sheep and parasites, the continuity of blood and bone among sheep and shepherds, and the possibility of deep affection for the wether who is Mak's unlikely cross-species heir, the Chester and Towneley playwrights open the door to an ethics of hospitality that extends beyond human-to-human relationships. Working alongside the disciplinary framework of critical animal studies, Jacques Derrida conducted a series of seminars in the 1990s devoted to human responsibilities to diverse others in plural societies. Derrida rejected the idea that "universal brotherhood" is limited to humanity, as it is in Emmanuel Levinas' ethics. Hospitality, Derrida argued*, "must, would have to,* open itself to an other that is not mine, my *hôte*, my other, not even my neighbor or my brother, perhaps an 'animal.'"[127] In the Shepherds' plays, both human and animal find themselves opening themselves to another and genuflecting before the stranger in the cradle in the Nativity scene that concludes each play. The adoration of the holy child is a moment of sacred hospitality that promises to rasacralize the meal. There is communion as human and animal alike kneel before the manger. The food chain

[127] Derrida responds to Levinas's theory of hospitality and religion as laid out in *Totality and Infinity* and *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence* in Derrida, "Hospitality" and Derrida and Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality*, pp. 140-142.

of producer and consumer is no longer unidirectional, but a sacred exchange, a giving of gifts and a receiving of the host.[128]

In Derrida's seminars on hospitality, the figure of the *hôte* acknowledges the distribution of responsibility among all the participants gathered at the meal. In these plays, no position of *a priori* ecological privilege is awarded to any member of the multispecies flock. Implicit in Derrida's account is the counterintuitive suggestion that the heterotrophic meal – the violent incorporation of another's body into one's own – is a hospitable occasion. An ethics of hospitality must accept as an ecological principle that food production and consumption are necessarily violent. Every heterotroph, every human and nonhuman animal is a *hôte*, one who eats and eventually is eaten at the table or by the grave: nothing eats if nothing dies. As Derrida observes, "The moral question is thus not, nor has it ever been: should one eat or not eat, eat this and not that, the living or the nonliving, man or animal, but since *one must* eat in any case and it is and tastes good to eat, and since there's no other definition of the good [*du bien*], *how* for goodness' sake should one *eat well* [*bien manger*]?"[129]

This question of how to eat well is particularly significant within the context of Isaiah's messianic prophecy and its promise of a resacralized pastoral economy. Many scholars who see an upward trajectory toward salvation in these three plays, have noted that the prophesized arrival of the infant Jesus, hailed as "foyde and floure" (*TSSP* 1039), supplants the sheep stolen by Mak.[130] In the manger, the interchangeability of humans and sheep reaches its apotheosis.

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[128] This theme of hospitality and welcoming is a central theme in the Nativity as a whole. See also, the plays of the Three Kings in Chester, York, N-Town, Towneley, and the Coventry *Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant*.

[129] Derrida, "Eating Well," p. 282.

[130] I.e., both nutritive food, spiritual food, and a term for a young child. *MED*, "Fode, *n* 1" and "Fode, *n* 2." Robinson points out that the York *Play of the Magi* is even more explicit on this

Placed in the manger "betwix two bestys" (*TSSP* 932), an ox and an ass in traditional iconography, Jesus simultaneously undergoes both the anthropomorphic transformation of God to Human and the zoomorphic transformation of Good Shepherd to *Agnus Dei*.[131]

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point: "Hayll! foode þat they folke / fully may fede" (l. 135); Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, pp. 33-34. If the actors in the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play* used a living, breathing, bleating wether in Mak and Gyll's "barne" (*TSSP* 764), they could juxtapose him with the probable use of a living, breathing, crying human child standing in for the infant Jesus in Mary's barn.

[131] There is no mention of Jesus being laid between two beasts in Luke. This iconography comes from the prophets, most especially Isaiah 1:3: "An ox knew his lord, and an ass knew the cratch of his lord; but Israel knew not me, and my people understood not." On Good Shepherds and Lambs of God, see John 10 and John 1, respectively. The York *Nativity* refers to the tradition of the animals breathing on the infant Jesus to keep him warm, reminiscent of William Marshall's description of tathing:

JOSEPH: O Marie, beholde thes beestis myld,

They make loving in ther manere
As thei wer men.

Forsothe it semes wele be ther chere

Thare Lorde thei ken.

MARIA: Ther Lorde thai kenne, that wate I wele,

They worshippe hym with myght and mayne.

The wedir is colde, as ye may feele,

To halde hym warme thei are full fayne

With thare warme breth,

And oondis on hym, is noght to layne,

To warm hym with. (ll. 122-33)

By staging this fulfillment of biblical prophecy, the Shepherds' Plays call on their audiences to recognize what Isaiah had envisioned as the future of agriculture: a just and moral economy governed by sacred responsibilities. According to Isaiah's prophecy, this *Agnus Dei* will bring the wild, untamed heath into ecological order. As Jesus is laid betwixt two beasts and before the adoring shepherds, humans and animals alike are subordinated to a higher authority. In place of a tangled web of competing heterotrophic desires, the messiah will give the landscape a new teleological purpose and unified direction. The Eucharistic trope of "dwelling" convenes a new ecological order through the interconnectedness of the sacrament. As Jesus says in the Gospel of John: "Whosoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood, will dwell in me and I in him. And therefore I will go to the place from which I came" (John 6:54). The breaking of bread and the sharing of wine is defined as a sacred act of co-constitution.

The sudden joy of the incarnation in the Shepherds' Plays disperses all prior concerns regarding wives, work, wages, weather, and wethers – and particularly the heterotrophic need to eat. Now on the path to righteousness, *CSP*'s Harvye and *TFSP*'s Slawpase renounce gluttony by surrendering stage properties they very probably used in the feast scenes.[132] Harvye surrenders

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The York Corpus Christi Plays, Ed., Clifford Davidson.

[132] If Robinson is correct that *TFSP*'s First Gyb's gift of a coffer is in fact a dicing box, then that gift can also be seen as a renunciation of vice (*TFSP* 672). All Trowle has to give is a "payre of [his] wyves ould hose" (*CSP* 791) – perhaps as a way of renouncing one of the misogynist complaints about wives or perhaps a reference to the *Josefhosen*, that is, the stockings of Joseph which some traditions maintain were used to swaddle the infant Jesus. See Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion*, p. 58. Other scholars have written extensively about the religious symbolism of the gifts in the three plays: a bob of cherries (the blood of Jesus), a bird (the Holy Spirit), balls (the *globus cruciger*). My point is that it would take exegetical gymnastics to turn all of the gifts into religious symbols. Four additional shepherds' boys in *CSP* offer another bottle, a hood, a pipe, and a nuthook; these could have been used as props during the shepherds' complaints, feast, or musical interlude. See Clopper, "Chester and Other English," p. 91; Kroll, "The Towneley and Chester Plays of the Shepherds," p. 340; Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice," pp. 505-506.

his drinking flask upon which "hanges a spoone / for to eat thy pottage at noone, / as I myselfe full oftetymes have donne. / With hart I praye thee to take yt" (*CSP* 572-75). *TFSP*'s Slawpase offers the infant Jesus the undrainable bottle of alcohol the shepherds shared at their feast: "It is an old byword, / 'It is a good bowrde / For to drynk of a gowrde' – / It holdys a mett potell" (*TFSP* 695-98). By giving up the spoon and bottle, Harvye and Slawpase imply that their hunger and thirst have also disappeared. The other shepherds' offerings to Jesus are so laughably simple that their poverty becomes humorous, but these other gifts seem to represent simple earthly things about which the shepherds complained: the bell that Hankeyn offers is perhaps borrowed from his bell-wether; Tudd surrenders his cap, perhaps alluding to complaints about the weather. The humorousness of these gifts indemnifies poverty as a quality of rural producers: shepherds should not be status-seekers in pursuit of material wealth, but they should be, as Thomas More would have it, poor, meek, and tame. Their oaths to Mary serve as exemplary promises to live clean and humble lives that will set the standard for the resacralization of pastoral husbandry. Jesus has liberated the shepherds from petty concerns such as hunger, disease, and harsh weather.

In contrast with the hostility of pulling apart animal bodies, sharing the common sight of Jesus's body brings the shepherds together. A desire to consume yields to a desire to love. As Trowle says, "Solace nowe to see this / byldes in my brest blys: / never after to do amys, / thinge that him loth ys" (*CSP* 492-95). In the Chester *Shepherds' Play*, especially, the mouth is literally transformed from an organ of violence to an organ of love: "I read wee us agree / for our mysdeedes amendes to make for soe nowe will I," says a conciliatory Trowle, who then embraces Hankeyn: "For aye, / ever, and alwayse, / this world I fully refuse, / my mysse to amend with monys. / Turne to thy fellowes and kys" (*CSP* 677-80). The need to eat is obviated

by the arrival of God: the manger marks the end of the parasitic chain. The sheep prey on the grass, the liver flukes and humans compete for sheep, and on and on – but everything has a parasitic relation to God.

Now that humans and animals have been repositioned in the new ecological order, the Shepherds' Plays – as in the Gospel of Luke – uses agricultural imagery to give these icons of pastoral labor a new significance. In the Gospel of Luke, the stable, barn, or sheep-cote that shelters Jesus and Mary serves as a site of communion and a site of adoration. Through the representation of the feed-trough or manger, already a site of the commensality between species, the plays stage a site of exchange between human, animal, and divine.[133] The manger scenes reclaim land and agricultural structures from the harsh, parasitic landscape.

When *CSP*'s Trowle decides to become an anchorite in his closing lines, the play asks its audience to think about the relationship between land enclosure and spiritual enclosure in anchorholds, which was by then an archaic practice. Rotha Mary Clay's history of English anchorholds unapologetically mourns the loss of the eremitic tradition, "swept away by the flood which carried off all that was in any way connected with monasticism."[134] Clay cites as examples agriculture's replacement of cells, monasteries, churches, and graveyards with barns, pastures, prisons, and military barracks.[135]

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[133] Robinson notes that "board" was a synonym for "altar": "There the animals of Christ are fed … in this manger in the species of bread and wine is the true body and blood of Christ"; Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 100. See also, Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice," p. 496-97.

[134] Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, p. 191.

[135] According to Clay's records, a woman named Agnes Booth or Agnes Shepherd was known to have been the last anchoress in the Lancashire-Cheshire region; she was enclosed in a cell in Garstang in 1493. The cell stood upon land owned by Cockersand Abbey which was eventually sold off following the Dissolution in 1539; Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, pp. 104, 191-92.

A wide variety of literature depicts this drastic reconfiguration of the pastoral landscape in the sixteenth century. The Kentish ballad "Now a Dayes" (ca. 1520) reflects the coeval spiritual and agricultural unrest of the early sixteenth century:

> The townes go down, *the* land decayes;
> Off cornefeyleds, playne layes;
> Gret men makithe now a days
> A shepecott in the church.
> The places *that* we Right holy call,
> Ordeyned ffor christyan buriall
> Off them to make an ox stall
> thes men be wonders wyse.
> Co*m*mons to close and kepe;
> Poor folk for bred [to] cry & wepe;
> Towns pulled downe to pastur shepe:
> this ys the new gyse![136]

Even before the Henrician reformation officially dissolved many of the Church's rural holdings, economic policies were already leading to the redevelopoment of many spiritual sites, transforming graveyards into agricultural buildings. Sacred spaces were enclosed not for anchorites but for *sheep*. But this threat of upheaval is ameliorated for the husbandmen of the Shepherds' Plays when they meet their messiah. In the barn, the *CSP* shepherds first see "Marye, / and Jesus Christ fast bye / lapped in haye" (*CSP* 481-83).[137] At the center of the barn is a "cratch" (*CSP* 491), that is, a "rack or crib to hold fodder for horses and cattle in a stable or cowshed."[138] As Jesus lies in the manger between two beasts, Isaiah's vision begins to take hold. In contrast to "Now a Dayes," the Shepherds' Plays do not propose tearing down the ox stalls

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[136] "Now A Dayes," ll. 157-68.

[137] Franciscan tradition holds that "the hay from that manger was found to be a panacea for man and beast, restoring many sufferers to health"; Qtd. in Sinanoglou, "The Christ Child as Sacrifice," pp. 496-97.

[138] *OED*, "Cratch, *n.*" Notably, the Wycliffe Bible uses the word "cratch" in Luke 2:7 whereas the Coverdale Bible uses "maunger." The modern word "crèche," introduced into English from French in the late-eighteenth century, has the same etymology.

and sheepcotes. Messianism gives ecological and economic order a teleological purpose. The plays espouse an ideology in which economic development is aligned with service to God.

By stressing this idealistic realignment of God, human, and animal, the manger scenes conclude three counter-pastoral plays on a magical erasure of hardship. This is the effect of Jesus as the plays' most generous host. As Michel Serres argues, this pacification through generosity can be paralyzing. In a fable, Serres imagines a parasite who:

> eats at the house of a great man – the greatest possible. He enjoys belonging. He lives in a sect; he shares an opinion, an ideology or a rule. Truth surrounds him like a shield; he no longer fears nocturnal terrors. He has finally become specialized; he has a method. He will wage war no longer…. It is the network of minimum risk. It is rather stable. Sclerosis.[139]

Jesus – a great man, "the greatest possible" – offers the shepherds an unlimited, eternal meal. But the promise of eternal salvation risks the instantiation of pastoral stasis in the form of a transfixed "sclerosis." There are still injustices that need to be attended to on earth. The prophecy of Isaiah – in which the hostile moors and wolds would be tamed for the coming of a messiah – did not end the worries of agricultural laborers. Order and justice did not arise in the pastoral ecosystem after all. Engrossment and enclosure persisted; wage inequality and poverty remained; expanding flocks of sheep continued to have priority over the rural villages. A moral economy remains a remote miraculous possibility at the conclusion of these plays, only possible with the arrival of a savior.

The agricultural "improvers" redeveloped England's rural landscapes and yet the inequality on pastures amplified. The agro-economic reforms of the sixteenth century favored land development over responsibility to humans and other animals. This process took the parasitism inherent in any agricultural system to unsustainable levels. The abuses multiply once

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[139] Serres, *The Parasite*, pp. 194-95.

the landowner realizes his potential as "universal parasite" armed with enough capital to develop "everything and everyone [as] a hospitable space. Plants and animals are always his hosts; man is always necessarily their guest. Always taking, never giving. He bends the logic of exchange and of giving in his favor when he is dealing with nature as a whole. When he is dealing with his kind, he continues to do so; he wants to be the parasite of man as well."[140]

Rather than locking these shepherds into pastoral stasis, these plays conclude with the shepherds and their communities still dreaming of the resacralized landscape that was promised to them. While all three plays suggest that the shepherds will become evangelists singing their joyous news, the Chester *Shepherds' Play* provides the shepherds with the most specific itineraries for their future vocations. The playwright sends them from the Bethlehem manger back to England's droveways: says Harvye, "From London to Lowth / such another shepperd I wott not where is. / Both frend and cowth, / God grant you all his blys" (*CSP* 685-88).[141] By bringing their message to the people of England, the shepherds undertake a mission to see Isaiah's prophecy realized anew.

If we keep the sheep's body – the locus of all human and nonhuman desires – front and center in this play, we read a complex story of counter-pastoral restlessness, emblematic of the tangle of competing agencies vying for their own plotted space on England's cold and wet fields. The sheep tell a story about the evolving dynamic between sheep and shepherd, sheep and dog, sheep and grass, sheep and liver fluke. The bodies of the sheep that transverse the stages of the English Shepherds' Plays bring to the fore the role of flocks of sheep as agents in the shaping of England's pastoral landscapes. But the incarnation of Jesus subordinates the desire for all other

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[140] Serres, *The Parasite*, p. 24.

[141] Louth might refer to County Louth in Ireland, directly across the Irish Sea from Chester, or Louth, the chief market town of the Lincolnshire wolds, some 166 miles east of Chester.

flesh – human and ovine – to the margins of the manger. The transition from herdsmen to new vocations as evangelists, hermits, and anchorites entails a radical repositioning of humans within this foodshed. The shepherds willfully separate themselves from the heterotrophic drive to consume and commit themselves to preaching Isaiah's prophecy of a resacralized landscape.

CHAPTER 3

Jonson's Leftovers: Animal Pollution in *Bartholomew Fair* and *Every Man In His Humor*

In the previous two chapters, I discussed how playwrights represent the ways animals were raised, killed, and eaten in forests and pastures. The interests of hunters and shepherds provide different bases for the formation of communities predicated on divergent ecological and social values. In this chapter, I scale up the implications of this approach by considering the position of animals in the London foodshed.[1] Whereas hunting and husbandry manuals (if not corresponding dramatic works) idealize carefully managed sylvan and pastoral landscapes and the neat butchering of animal bodies, the plays of Ben Jonson imagine a greasy urban ecosystem in which bodily discharges (urine, vomit, odor, sweat) not only blur the boundaries between self and environment, but create social and ecological bonds. The considerable scale of early modern London's food economy guaranteed that not just meat but animal waste linked eaters, laborers, and eaten animals. Because meat production – including slaughter, cooking, and vending – is anything but a neat metamorphosis of one thing into another, excreta reenter the ecosystem at each stage of the process. As a result, sharing space with human and nonhuman others leads many early modern writers to worry that the permeable flesh of humans and animals will become contaminated.[2] For Jonson, however, bodily disintegration also makes possible community

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[1] There is no strict opposition between the food economies of country and city. They mingle in plays such as Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599) and Philip Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (1625), both of which depict many different kinds of meals, including hunting feasts, country suppers, civic celebrations, tavern carousing, and Pie Corner pasties. Meals consumed in sylvan, rural, and urban spaces represent various sorts of social and species organization at the same time that they suggest other forms of organization appropriate for different occasions. On the use of cities as an "organizing metaphor" for social structures, see Paster, *The Idea of the City*, pp. 1-2.

[2] In Gail Kern Paster's terms, "Solubility, the sine qua non of bodily health, was a function of internal and external economies potentially fraught with peril." One consequence of this anxiety, as Benedict Robinson has recently argued, was the introduction of the word "disgust" into

integration. Participation in the food economy can lead to sociability within and across species lines.[3]

The explosive population growth of London in the sixteenth century transformed the city into a seemingly insatiable gullet for animal flesh sourced from increasingly distant pastures and fishing banks.[4] Population growth also mandated changes in the way that food animals made their way from producers to consumers across complex distribution networks of herders, drovers, mariners, shipping agents, warehouses, slaughterhouses, butchers, scalders and curers, fleshmongers and fishwives, cooks and innkeepers. Along this meandering path of food processing and commodification, vendible meat had the potential to occlude living animals.[5]

English vernacular: "early modern usage [of disgust] refuses to draw a line between the most visceral bodily processes and the largest horizons of human action. In disgust, the sensory and the social come into being in intimate mutual relations." Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 9; Robinson, "Disgust, c. 1600," p. 558.

[3] Bruce Boehrer has written extensively about imagery of digestion and excretion in Jonson's theory of cultural reproduction: "Again and again, Jonson conceives of books as having this sort of alimentary character, subject to processes of selection, preparation, ingestion, digestion, and excretion that mimic – and ultimately merge with – the literal functions of the digestive tract." Boehrer, *The Fury of Men's Gullets*, p. 1. My chapter takes a markedly different approach. Whereas Boehrer draws on the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari to examine the psychological relationship between digestion and subject formation within the social networks of the early modern literati, I analyze how scenes of meat production staged in London's public theaters evoke the process of urban community formation.

[4] As Jean Howard notes, the population of London nearly quadrupled between 1550 and 1600, growing from a large market town by European standards to the third largest city in Europe, with a population of approximately 200,000. This growth continued throughout Jonson's career. Jacobean London dwarfed all other population centers in England. London was ten times larger than England next largest town and aside from London the 19 largest towns in England had a combined population of approximately 136,000. On London's population growth from the second half of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century and its implications for social organization, see Howard, *Theater of a City*, p. 1 and Paster, *The Idea of the City*, p. 6. For an overview of approaches to gauging metropolitan London's growth, see Harding, "The Population of London."

[5] In addition, the exchange between producers and consumers was also newly mediated by creditors and the use of new financial instruments. As Howard argues, "With the labor of

Amid increased demand on meat-processing and the maturation of the market economy, Jonson's London plays represent animal bodies stretched thinner and thinner. In this context, the unique and lived experiences of individual food animals are more difficult to imagine in a city comedies than in plays that stage, say, Jaques's dying stag or Mak's stolen wether. Perhaps this is one reason why scholars have focused on food and other commodities in Jonson's plays rather than on living beasts in London's environs. And yet, despite the alienation of eater from eaten in Jonson's plays, animals maintain a ghostly stage presence. Occupying the gap between eater and eaten is human and nonhuman animal particulate matter in the form of odor, filth, and sweat. In this chapter I discuss how Jonson's plays represent the urban sewers, kitchens, markets that mediate between human and animal, raw and cooked, self and other.[6] Bodily excretions blur the distinction between the body and its environment. Qualities shared by humans and beasts – their

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production increasingly occluded, commodities acquired fetishistic value, floating free from their makers but increasingly defining the subjectivity of their buyers." But in the case of meat as a commodity fetish, the consumer is not just alienated from labor, but from the lives of animals slaughtered for the market. Howard, *Theater of a City*, p. 13. See also, Agnew, *Worlds Apart*, p. 41. On the estrangement of consumers from animal slaughter throughout history, see Cronon, "Alienating Space"; Jones, *The Butchers of London*; and P. Lee, "Introduction: Housing Slaughter."

[6] The work of structuralist anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss and Mary Douglas helps to trace the contours of a community constellated by bodily exudations of odor, grease, and excrement. Lévi-Strauss and his followers have shown how cultures attempt to segregate foodstuffs into discrete categories along different axes: "The raw/cooked axis is characteristic of culture; the fresh/decayed one of nature, since cooking brings about the cultural transformation of the raw, just as putrefaction is its natural transformation." But, as Douglas has shown, pollution – such as a foul stench – is difficult to contain, hence it blurs the edible/inedible distinction. Douglas defines pollution as "matter out of place…. Uncleanness or dirt is that which must not be included if a pattern is to be maintained." This seemingly simple aphorism is more devilish than it first appears since it is complicated by the gnarled matrices of the "physical *and* social" and "inner and outer" bodies, "visible in different ways to self and other." Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, p. 142; Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 50. For applications of what Appelbaum calls Lévi-Strauss's "semiotic 'grill' of food" to early modern literature, see also Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef*, p. 217 and Goldstein, "Shakespeare and Food," p. 154.

involuntary arousal of appetite, their rotting flesh, defecation and urination, etc. – underscore a shared animal condition.

Even as market conditions alienated humans from the meat they consumed, humans and animals lived in uncomfortably close proximity. London's rapid growth precipitated an unprecedented appetite for meat and equally unrivalled levels of pollution. Exemplary of the problem are the sisyphean attempts by magistrates to hold citizens accountable for pigs who got loose in urban streets. Prominent features of every town and city in England, pigs were "increasingly from the sixteenth century … present and highly visible *in the city*," known to knock over pedestrians in the street and occasionally cause the death of small children.[7] Widely regarded as urban nuisances, pigs were as hazardous to public health and safety as they were delicious. They "required cradle-to-grave controls."[8] But pigs also benefited cities by consuming waste from households and butchers' stalls. Pigs awaiting slaughter were fattened on kitchen middens, offal and spoiled meats, rotten fruit and vegetable trimmings. Dunghills and garbage left in streets and ditches also attracted pigs who had either escaped from their sties or were let loose. Roving urban garbage compactors, pigs gave waste a second life as recycled food, nourishing themselves with the remainders of human industry.[9] This form of swine husbandry, which emerged with the growth of urban centers, helps to explain the complex signification of pork as a desirable meat got from a repugnant animal with a repulsive diet.[10]

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[7] Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, p. 48. On loose pigs killing children, see Jørgensen, "Running Amuck," p. 430.

[8] Jørgensen, "Running Amuck," p. 429.

[9] Jørgensen, "Running Amuck," p. 438.

[10] It is important to emphasize that the more objectionable behaviors of pigs have more to do with their close confinement in polluted urban environments than they do with their innate habits. Pigs allowed to forage for acorns in the forest, for example, do not inspire the same levels

In this chapter I examine how Jonson situates animals along the two-way street of the alimentary canal. Both appetite for cooked meat and dyspeptic thoughts about filthy animals, tainted flesh, and excremental pollution propel traffic through the gut. I argue that Jonson's urban communities testify to the relationship between ingestion and excretion, with shared flesh enjoining communal spirit. An unblinking recognition of humanity's animal condition "hold[s] life & soule together" (*BF* 2.2.82) on the Jonsonian stage. The first two sections of this chapter pursue this claim; I discuss *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) and *Every Man In His Humor* (1598, but extensively revised before 1616) as representations of the London food economy's aromatic structure.[11] More diffuse and more enigmatic than the social arrangements engendered by the hunter's law of spoils or the shepherd's pastoral care, the olfactory call of the kitchen is still powerful enough to convene communities of eaters.[12] The seasonal slaughter of beasts and fowl foretold the smells associated with London's festive calendar: roasted Bartholomew Pig in

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of revulsion as urban swine. As agricultural writer Samuel Hartlib observed in *His Legacy of Husbandry* (1655), "It is an ill custom that is used almost every where … to let hogs lie in their dirt and dung, when they are fattening; for all creatures generally do hate and abhor their own dung; and an hog is cleanliest of all creatures, and will never dung … in his stie, if he can get forth, which all creatures will: and though he tumble in the dirt in Summer; yet that is partly to cool himself, and partly to kill lice, for when the dirt is dry he rubbeth it off, and destroyeth the lice thereby." Qtd. in Malcolmson and Mastoris, *The English Pig*, p. 14. Malcolmson and Mastoris survey a variety of accounts from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries that attest to the intelligence of mature pigs, noting that their reputation for boorishness relates to the fact that they are generally killed at one year, before their intellects fully develop. For discussion of Tudor-Stuart pastoral swine husbandry and the relationship between pigs' diet and meat quality, see Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, pp. 241-42

[11] Following arguments laid out by Herford, Simpson, and Simpson, the most accepted date for Jonson's revision of *Every Man In His Humor* is 1612. Herford, Simpson, and Simpson, Eds., *Ben Jonson*, pp. IX.334-36.

[12] Eating out on the town was a key effect of urban expansion and new urban lifestyles. The growth in popularity of commercial eating houses, taverns, alehouses, ordinaries, inns, and cook stalls all mark a change in patterns of commensality and a shift in the relationship between consumer and food, human and animal. For discussion of the explosion in "public cookery," see Pennell, "Great Quantities," pp. 236-42.

August, corned Martinmas beef in November, a "green" goose for the week after Pentecost and a fat goose for Michaelmas, and pancakes heavily larded for Shrovetide, to name a few examples.[13] But we will see that attempts to define species and social hierarchies based on the smells of raw animal and cooked meat are undermined by the disordered nature of odors themselves. The overwhelming smells of meat production circulate throughout the city, befogging the boundaries of species and class. Persistent stench contradicts Jean-Christophe Agnew's claim that the "ritual boundaries of the marketplace festival served to immunize the celebrants to the otherwise threatening consequences of their brief immersion in a world of boundlessness and marginality."[14] Instead, for Jonson, the smell of animals represents the extent to which diverse species co-constitute a common world.[15]

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[13] Seasonal food fetishes are often rooted in principles of sustainability, ensuring the restraint of consumers until producers have an adequate supply of animals that can carry over from year to year. Philip E. Jones reports on restrictions placed on London's butchers that prohibited the killing of suckling calves from January to May in the 1530s. When a foodstuff is in season, consumers rush to consume it while it tastes best. As a result, veal would be a more common sight (and scent) at the table in the summer and the fall. Ken Albala notes that roasted pig products, such as sausage, "take center stage in carnivalesque celebrations, being the symbol of not only gustatory but sexual license. In these works a veiled moral message was being offered the sober reader: these are foods for people out of control." Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 141; Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, pp. 180-81. On seasonal consumption, the risk of spoilage, and quality control in the early modern English marketplace, see Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 88.

[14] Agnew, *Worlds Apart*, pp. 34-35.

[15] The smell of food can also demarcate social difference, as is the case for the diets of different ethnic communities living in early modern London or the smell of unwashed prisoners. In *Bartholomew Fair*, the haughty Humphrey Wasp is put into the stocks by the Welsh watchman Bristle. Wasp berates Bristle, but gets as good as he gives:

> WASP: You stinke of leeks, *Metheglyn*, and cheese. You rogue.
>
> BRISTLE: Why, what is that to you, if you sit sweetly in the stocks in the meane time? if you haue a minde to stinke too, your breeches sit close enough to your bum. (4.6.51-55)

In the final section of this chapter, I focus on other exudations from *Bartholomew Fair*'s pig-booth – including sweat, pig-drippings, grease, and urine – which stand for, even constitute, the mucked-up wallow in which Jonson's fairgoers find themselves. What Donna Haraway has called a "nourishing indigestion" may clarify the ways London fed its denizens on a scale previously unknown in England. The dramatic literature of the city in the early modern period – from Roman tragedy to humoral comedy – often "stresses social complexity and weighs the possibilities of order through urban design."[16] Jonson's metropolitan food system represents an essential component of that design.

1. Desire, Revulsion, and the Centrifugal Appetites of Smithfield

Literary scholars frequently contrast Jonson's representation of decorous social order in his poetry and masques with the chaotic scenes of social disruption in his plays. His portrayal of a civilized feast in "To Penshurst" (1616), a celebration of the hospitality of Robert Sidney at his Kent estate, typifies the perfectly mannered rural economy.[17] "To Penshurst" imagines suicidal animals who offer themselves to the Sidneys' table, their self-sacrificing bounty a part of the natural order of the virtuous country estate. Jonson's vision of household *oikonomia* establishes the country house as the center of an agricultural sphere wherein all of the food naturally and happily satiates the stomachs of all who reside within:

> Here no man tells my cups; nor stand by
> A waiter, doth my gluttony enuy:
> But giues me what I call, and let me eate,
> He knows, below, he shall finde plenty of meate, (ll. 67-70)

[16] Paster, *The Idea of the City*, p. 4.

[17] Jonson's estate poem follows the models provided by the villa poems of classical Rome in which the poet creates a metonymy between the beauty of the landscape and the moral virtue of the landowner. See Greene, "Ben Jonson and the Centered Self," pp. 329-30; Hardman, "Jonson's Co-operative Fish," p. 250; Molesworth, "'To Penshurst' and Jonson's Historical Imagination," p. 6; G. Wilson, "Jonson's Use of the Bible," p. 77.

The estate is structured on hierarchies, with its boards above and "below," but Jonson supposes a harmonious relation among guest and host's staff. The excess of the land eases the tensions of class disparity. The poem conveys the beauty of the landscape by enumerating the quality, quantity, and variety of food it remits to the lord and lady; a kind of blazon of the earth's body is presented, ripe for consumption:

> Thy copp's, too, nam'd of GAMAGE, thou hast there,
> That neuer failes to serue thee season'd deere,
> When thou would'st feast, or exercise thy friends.
> The lower land, that to the riuer bends,
> Thy sheep, thy bullocks, kine, and calues doe feed:
> The middle grounds thy mares, and horses breed.
> ……..
> The purpled pheasant lyes in euery field,
> And, for thy messe, is willing to be kill'd. (ll. 19-30)[18]

Jonson goes on to describe fish eagerly jumping into the hands of fishermen and fruit falling ripe from the tree into the arms of waiting children. Once the food is collected, the farmers bring it to Penshurst as an offering:

> Some bring a capon, some a rurall cake,
> Some nuts, some apples, some that thinke they make
> The better cheeses, bring 'hem; or else send
> By their daughters, whom they would commend
> This way to husbands; and whose baskets beare
> An embleme of themselues, in plum, or peare. (ll. 51-56)

These gifts are both food *qua* food and "emblem[s]" of the bonds between producer and consumer, tenant and landlord. Daughters, now like capons, have become fungible commodities.

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[18] All citations from Jonson's plays and poetry are from Herford, Simpson, and Simpson, *Ben Jonson*. Further citations appear parenthetically in text. Jonson's panegyric is quite self-consciously over the top. As Appelbaum notes, the willingness of the animals should be taken as "deliberately absurd. These motifs from Cockaigne [the legendary land of plenty] idealize the manor, making the creatures and even the elements – or at least water, earth, and air – sacrifice themselves on the altar of domesticity: the animals *come home* to the home of the lord of the manor." Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef*, pp. 135-36.

By obfuscating toil and labor in this economy, Jonson's good-natured word omitted?pretends that "Penshurst could actually feed itself by Disney magic."[19] Like Disneyland, Penshurst teems with excess, but there is no waste in sight. Mickey never shits and the Sidneys' animals antiseptically become meat and evaporate at the table. This frictionless chain of farming and feasting imagines harmony among animals, plebeians, and patricians absent ecological, economic, and physiological cost.[20]

The London food economy requires a different kind of representation. Unlike the ideal order of "To Penshurst," or the comparatively intimate affairs of Shakespeare's hunters' meals and the pastoral feasts of the Chester Cycle and the Towneley Manuscript, which establish personal relationships between human diner and consumed animal, the hungry multitudes of Jonson's London do not often dwell on the question of how their meat arrived on their plate.[21] But this path was readily legible on the names of streets and alleys in early modern London. Cattle and sheep drovers from the northwest and west would enter into the Smithfield marketplace on Cow Cross Street, Cow Lane, and Cocke Lane. The cook shops of Pie Corner were at the southern entrance to the Smithfield fairgrounds. Turning east from Pie Corner and passing through Newgate, animals met their end in the St. Nicholas Shambles. Beyond the shambles were more food markets, inns, and taverns in Cheapside and Eastcheap.

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[19] Boehrer, "Renaissance Overeating," p. 1078. Boehrer argues that "Penshurst" not only hides the conditions of labor but also "effaces the character of environmental relations by folding them into the social, as if the Sidney estate were itself a contented servant"; *Environmental Degradation*, p. 67.

[20] Jonson's country house poem, where all of the animals want to be eaten and where farmers toil joyfully, recalls John Littlewit's vision of Lubberland (discussed below). For a more detailed comparative analysis of economic order and disorder in *Bartholomew Fair* and "To Penshurst," see Maus, "Satiric and Ideal Economies."

[21] One notable exception is Oliver Cob in *Every Man In His Humor* who muses at length about the origins of market herring. I discuss Cob in section 2 of this chapter.

West of Pie Corner, a Jacobean Londoner would encounter in Fleet Lane the reek described in Jonson's 1610 mock-epic poem "On the Famous Voyage."[22] The poem seems the complete antithesis of "To Penshurst," but they are two sides of the same coin. Both "To Penshurst" and "On the Famous Voyage" offer images of excess: whereas "Penshurst" celebrates all the joys of food and nothing foul, "Famous Voyage" exposes everything that is vile about animal waste and finds nothing redeeming in the food economy. The feast celebrated in "To Penshurst" cannot help but beget the sewage in "On the Famous Voyage." The latter poem tells the story of two of Jonson's friends, Shelton and Heyden, and their encounters with the waste from London's human and nonhuman bodies.[23] As Shelton and Heyden row a wherry up the Fleet from Bridewell to Holborn, they experience the "filth, stench, [and] noyse" (l. 9) of the burgeoning industry of Farringdon Without, the ward between the Fleet and the city's western wall known for its increasing number of cooked food vendors. Jonson describes a hell of stray animals, diseased bodies, and the sounds of indigestion assaulting the sensorium:

> Arses were heard to croake, instead of frogs;
> And for one CERBERVS, the whole coast was dogs.
> *Furies* there wanted not: each scold was ten.
> And, for the cryes *of Ghosts*, women and men,
> Laden with plague-sores, and their sinnes, were heard,
> Lash'd by their consciences, to die, affeard. (ll. 13-18)

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[22] Boehrer suggests that "On the Famous Voyage" "may also be the first verse exploration ever attempted of the effects of urban pollution on London's waterways." Robinson links Jonson's representation of urban pollution to "an emerging humanist socioaesthetics and to the city as a social location." Boehrer, *Environmental Degradation*, pp. 68-69; Robinson, "Disgust, c. 1600," pp. 556-57, 565. For a survey of London's other Thames tributaries and their ignominious fate in the early modern period, see Boehrer, *Environmental Degradation*, p. 19.

[23] Jonson scholars have not come to a consensus on the identities of Shelton and Heyden. Peter E. Medine makes a serious attempt to identify them as Thomas Shelton, translator of *Don Quixote*, and Sir Christopher Heydon, but these claims have not been universally accepted. Another possibility for Shelton is the addressee of Jonson's Epigram CXIX, Sir Ralph Shelton, minor Norfolk gentry and member of the London Company. Medine, "Object and Intent."

Urban water pollution figures in the poem as a lately emergent phenomenon with a powerful effect on the nose, ears, and eyes. On one side of the river, Shelton and Heyden sense the gross matter that gives birth to stinking, pestilent air; "stench, disease, and old filth, their mother" plague the neighborhood (l. 70). On the other bank appear the "vgly *Centaures*, yee call Carmen" (l. 68); these barrowmen cart offal and animal waste away from the butcheries and kitchens to warehouses on the Thames or the fields around Lincoln's Inn, allowing filth to circulate throughout the city.[24] The Fleet compares unfavorably even with the underworld rivers in Greek mythology: "what was there / Subtly distinguish'd, was confused here" (ll. 9-10).

Once navigable by small boats and a provider of well water from Holborn to Bridewell, the Fleet had devolved into little more than a ditch for waste disposal by the late medieval period. In Jonson's time, privies overhung the banks along much of the Fleet's course, meaning that day and night the sludge would hungrily devour more urine and excrement that would then make its way down the ditch to the mouth of the Thames. As Shelton and Heyden "thorough her [i.e., London's] wombe … make their famous road" (ll. 66), Jonson's perverse inversion of the alimentary canal conjures images of a brutal bout of indigestion. [25]

> In the first iawes appear'd that vgly monster,
> Ycleped *Mud*, which, when their oares did once stirre,
> Belch'd forth an ayre, as hot, as at the muster
> Of all your night-tubs, when the carts doe cluster,
> Who shall discharge first his merd-vrinous load. (ll. 61-65)[26]

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[24] *OED*, "carman, *n*.2." On the heaping of trash on muckhills in early modern streets and alleys, and the gong (human excrement) farmers, carters, and rakehills charged with managing them, see Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 184-88.

[25] Jonson's gut, stomach, and womb (the "mother" to stench and disease) are indiscriminately feminine.

[26] "Merdurinous" refers to the combination of excrement and urine in muckhills and privies. *OED*, "merdurinous, *adj*."

When their wherry enters the Fleet sewer through its "iawes," Shelton and Heyden agitate the sludge and draw "belch[ing]" noxious fumes to the surface. Jonson associated this air with the filth from the tubs of night soil that the car-men void into the ditch. Although cast out, filth returns as the monster *Mud*, revolting against the *polis* that feeds it.

The traversal of the ditch turns the body of the city inside out; that which should be kept hidden suddenly, distressingly becomes all-too-present for Shelton and Heyden. The gallants hear the sound of rumbling guts in the privies and exclaim in horror:

> Alas, they will beshite vs.
> No matter, stinkards row. What croaking sound
> Is this we heare? of frogs? No, guts wind-bound,
> Ouer your heads: Well, row. At this a loud
> Crack did report it selfe, as if a cloud
> Had burst with storme, and downe fell, *ab excelsis*,
> Poore MERCURY, crying out on PARACELSUS,
> And all his followers, that had so abus'd him:
> And, in so shitten sort, so long had vs'd him. (ll. 90-98)

This explosive sonic bursting, cracking, croaking all testify to the painful indigestion that torments the guts and necessitates the suppositories used in Paracelsian medicine. It follows that Jonson's speaker would accuse the "*Fleet*-lane *Furies*," the "hot cookes" with "still-scalding steemes" for propagating this environmental disaster (ll. 139, 142). The cooks "make the place *hell*" (l. 143).

"On the Famous Voyage" gives voice to complaints about the pollution due to animal slaughtering and processing that had been a part of London politics for centuries. Already in the fourteenth century, pollution from animal slaughter in close proximity to residences and main thoroughfares had elicited complaints to the city's aldermen and to Parliament. Philip E. Jones, historian of London's Worshipful Company of Butchers, documents suits showing that butchery was "one of those trades liable to create a nuisance, by ordure, offal and blood, and therefore

subject to complaints and repression."[27] In 1333, an edict forbade butchers from leaving entrails in plain view. Finer cuts of meat could be sold on the main thoroughfares, but butchers who sold bowels and organ meat were restricted to side lanes. St. Nicholas Shambles lacked proper drainage to the Thames, so waste from meat production polluted the grounds at nearby Greyfriars instead. This led to a 1370 suit against Richard Brayser, butcher and operator of a scalding house in Pentecost Lane: "The blood, hair and other refuse discharged from the scaldinghouse into the kennel of the street and flowed northward into the Friars' garden, and should have found its way to the City's ditch beyond London's wall."[28] In 1361, the stench of cattle processing had become so unbearable and the streets so blood-soaked that Parliament "required great beasts to be slaughtered at Stratford [at droveways' end northeast of Charing Cross] or Knightsbridge [west of Westminster] and their entrails to be scoured before brought into the City."[29] The ordinance was reintroduced in 1379, but because these sites were miles outside the gates and because the city's demand for meat was great, such regulations were destined to fail. Within the city walls, grievances about the meat markets at Eastcheap and in St. Nicholas Shambles were also common.[30] According to Emily Cockayne, neighbors complained

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[27] In addition to meat production, other industries associated with animal slaughter – especially soap and leather manufacture – also angered neighbors. Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 1. Of course, animal slaughter was not the only source of pollution in Jacobean London. Cockayne lists complaints made against the stench created by dyers, brewers, lime-burners, glassmakers, shipbuilders, paint manufacturers, among others. *Hubbub*, p. 210.

[28] Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 77.

[29] Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 78. In Jonson's day, Stratford-atte-Bowe, an important cog in the London meat economy, was home to the great goose fair held during Whitsuntide. Thomas Middleton references this fair in the opening scene of *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1613), a play replete with references to the goose meat trade.

[30] Jones reports that in 1488, the neighbors of the butchers of St Nicholas Shambles petitioned Parliament "against annoyance by blood and other 'fouler things not to be named' caused by the slaughter of beasts and the scalding of swine … of which they said they had complained

that the "noise of slaughter was distressingly high-pitched and travelled long distances" while the odious smell of pigsties was "even thought to tarnish metal and discolor linen."[31]

Attempts to regulate the smell of meat production extended to the barrows conventionally used to cart away animal waste and unsold offal from the shambles. Butchers were required to dispose of animal remainders in "closed boxes so that the smell should not 'exalet' (exhale)."[32] By the 1570s, most of the butchers' waste was transported to the offal houses at Broken Wharf – right across the Thames from the theaters on Bankside.[33] By the time "On the Famous Voyage" was written, more regulations had been added to the disposal of waste: "Each butcher had to have a tub, which must be hidden from view by a door, into which he placed his offal. The tubs

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continually for sixteen years." Fresh attempts were made to ban the volume of animal slaughter within the city walls. However, it became harder and harder to confine slaughter to one part of the city when the constant demand for cheap meat spurred temporary slaughter operations by non-free butchers across the city. The aldermen and the Lord Mayor, who understood the political power of London's hungry bellies, charged non-free butchers a fee to sell meat and provide competition for the Worshipful Company of Butchers. The Butchers' Company responded by investing in the construction of vaults and underground sewers and then successfully lobbied to overturn the ban on slaughter within the walls. The intramural abattoirs returned and so did complaints from central Londoners. Jones, *The Butchers of London*, pp. 77-89, quotation at p. 81.

[31] Cockayne, *Hubbub*, pp. 18-19. Cockayne compares the noise pollution caused by squealing pigs at slaughter with the practices of dog-catchers. Records from the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West dated to 1622, document complaints from "divers Inhabitants of Fleet street and the white Fryers" regarding the practice of keeping stray dogs penned up, "longe alyve, howlinge and crying," before they were killed *en masse*. Qtd. in Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 107. On sixteenth-century complaints about the air pollution from pigsties, see Jørgensen, "Running Amuck," p. 440.

[32] Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 81.

[33] The Butchers Company stored ordure and offal in barrowhouses to keep streets and lanes clean and thereby minimize nuisance complaints. As Jones puts it, barrowmen were tasked with transporting this waste "in a decent and secret manner to one of the barrowhouses for that purpose from ancient times used and appointed, and not to sell it or convert it to any other purpose." Jones, *The Butchers of London*, pp. 82-84.

were to be out after 8 p.m. in winter, or after 9 p.m. in summer, for collection or emptying, presumably by the Beadle or his agent."[34]

The beast market at Smithfield, too, was deemed a foul blight by many of its neighbors.[35] At the heart of London's animal trade, Smithfield bustled with activity year round, but it was busiest during the annual cloth fair which occurred on the week following August 24, the feast day of St. Bartholomew.[36] Attracting clothiers from across the country, the fair had been held annually under the sponsorship of the neighboring St. Bartholomew Priory since 1133. In the ensuing centuries, the fair expanded with a much wider array of itinerant merchants, entertainers, and vendors of food and drink who all set up shop for the last week of August. The buzz of economic activity drew characters from the London underworld as well, including prostitutes, johns, drunks, pick-pockets, and roaring brawlers.

Hence, as the city's preeminent venue for beasts and beastly behavior, the Smithfield market is an apt setting for the Jacobean theater's most extraordinary representation of the London food economy: *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). No play in the period portrays London's food networks as richly or as grotesquely. The disgust central to "On the Famous Voyage" is but a

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[34] Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 84. In *Bartholomew Fair*, the gallant Tom Quarlous references this after-hours trade in waste by chiding his fellow Ned Winwife for leaving his "lodging, at such vngentlemanly hours" that none but "these Rag-rakers in dunghills, or some Marrow-bone man at most, would haue beene vp when thou wert gone abroad, by all description" (1.3.3-7).

[35] By 1607, James I's ministers came up with a new solution to Smithfield's pollution problems: pave the whole fairground and do away with the swampy stink of the animal market. But this fix clearly had a limited effect since Smithfield endured as a symbol of foulness well into the nineteenth century. David Weil Baker suggests that Jonson "urge[s] the intractability of Smithfield, its resistance to royal improvements." Baker, "Master of the Monuments," p. 281. See also, Dillon, "Clerkenwell and Smithfield," p. 134; Dugan, "As Dirty as Smithfield," p. 200.

[36] Livestock had been traded at the Smithfield market since at least the twelfth century. Dillon, "Clerkenwell and Smithfield," p. 118.

rehearsal for this satire of the London underbelly. Like "On the Famous Voyage," *Bartholomew Fair* has no illusions about idealized food production and offers no consoling parable of perfect social order.[37] Instead, the backdrop of the fairgrounds accentuates the zaniness and corruption of the market economy.

Bartholomew Fair begins with a troop of characters plotting to go to the fair, each with something different in mind, some to find wives and husbands, some to see the spectacles and performances, but all to partake in the food, drink, and festivity. This party includes London's middling sort (husband-and-wife John and Win Littlewit), Banbury Puritans (Win's mother Dame Purecraft and her suitor Rabbi Zeal-of-the-Land Busy), witty gallants (Quarlous and Winwife), a country squire and his guardian (Bartholomew Cokes and Humphrey Wasp), a magistrate and his wife (Justice and Dame Overdo), and a wealthy heiress (Grace Wellborn). Once in Smithfield, their fates collide with the resident Bartholomew-birds, vendors, cooks, tapsters, thieves, pimps, and ballad singers who loiter about the pig-booth at the center of the play's action. *Bartholomew Fair* is, then, a crowded play, both in terms of the number of characters (twenty speaking parts assemble on stage for the final scene) and in terms of its many plots, none of which takes precedence over any of the others. For many critics, *Bartholomew Fair* is "so much too much of everything."[38] And yet, a pig-booth, run by Ursula the pig-woman, does provide the audience with a central reference point. The booth – marked by Justice Overdo

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[37] Such idealizations of a bounteous market *can* be found in city comedy, notably in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*. As the Lord Mayor's Shrovetide feast gets underway, Firk, a journeyman shoemaker, celebrates the parade of anthropomorphic meats, such as "venison pasties [that] walk up and down piping hot like sergeants," come to furnish the table without evident toil or pollution (18.203-09).

[38] Wilson, "Morose Ben Jonson," p. 216.

as "the very *wombe*, and *bedde*, of enormitie!" (2.2.106) – is the play's and the fair's governing organ.[39]

Appetite draws this wide range of Londoners to the fair, each with his or her own relationship to the seasonal pork, the dehumanizing labor of meat production, and Smithfield's violent history of public executions and Catholic and Protestant martyrdom.[40] Add crowds of people in the heat of August to an emporium of tobacconists, tapsters, and victuallers, on top of rivulets of waste descending toward the Fleet from the horse market and the lanes used by cattle drovers, and Jonson's setting has all of the ingredients necessary for a pungent stew of gross satire and humoral comedy. Fair and foul indeed. *Bartholomew Fair* gives us all the enjoyment and all of the nausea that surround greasy fair food. Vomiting and urination no less than pork and ale draw the community to Ursula's tent, but few of the fairgoers seem ready to admit that these aspects of the animal condition go hand in hand. When John Littlewit, under the watchful eye of his Puritan mother-in-law and her proselytizing suitor, needs to concoct a passable excuse to

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[39] The play's tangled web of intersecting plots runs through the pig-booth of Ursula, a site that Peter Stallybrass and Allon White refer to as an arena for "ideological combat" among London's puritan iconoclasts, civic reformers, wealthy wastrels, enterprising thieves, prostitutes, and pimps. Dugan observes that *Bartholomew Fair*'s pig-booth "cuts through London's hierarchies of class: a delicacy associated with the festival, it fed itinerant performers, textile merchants, and aristocratic fairgoers alike." Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, pp. 62-63"; Dugan, "As Dirty as Smithfield," p. 201. On the pig-booth as a microcosm of Jacobean London society, see also, Waith, "The Staging of *Bartholomew Fair*," p. 183.

[40] I discuss the relationship between the market and Smithfield's history of religious persecution in the third section of this chapter. John Stow's complaint about residential development encroaching on St. Bartholomew the Great's churchyard bears mentioning: "But now in place of [vendors'] Bothes within this Church yarde (onely letten out in the fayre time) be many large houses builded, and the North wall towardes Long lane being taken down, a number of Tenementes are there erected"; *Suruay of London*, p. 310. For discussion of the changing face of Farringdon Without and its relationship to Jacobean drama, see Zucker, *Places of Wit*, pp. 54-101.

attend the fair, he tellingly discounts his own carnal desires and projects them onto his very pregnant wife, Win:

> *Win*, long to eat of a Pigge, sweet *Win*, i' the *Fayre*; doe you see? i' the heart o'the *Fayre*, not at *Pye-Corner*. Your mother will doe any thing, *Win*, to satisfie your longing, you know; pray thee long, presently, and be sicke o' the sudden, good *Win*. I'll goe in and tell her, cut thy lace i' the meantime, and play the *Hypocrite*, sweet *Win*. (1.5.153-59)

He suggests not a steaming pork pasty from the concentration of cook shops at Pie Corner, but *Pigge* from "the heart o'the *Fayre*." Apparently he wants to go down into the guts of the beast market in search of something more animal than refined food. And Busy, another hypocrite, is no different. In the first lines that he speaks, he justifies the eating of pork by diagnosing it as an affectation natural to women. Of swinomania, he says:

> Verily, for the disease of longing, it is a disease, a carnall disease, or appetite, incident to women: and as it is carnal, and incident, it is naturall, very naturall. Now Pigge, it is a meat, and a meat that is nourishing, and may be long'd for, and so consequently eaten; it may be eaten; very exceeding well eaten. (1.6.48-53)

In a play about the simultaneity of desire and disgust, a longing for pig makes for an appropriate beginning. Fit meat for August according to dietaries and husbandry manuals, pork nevertheless confronts diners with the most problematic animal common to the early modern diet. Long seen in the European imagination as one of the foulest beasts, the pig nonetheless bears some of gourmands' most desired cuts of meat.[41] The London physician and dietician Thomas Moffett (1553-1604) describes this disjunction between pig and pork:

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[41] As Ken Albala details, cravings for pig are widespread in the Renaissance, cutting across nation and class. From the time of Galen to the present day, bacon has occupied a special place in the gustatory longings of the European imagination. The important place of pork in health is linked to Galenic theories about the manner in which food is incorporated and is transformed into muscular tissue in the human body. However, pork comes with risks, and most writers stress that pork should be consumed very moderately or else health complications would arise. Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, p. 70.

> Now concerning *Pork and Hogs flesh,* made of a spaded Sow, or a Hogg gelded, verily let us say thereof (as *Theon* said of all sorts of swine) if it be not good for meat, wherefore is it good? his cry is most odious and harsh, his smel loathsom, his very shape detested: at home he is ravening, in the field rooting, and every where filthy, foul, unhappy, and unprofitable.

Unlike the labor of oxen, the milk of cows, the eggs of hens, nothing good comes from pigs besides their meat. Detestable though they were, their pork was routinely recognized as the tastiest meat in premodern and early modern Europe. Moreover, "of all other beasts (if *Galen* be not deceived) [pork] most nourisheth."[42]

As Peter Stallybrass and Allon White have shown, forest browsers such as deer and pastoral grazers such as sheep subsist on a diet removed from the human sphere. But pigs, especially swine confined to urban sties, "overlapped with, and confusingly debased, human habitat and diet alike. [The pig's] mode of life was not different from, but alarmingly imbricated with, the forms of life which betokened civility." [43] In the uncanny pink flesh and dirty habits of the pig, a recoiling moralist sees an unhappy reminder of his own animality. Pigs' transgressive presence in the home and the urban street, their consumption of human food, and their wallowing in human excrement put human and animal into dangerous proximity.

Heretofore, commentary on *Bartholomew Fair* has related pig flesh to the Bakhtinian lower bodily stratum, but the *smell* of pigs in the play has received lacked study.[44] Odor, which can insidiously infiltrate the body, can create profound anxiety about humanity's animal condition. Rooted deeply in a primordial part of the brain that evolved long before language, the

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[42] Moffett, *Health's Improvement*, p. 68.

[43] Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, p. 47.

[44] A welcome exception to the lack of osmological approaches to Jonson is Holly Dugan's "As Dirty As Smithfield."

sense of smell connects with the animalistic core of bodily appetites.[45] As Sophie Read has recently argued, olfaction's predating of language may account for a "fatal breach" that "forever estranges olfactory sensation from verbal expression."[46] Thus, our sense of smell lacks the specificity of language or notation that humans possess for senses historically ranked as more intellectual. Consider the precision of the visual color spectra, musical scales.[47] Yet, despite our paltry vocabulary for olfaction – or maybe *because* of this linguistic poverty – smell fascinates and beguiles us:

> Nothing – not even eating, which is a conscious and in comparison clumsy way of taking matter into the body – can match the astonishing intimacy of the smell that hits the brain in the same instant it fills the lungs, even as we struggle to find the words to shape it. Smelling is a kind of sensory archaeology: it exists before language, still, which is both a handicap and a privilege; it is an old thing which lives on the fringes of the expressible world.[48]

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[45] The biochemistry of smell and taste developed in living organisms long before touch, sight, or hearing. According to the neuropsychologist G. Neil Martin, "Phylogenetically, smell and taste are two of the oldest senses, if not the oldest. The subcortical structures we now identify as the limbic system – structures involved in our most basic behaviors such as hunger, thirst, sexual drive, homeostasis, aggression – were originally described as the rhinencephalon or 'smell-brain,' a term given to these regions and structures by [nineteenth-century French physician] Paul Broca. They are evolutionary contemporaries of thermosensation and nociception (pain)." Martin, *The Neuropsychology of Smell and Taste*, p. 4.

[46] Read, "Ambergris and the Language of Early Modern Scent," pp. 222-23.

[47] Woolgar, writing about late medieval England, similarly argues that historical investigation of smell is hampered by our impoverished capacity for olfactory description: "Smell is unlike other senses in that we lack a specific vocabulary to describe many of the sensations that can be perceived through this faculty. Some can only be put into words by borrowing terms descriptive of other senses … or, by analogy, things 'smell of something,' such as roses or decay." Dugan, however, argues that by the early modern period, "English had a precise language of olfaction that described the powerful and invisible interaction between scents." For Dugan, the historiographical problem of writing about smell is not that we lack language, but that we lack referents for what was being smelled. The particular mixtures of historical smell cannot be recreated. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, p. 117; Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, p. 4. See also, Harris, *Untimely Matter*, p. 122.

[48] Read, "Ambergris and the Early Modern Languages of Scent," p. 223.

Scholarship on the history of odors is replete with speculative phrasing such as "would have smelled like…" and "must have smelled like…." This is because scholars lack concrete referents for histories of the smellscapes. With no preserved archive, particular mélanges of smells that impinged upon the noses of the past can only be imagined through approximation and likening. Nevertheless, playwrights made extensive use of olfaction in their work in order to capture feelings of desire and disgust as well as the broader significance of an audience inhaling and exhaling a common air. Although the smell of a performance may seem of marginal importance for the understanding of an early modern play, concerns over miasma and pestilence weighed much more heavily on theatergoers in Jonson's time than they do for patrons of today's deodorized theaters. Attention to smell in early modern drama allows us to understand one important way in which individuals – humans and animals – understood themselves as a multispecies congregation within the space of the theater.

Holly Dugan, Jonathan Gil Harris, and Hristomar Stanev have laid the groundwork for an historically informed investigation of early modern English playwrights' use of smell.[49] Specifically within the context of *Bartholomew Fair*, Dugan has shown how Jonson exploited the affordances of the Hope Theatre on Bankside. Because the Hope was also used as a bear-baiting arena, the Hope was "known for its unique and terrible stench."[50] But foul odors surely mingled with the pleasurable smells of edible meats from nearby taverns and food stalls and

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[49] See, for example, Dugan, "*Coriolanus* and the 'Rank-Scented Meinie'"; Harris, *Untimely Matter*, especially Chapter 4, "The Smell of Gunpowder: *Macbeth* and the Palimpsests of Olfaction"; Stanev, *Sensory Experience*, especially Chapter 4, "'Is't not a strange savour?': Urban Built Environment and the Odors of Restraint in *The Puritan* and *Westward Ho*."

[50] Dugan, "As Dirty as Smithfield," p. 197.

perhaps even from the stage.[51] Amid a whirl of commercial activity, and the appeal and revulsion of smells, the play's characters enter a centrifugal orbit around its center of gravity: Ursula's pig-booth.

The odors emanating from Ursula's kitchen represent what Read calls the "immediacy" of smell, alerting us to the presence of living animals, raw flesh, cooked meats, and animal waste. And yet, both real animals and the labor of meat production appear only as shadows in *Bartholomew Fair*. Jonas Barish contrasts the consumerism of *Bartholomew Fair* with surreal fantasies of Jonson's earlier work, calling the play's Smithfield setting "a return to a world where the objects of desire are once again familiar and available and concrete," but I argue that Barish's characterization does not apply to the beasts of Smithfield.[52] The animals sought by the fairgoers loom somewhere off-stage, away from the action, replaced by toys, iconography, and language spoken on stage. In the play's metatheatrical Induction, the Book-holder reminds the audience that there are "beares within" the Hope Theatre, sequestered for performance on another day (Induction 52-53). In the play proper, John Littlewit tells his wife that he lusts not only for pork; he craves to see all of the fair's animal spectacles:

> I'll tell you a thing, *Win*, wee shall neuer see any sights i' the *Fayre*, *Win*, except you long still, *Win*, good *Win*, sweet *Win*, long to see some Hobby-horses and

[51] Evidence from early modern texts, including plays themselves, and from the archaeological excavation of the Rose shows that theatergoers ate a wide range of food during theatrical performances, including nuts, fruits, and oysters. On food consumed in the early modern theater, see MacGregor, *Shakespeare's Restless World*, especially Chapter 3, "Snacking through Shakespeare"; Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, p. 43; and Stanev, *Sensory Experience*, p. 51. W.J. Lawrence catalogs playwrights' complaints about audiences consuming food during performances in "Those Nut-Cracking Elizabethans." London's theaters and food vendors had close working relationships. John Heminges, a freeman of the Grocer's Company since 1587 and player-manager for the King's Men, is perhaps the prime example. Heminges probably operated a taphouse next to the Globe – a logical vertical integration of entertainment and hospitality! See Egan, "John Heminges's Tap-House," pp. 72-76.

[52] Barish, *Ben Jonson and the Language of Prose Comedy*, p. 188.

> some Drummes, and Rattles, and Dogs, and fine deuices, *Win*. The Bull with the fiue legs, *Win*, and the great Hog: now you ha' begun with Pigge, you may long for any thing, *Win*, and so for my motion, *Win*. (3.6.3-10)

Hobby-horses, stand-ins for the equines traded by the horse-courser Jordan Knockem, do appear in the play. But because of a series of twists and turns in the plot, Littlewit never gets to see the dog-fighting nor the mutant bull nor the great hog. He, like the audience, must make do with the toys sold by Leatherhead: "What doe you lacke, Gentlemen, what is't you lacke?" he barks, "a fine Horse? a Lyon? a Bull? a Beare? a Dog or a Cat? an excellent fine *Bartholomew*-bird?" (2.5.4-6). The consumers' relationship to enfleshed animals is here several times removed, reduced to a plaything that thoroughly obscures the life of the beast.

With consumption of flesh so central to *Bartholomew Fair*'s themes and plots, it is surprising that no scene calls for the presence of pork on stage. The Puritan proselytizer Zeal-of-the-Land Busy calls the fair "the seate of the Beast" (3.6.44-45), thereby acknowledging Smithfield's prominence as a market for the London food economy. But nonhuman flesh is always either veiled or just out of view. Instead of giving us individual animals, the play stages their absence or their phantom presence in the form of smell, icon, or commodity. Everywhere there are hints of animals, but they are departicularized, subsumed into the generalized fumes of the fairgrounds. Just as the smell from London's shambles or cook shops everywhere intimated the pervasive presence of animals, smell on a grand scale (different from the other senses) inhibits the identification of *specific* animals. While the fairground creates a longing for animals, the stimulated appetite is a poor compass; it cannot seem to find *this* animal over *that* animal. Appetite instead encourages the circulation of bodies in every which direction.[53]

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[53] The example of Bartholomew Cokes, the zany esquire of Harrow-on-the-Hill who "doe[s] want such a number o' things" (3.4.94), is especially apt here. Cokes' exasperated guardian, Humphrey Wasp, expresses bafflement at his desire to buy all the toys in the fair: "you are in

The obscurity of meat's origins in a city the size of London fosters uncertainty and mistrust. If, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, food in medieval and early modern drama is an essential medium articulating both interpersonal and interspecies relationships, then food in Jonson's city comedies promotes skepticism among neighbors. *Bartholomew Fair* repeatedly asks its audience to question if they can trust its representations. When the Stage-keeper previews the play for the audience in the Induction, he makes this very point:

> When 't comes to the *Fayre*, once: you were e'en as good goe to *Virginia*, for anything there is of *Smith-field*. [Jonson] has not hit the humors, he does not know 'hem; hee has not conuersed with the *Bartholomew*-birds, as they say…. But these Master-*Poets*, they will ha' their owne absurd courses; they will be inform'd of nothing! (Induction 10-27)

The Stage-keeper's insistence that Jonson does not know what he is talking about anticipates recent critics' arguments that early modern London had become increasingly enigmatic to its inhabitants. Although the smell of the common air connected the city and its citizens, the miasma was largely inscrutable, rendering its aggregated components largely indistinct and anonymous. As Jean Howard observes, Jacobean Londoners no longer possessed a "conceptual image of the activities imagined to characterize" London's new neighborhoods and their burgeoning industries. The "rapid physical expansion" of urban sprawl "made the city less easy to know in its entirety":

> 'know' not just in the sense of having familiarity with the streets and buildings of various districts but also in the sense of having a conceptual image of the activities imagined to characterize these new areas and of the kinds of people who inhabited them. Moreover, the physical growth of the city was inseparable from other changes such as overcrowding within the walled city, shoddy buildings thrown up in the suburbs, increased congestion on city streets, and the

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Smithfield, you may fit your selfe with a a fine easy-going street-nag, for your saddle again' *Michaelmasse-terme*." He tells Cokes that he can buy a real, useful horse, but instead the young man prefers hobbyhorses: "has he ne'er a little odde cart for you, to make a Carroch on, i' the countrey, with foure pyed hobbyhorses? why the meazills, should you stand here, with your traine, cheaping of Dogges, Birds, and Babies [all toys]?" (3.4.25-32).

> multiplication of taverns, inns, and places of entertainment in and around the urban area.[54]

In the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period, the composition of the city inspired Jonson (along with Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton, and others) to experiment with a new genre of plays – now typically called "city comedy" – which explored and satirized new social complexities.[55] While scholars of the genre typically have focused on the creation of new social roles and the changing relationship between neighbors as a motivation for city comedy, I argue that the increasing anonymity of city life prevails on an interspecies as well as an interpersonal level.

Despite the odors associated with close-quarters living, alerting Londoners to the presence of animals, incognizance among species abounds in both "On the Famous Voyage" and *Bartholomew Fair*. In the poem, Jonson questions whether we can know what ingredients are scraped out of the alleys and baked into the minced-meat pies of Fleet Lane:

> Cats there lay diuers had been flead, and rosted,
> And, after mouldie growne, againe were tosted,
> Then, selling not, a dish was tane to mince 'hem,
> But still, it seem'd, the ranknesse did conuince 'hem. (ll. 149-52)

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[54] Howard, *Theater of a City*, pp. 4-5. See also, Mardock, *Our Scene is London*, p. 12.

[55] The generic features of city comedy were first described by Brian Gibbons in *Jacobean City Comedy*. Since Gibbons, the number of plays hailed by the name "city comedy" has been open to some debate, but scholars agree that the genre was inaugurated by William Haughton's *Englishman for My Money* (1598), the first comedy to employ a London setting, and popularized by Jonson and Middleton. Although city comedies exhibit similarities in subject matter and share common focus on young gallants, nouveau-riche merchants, fashionable wives, marketable maids, servants, creditors, and urban laborers, the authors of city comedy all had different targets for their satire. Theodore B. Leinwand argues that Jacobean city comedies, written by differing playwrights and performed before dissimilar audiences at public theaters, private theaters, and at court, "dramatize not the way things are in the City, or some objectively arrived at zeitgeist, so much as the ways Londoners typed one another"; *The City Staged*, p. 4. See also Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy*, pp. 15-31 and Howard, *Theater of a City*, pp. 19-23.

The poem seems to go out of its way to alarm Jonson's readers about the habits of London cooks indifferent to disgusting public health violations, but what assurances did Londoners in truth have that the meat they ate corresponded to the animal they imagined? *Bartholomew Fair*'s representation of ineffective magistrates charged with sniffing out infractions in cook shops and taverns does not inspire confidence. Indeed, William Blissett calls the magistrate Adam Overdo the very "embusybodiment of the law."[56] Overdo has no faith in the reports of his agents and opts to take matters into his own hands: "wee heare with other mens eares; wee see with other mens eyes; a foolish Constable, or a sleepy Watchman, is all our information" (2.1.29-31). Overdo resolves to see for himself, adopting various disguises to sneak about "every Alehouse and down into euery Celler; measur[ing] the length of puddings; tak[ing] the gage of black pots, and cannes, I, and custards with a sticke" (2.1.15-21).[57] Foodstuffs, when made an anonymous commodity by untrustworthy shopkeepers, present Justice Overdo with an epistemological problem: "For (alas) as we are publike persons, what doe we know? nay, what can wee know?" (2.1.27-29).[58]

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[56] Blissett, "Your Majesty is Welcome to a Fair," p. 90. The play's chief arbiter of secular law, Overdo serves as a judge on the Court of Pie-Powders, which held jurisdiction over the *Pieds Poudroux*, that is, the travelling merchants whose feet gathered dust as they migrated from fair to fair. Although Smithfield and St. Bartholomew Hospital stood just outside Newgate on the northwestern edge of London's city walls, Dugan reminds us that the area had only been incorporated into the city in 1608. Thus, when *Bartholomew Fair* debuted in 1614 it was at a historical moment when the civic authorities had new warrant for investigating the fairgrounds' nauseous qualities and foul behavior. See, Dillon, "Clerkenwell and Smithfield," p. 132; Dugan, "As Dirty as Smithfield," p. 198.

[57] Blissett argues that Jonson satirizes George Whetstones's *Mirror for Magistrates of Cyties* (1584), "with its recommendation that city officials don disguises in order to spy out petty crime and bad business practices…. But, in keeping with the fair and its decorum of indecorum, this promises to be … a fun-house mirror for magistrates." Blissett, "Your Majesty is Welcome to a Fair," p. 87.

[58] Not all investigators in city comedies are as earnest as Overdo. Thomas Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* features two "Promoters" who enforce fasting laws on behalf of ecclesiastical

Justice Overdo's denigration of "see[ing] with other mens eyes" reinforces the Stage-keeper's criticism of Jonson's portrayal of Smithfield. But if *Bartholomew Fair* invites skepticism about everything the audience is about to *see* on stage, it is significant that the Induction claims that the play will truly and faithfully represent the odor of the fair:[59]

> The *Play* shall presently begin. And though the *Fayre* be not kept in the same Region, that some here [on Bankside], perhaps, would haue it, yet thinke that therein the *Author* has obseru'd a speciall *Decorum*, the place [of the stage] being as durty as *Smithfield*, and as stinking euery whit. (Induction 155-60)

Every whit, or iota, of the air the audience breathes is a cunning reminder of the fairgrounds across the Thames and up the Fleet. Adam Zucker argues that we have reason to be suspicious of this claim of accuracy since the "stink of the bears was in no way identical to the stink of porcine offal and stale beer and emptied chamber pots that contributed to the noisome atmosphere of the

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authorities by "arrest[ing] the dead corpse of poor calves and sheep" (2.2.66). But rather than "giue the [confiscated] puddings to the poore, the bread to the hungry, the custards to his children," as Overdo claims he does (2.1.23-24), these Promoters stock their own pantries and line their pockets with bribes. In the end, however, the Promoters are left holding the bag, or basket, as the case may be. They seize a basket of mutton from a "Country Wench," not realizing that an unwanted bastard child is hidden among the cuts of illicit meat. They finger through the basket feeling what they assume to be "Some loin of veal" or "a lamb's head," but when they pull out the child they realize that they have been duped:

> FIRST PROMOTER: A pox of all dissembling cunning whores!
>
> SECOND PROMOTER: Here's an unlucky breakfast. (2.2.188-95)

How frightening must it be to have one's appetite whetted by what one imagines to be a meal, only to discover that it is a human baby. Not only are smell, touch, and taste at a loss to differentiate between edible animals and cats and dogs, as in "On the Famous Voyage"; here human flesh intimates cannibalism.

[59] Cockayne reports a number of proverbs from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that affirm the trustworthiness of smell when in search of food: "One might expect the nose to have been the ultimate organ to detect the bad, and sayings testify to the stench of putrid fish ('fresh fish and new guests smell, by that they are three days old'). Fish did not enjoy a long shelf-life ('Daughters, and dead fish, are no keeping wares') and stale fish was not a marketable commodity ('no man cryeth stinking fish')." *Hubbub*, p. 98.

fair." [60] But what the Induction does affirm is that unlike the sights and sounds of the play, which appeal differently to the tastes of the Stage-Keeper and the Scrivener, dirt and stink unite them as participants in a common world. The Scrivener further advises that Jonson's language "some where sauours of … Pig-broath" (Induction 150-51), as if Jonson decocts the spirit of individual pigs into a common piggishness that is pervasive throughout the play. Even when separated from the meaty flesh itself, our sense of smell apprehends matter at an atomic level, creating a substrate of interpersonal and interspecies connection.

The closest the audience comes to *seeing* a particularized pig is the "*signe which is the Pigs-head with a large writing under it*" (*BF* 3.2.57+SD) that hangs above Ursula's booth, summoning Littlewit and his band of Banbury-bloods to the fair. Here we have the "Oracle of the Pigs head" (3.2.71), the face of a swine that speaks for the whole herd: "here be the best pigs: and shee doe's roast 'hem as well as euer she did; the Pigs head sayes" (3.2.67-69). In fact, this Pig Oracle, always in view, becomes the play's arch-image not just for the beastliness of the swine, but all of the piggish behavior at the fair.[61] Dame Purecraft chastises her son-in-law for gazing lustily at the sign, but Littlewit responds: "Good mother, how shall we finde a pigge, if we doe not looke about for't? will it run off o' the spit, into our mouths, thinke you? as in Lubberland? and cry, *we we*?" (3.2.75-77). Littlewit's squealing invocation of Lubberland

[60] Zucker, *Places of Wit*, p. 77.

[61] In *Eastward Ho* (1605) a city comedy collaboration between Jonson, John Marston, and George Chapman, an Eastcheap butcher named Slitgut erects a similar oracle, symbolizing the beastly trajectory of the play's drunken citizens. As was customary on October 18th, the feast of St. Luke, patron saint of butchers, Slitgut places a pair of ox horns on top of a pillar, where he can observe the madness unfolding below. Slitgut then provides a satirical treatise on ox horns and their association with cuckoldry, appetite, abundance, and pleasure-seeking, all themes common to citizen comedy (4.1.1-11, 256-69).

conjures an "imaginary land of plenty without labour,"[62] where pigs joyfully sacrifice themselves for human consumption without the human labors of husbandry, butchery, or cookery. The image of Lubberland collapses the difference between pig and pork. In Lubberland, pig is always-already food.

For the Puritans Purecraft and Busy, the morality of eating pork depends on this fantasy of a pig that is only encountered as food. Negotiating the rectitude of eating succulent meat requires some inventive rhetoric. Faced with the prospect of letting her daughter eat a detestable beast, Dame Purecraft had earlier asked the preacher Busy to make Bartholomew-pig "as lawful as [he] can." Busy vindicates pork consumption by proposing that they hide the face of the pig from view: the pig "hath a face of offence, with the weake, a great face, a foule face, but that face may haue a vaile put ouer it, and be shaddowed, as it were" (1.6.68-70). The pig's head hanging over the booth suggests the ambivalent attitudes toward pork. It is a "great face" that invites customers into the booth, but it is also a painted image that veils the corrupting and corruptible pork within. Rather than create suspicion, as in "On the Famous Voyage," for certain eaters the anonymity or obscurity of meat is what allows for a good meal.

The messy labor inside the tent is also masked with the scents of aromatic wood and herbs that Ursula uses in her cookery. Two of her lackeys, Captain Whit and Jordan Knockem, advertise to the Littlewits by listing the sensuous qualities of the "delicate show-pig … with shweet sauce, and crackling like de bay-leafe i' de fire," perfumed with "fire o' *Juniper* and *Rosemary* branches!" (3.2.63-64, 69-70). These add flavor to the dish, but also dissociate meat from animal. Because the unclean scent of pigs is more problematic in a way that savory scents of pork, Busy resolves his prohibition by focusing on cooked meat as opposed to raw flesh. He

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[62] *OED*, "Lubberland, *n.*"

can avoid looking directly at the pig he covets by sniffing out Ursula's herbed meat like a dog. In Busy's estimation, pigs cannot will their flesh into the mouths of the fairgoers (as they might in Lubberland), but they do signal their eagerness to be eaten "by other meanes":

> your mother, religiously wise, conceiueth it may offer it selfe, by other meanes, to the sense, as by way of steeme, which I thinke it doth, here in this place (Huh, huh) yes, it doth. And it were a sinne of obstinacy, great obstinacy, high and horrible obstinacy, to decline, or resist the good titillation of the famelick sense, which is the smell. Therefore be bold (huh, huh, huh) follow the sent. Enter the Tents of the vncleane, for once, and satisfie your wiues frailty. (3.2.78-86)

When disgust in response to pig flesh evaporates into pleasure in response to the alluring smell of pork, Busy can argue that the appetite is licensed to pursue its desire. Here, Jonson recalls Busy's earlier justification for eating pork, whereby the pig's "foule face" may be negated by a "vaile" and "shaddowed, as it were."[63] Although blinding oneself to the animal would seem to distance meat from consumer, the pig still presents herself "by way of steeme." Willfully surrendering his intellectual senses, Busy surrenders to the particulate matter of odor that tickles the "famelick sense," the sense of appetite or hunger central to longing.[64]

According to Stephen Batman, Elizabethan translator of and commentator on the thirteenth-century Franciscan encyclopedia *De proprietatibus rerum* by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, the appeal of smell lies in its fineness and sensitivity. Smell is less "boystous & thicke" than taste, "as much as fumositie is more subtill than water." A refined sense of smell allows animals, and humans with discerning palates, to distinguish between unsavory flesh and

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[63] The link between eating pork and sex should not be understated here. Sexual jokes about John Littlewit "satisfying" his wife in the "Tents of the vncleane," which double as a brothel, echo throughout the play. Busy's language emphasizes the dangers of carnal appetite for a widow and a widow's daughter, especially. Knockem also implies an equivalency between pork and sex when soliciting Quarlous and Winwife: "this is old *Vrsla's* mansion, how like you her bower? heere you may ha' your Punque and your Pigge in state, Sir, both piping hot" (2.5.39-42).

[64] Cf., the French word "famélique," i.e., "half-starved" or "famished."

sound, poisonous herbs and benign.[65] The smell of pork is less gross than the meat from which it emanates. Busy's suggestion that they smell their way to satisfaction is comparable to a jest told by Robert Burton in his compendium *Versatile Ingenium*:

> A poor begger in *Paris* being very hungry stay'd so long in a cooks shop, who was dishing up meat, till his stomach was satisfied merely with the smell thereof: upon which account the choleric cook demanded payment of him: the poor man denied it, and the controversie was referr'd to the deciding of the next man that should pass by, which chanced to be the most notorious Ideot in the whole citie: he on the relation of the matter to the amazement of all persons, most sagaciously and wittiely determin'd, that the poor mans money should be put between two emtie dishes, and the cook should be recompensed with the gingling of the poor mans money, as he was satisfied with the only smell of the cooks meat.[66]

The chief physician of St. Bartholomew Hospital, Timothy Bright (1551?-1615), also notes that "the Cooks appetite may be satisfied for a time by smelling of the rost."[67]

Of course, the mere scent of pork is not enough to satisfy Busy. The sensory overload of the fair obscures all subtlety and exhorts the "famelic sense" to prompt more consumption than hunger demands. According to Knockem, Busy has more than his fill inside the tent: "two and a halfe he eate to his share. And he has drunke a pailefull. He eates with his eyes, as well as his teeth" (3.6.50-51).[68] Busy's gluttony disproves the stereotype of Puritans imagined by Quarlous

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[65] Batman, *Batman vppon Bartholome*, p. 20.

[66] Burton, *Versatile Ingenium*, pp. 119-20;

[67] Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie*, p. 17. Cf. Face's memory of the first time he met Subtle in *The Alchemist*: "I shall put you in mind, sir, at *pie-corner*. / Taking your meale of steeme in, from cookes stalls, / Where, like the father of hunger, you did walke / Piteously costiue, with your pinch'd-horne-nose, / And your complexion, of the *romane* wash, / Stuck full of black, and melancholique wormes, / Like poulder-cornes, shot, at th'*artillerie*-yard" (*The Alchemist* 1.1.25-31).

[68] Jonson follows conventional humoral theory found in Renaissance dietaries that denotes overeating of pork leads to piggishness. According to Ken Albala, the fleshly body of the non-human animal can contaminate the behavior of the human animal: "Pigs are the most voracious and indiscriminate of animals, and therefore whoever would avoid gluttony should also avoid

and Winwife earlier in the play, as they had assumed the Banbury-bloods to be "painfulle eaters" who belabor their food with a "[s]entence out of *Knoxe* between" each bite. The ravenous devouring of pig in the tent completely inverts the idea of a "drie *grace* … droan'd out … till all the meat o' thy board has forgot, it was that day i' the Kitchin" (1.3.88-96). Not only is the meat not forgot, Busy becomes an animal himself.[69]

The smell of the fire has the same gravitational pull as Robert Sidney's hearth in Jonson's "To Penshurst," where animals happily migrated across the Kentish landscape and into the Sidney family banquet hall, except the play has reversed the traffic in humans and animals, with animalized humans being led to the "seate of the Beast." When the gallant Tom Quarlous spots Rabbi Busy and this zoomorphic herd of humans corralled toward the sign of the pig, he mocks them: "hee is leading his flocke into the *Fayre*, now." Winwife responds, "Rather driuing 'hem to the Pens: for he will let 'hem looke vpon nothing" (3.2.51-54).[70] To what extent is smell responsible for this zoomorphosis? With the blind faith of chattel beasts following their drover into the shambles, the Littlewit clan follows their noses into the tent. Smell is a powerful force, with sweet aromas helping to overcome concerns about the corrupting potential of meat and the

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pork. Quite simply, we become like pigs when we eat pork." *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, p.168.

[69] Busy's piggishness is evident before he dehumanizes himself by sniffing like a dog in "good titillation." In the first act, Littlewit reports that he has seen Busy feasting on cold leftovers: "I found him, fast by the teeth i' the cold Turkey-pye, i' the cupboard, with a great white loaf on his left hand, and a glasse of *Malmesey* on his right" (1.6.34-36). Both hands full, Busy feeds like an animal, crumbs dribbling down his beard.

[70] Animal pens, where sheep and cattle would be held before slaughter, are visible at the north end of Smithfield on the Agas Map of London. See, "The Agas Map." Jordan Knockem's use of horse-coursing terminology to describe the bodies of Ursula, Win Littlewit, and Dame Overdo (the latter two of whom he attempts to recruit for a prostitution ring) also supports the idea that humans undergo zoomorphosis at the fair. The transformation of humans into animals in *Bartholomew Fair* is central to the formation of what Katherine Gillen calls "commercial subjectivity." Gillen, "Female Chastity and Commoditized Selfhood," pp. 312-13.

enormities that transpire in Ursula's kitchen. In *Bartholomew Fair*, the smell of cooking food has the capacity to ensnare passing consumers. Busy proclaims the whole fair to be "the shop of *Satan*" with "hooks, and baits, very baites, that are hung out on euery side, to catch you, and to hold you as it were, by the gills and by the nostrills, as the Fisher doth" (3.2.42-45). Although these wares seem to want to be consumed, they will (according to Busy) consume the consumer.[71]

Odors are elusive – they can't be held in the hand – but they still take hold of the body by the nostril. They cling to clothes and hair, they envelope us in a cloud that sometimes appetizes, sometimes revolts. The residual smell of food production reminds us that eating is not so much a discrete act as it is a part of process that connects networks of consumers, the consumed, laborers, and environments. Olfaction – our most lizard sense – awakens consciousness to the unseen, unthought world. Through scent, humans and animals first ascertain each other, then mingle and experience carnal appetite. As Batman's encyclopedia explains, the human sense of smell requires "the spirite *Animalis*" in order to function. Batman provides the following anatomical description of smell's sense organ:

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[71] According to Busy, all of the senses are vulnerable to the call of objects. The preacher warns that "Heathen man" cannot "stop his eares with wax, against the harlot o' the sea: Doe you the like, with your fingers, against the bells of the Beast" (3.2.46-48). Dame Purecraft also warns her daughter of pork's demonic power: "O! resist it, *Win-the-Fight*, it is the Tempter, the wicked Tempter, you may know it by the fleshly motion of Pig, be strong against it, and it's foule temptations in these assaults, whereby it broacheth flesh and blood, as it were, on the weaker side; and pray against its carnall prouocations, good child, sweet child, pray" (1.6.14-19). Later, Busy adds to this list of demonic objects: "bottle-ale is a drinke of Sathan's, a diet drinke of Sathan's, deuised to puff vs vp, and make vs swell in this latter age of vanity, as the smoake of tabacco, to keepe us in mist and error: But the fleshly woman, (which you call *Vrsla*) is above all to be auoyded, hauing the marks vpon her, of the three enemies of Man, the World, as being in the *Faire*; the Deuill, as being in the fire; and the Flesh, as being her selfe" (3.6.30-37). Also of note among these idolatrous foods are Joan Trash's gingerbread saints. Busy blasts Trash's "basket of Popery, nest of Images: and whole legend of ginger-worke," (3.6.72-74). Busy later attacks this food and casts it about the stage.

> And it needeth to haue the lymme [i.e., organ] expedient, that is to wit, perfect disposition of the nosethrills. In the which are small peeces as it were of flesh hanging downewarde, and shapen as teates, the which be the proper lymmes of the smellyng, and receiue the spirite *Animalis,* by certaine sinewes that come downewarde from the brayne.[72]

The "spirite *Animalis*" operates in this border space of the body, extending out into the world to apprehend odor's particulate matter. The human's animal soul first apprehends other bodies through the scents they emit. The "spirite *Animalis*" operates as a medium between self and other, a spirit that receives the phantom-like particles of odors and determines their qualities:

> [T]he smoake of the body or sweete smellyng thing being resolued, is meddeled with the ayre: the which the small chambers of the brain draw to them by those two small teates, & change & turne it into their owne lykenesse. And so by that chaunge and likenes made in that manner by working of the spirite *Animalis,* the effect of the smell is made.[73]

For the "well disposed" virtuous person, smell "comforteth the virtue Animall, & cleanseth superfluous fro*m* fumositie."[74] Like the "spirite *Animalis*" that draws odors into the nose and toward the sense receptors, Busy's claim that an animal "may offer it selfe … by way of steeme" implies that smells works as a push-pull between self and other. The particulate matter of odor operates in a no-man's land between the bedeviling animal, who seems eager to seduce the eater, and the human body's own organs which, according to humoral physiology, have "an aspect of agency, purposiveness, and plenitude to which the subject's own will is often decidedly irrelevant."[75] The nostrils, the tongue, and the stomach all want to consume irrespective of the rational mind.

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[72] Batman, *Batman vppon Bartholome*, p. 19.

[73] Batman, *Batman vppon Bartholome*, p. 19.

[74] Batman notes that all manner of "four footed beast … can discerne between hearbes good and venomous" through the virtues of smell. *Batman vppon Bartholome*, p. 20.

[75] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 10.

Following the authority of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, early modern natural philosophers recognize that the air between meat and meat-eater is not a vacuum, but a space where the particulate matter of the animal collides with the "spirite *Animalis*" of the human soul. Hence to acknowledge that humans share the air they breathe with human and nonhuman others, and that the air itself is a mélange of exhalations from all kinds of bodies, is to confirm Steve Mentz's thesis that early modern breath was seen as a "biological exchange that circulated air into and out of living bodies": "Since classical Greek philosophy used the word *pneuma* as breath and soul, windy suspiration has been linked to the spark of biological life. The Latin anima carries comparable resonance. Given air's capacity for movement, an analysis of breath locates unceasing circulation inside living bodies." Mentz's adjuration that "breath is only partly human" reminds us that the air we breathe contains the vaporous odors of nonhuman others.[76]

In *Bartholomew Fair*, the sense of smell is prospective, representing an invitation into the heart of Smithfield.[77] As Busy leads his flock into Ursula's booth, he takes in the intangible spirit of the pig with each sniff of his snout – "huh, huh, huh" – but by closing his eyes and surrendering to the famelic sense, he finds himself chasing olfactory shadows. The desire to seek out the pork of a freshly slaughtered sow without being corrupted by the sight of her body or the touch of her flesh can offer only a glancing, incomplete encounter with the animal. The pigs

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[76] Mentz, "A Poetics of Nothing," pp. 36-37. See also, Mazzio, "The History of Air"; Yates, "Cloud/land," p. 43.

[77] Throughout the play, characters use their sense of smell as a guide or compass which draws them toward sex, money, or foul corruption that must be rooted out: Winwife's hunt for the curried "carkasse" of a rich widow is likened to "nosing" for "ancient *Tripe* or *Trillibub* i' the Towne" (1.3.64-69); Justice Overdo seeks out corruption through smell as he attempts to infiltrate Ursula's gang: "well, I will fall in with her, and with her *Moone-calfe*, and winne [wind, i.e. smell] out wonders of enormity" (2.2.115-17). Cf. In *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, the Promoters soliciting bribes from clandestine butchers are also said to be "pricking up their ears / And snuffing up their noses like rich men's dogs" (2.2.62-63).

themselves, dissolved in the vaporous air of the market, continuously recede into the play's "pig-broath" of language, both everywhere and nowhere. Although the fairgoers are enveloped by this cloud of beastly allusions, linguistic references to pigs signal the attenuated relationship between humans and animals. As long as Busy – with his eyes closed and ears stopped – prefers his food to be anonymous, the encounter with the animal will be watered down in a broth.

2. The King of Fish's Stinking Ghost

On the August feast day of *Bartholomew Fair*, the esurient multitudes are perfectly willing to give themselves over to the "famelic sense" that invites the animal spirit to overtake the body. In Jonson's *Every Man In His Humor*, the smell of fish on a fasting day has the opposite function. In one of the play's secondary-plots, Oliver Cob, a water-drawer whose surname signifies a young herring, marches through Coleman Street Ward, from the Old Jewry to Moorgate, ranting to anyone who cares to listen about the ever-present stench wafting through the air. He enumerates three causes for the widespread ire for which he serves as unlikely (and, indeed, parodic) spokesperson:

> First, they [fasting days] are of a *Flemmish* breed, I am sure on't, for they rauen [ravine] up more butter, then all the dayes of the weeke beside; next, they stinke of fish and leeke-porridge miserably: thirdly, they'll keep a man devoutly hungrie, all day, and at night send him supperlesse to bed. (3.4.42-46)[78]

The stink signals differences in terms of nationality and class and raises suspicions about the contours of London's economy. Although satire of the food economy is far less central to the

[78] Martin Seymour-Smith, in his introduction to the play, suggests that Cob "would have been a highly popular character with early modern audiences, with his tirades against the hated fasting-days, and was no doubt skillfully and deliberately used by Jonson to appeal to the groundlings." A highly popular play, *Every Man In His Humor* was first performed at The Curtain theater in Shoreditch in 1598 and published in quarto in 1601. Seymour-Smith, "Introduction," p. xxv. Cob's complaints echo the political debates of the sixteenth century, including the anti-Catholic tenor of protests against fish days, their relationship to anti-Dutch English nationalism, and health manuals' suspicion of fish. See Sgroi, "Piscatorial Politics Revisited," pp. 1-10.

plot of *Every Man In His Humor* than it is to that of *Bartholomew Fair*, here, too, aromas, cued by the calendars of feast days and fast days in religious almanacs, structure daily life in London. By restricting animal consumption to fish on Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Lent, a mix of diet, religion, economics, and national politics are responsible for the unappetizing smell of stockfish that lingers in the air on nearly half the days of the year. Jonson incorporates this smell into *Every Man In His Humor*, showing how olfaction has the wherewithal to disrupt eating as well as to encourage it.

For Cob, the injustice of the fasting day's enforced hunger is compounded by his claim of descent from the "ancient linage" of the "first red herring, that was broil'd in ADAM and EVE'S kitchn" (1.4.10-15).[79] Hence, on fish days, Cob despairs at the thought of his kin perishing in the name of religion; his herring brethren go "to racke, poore cobs they smoke for it, they are made martyrs o' the gridiron, they melt in passion."[80] The enforcement of fish days requires Cob to "turne HANNIBAL, and eate my owne fish, and bloud" (3.4.50-54). When asked by Matthew, a class-conscious town gull, how he knows that he descends from such "a mightie great COB," the

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[79] Robert Appelbaum provides an excellent overview of the semiotics of herring in the Elizabethan period, centering his analysis on Thomas Nashe's *Lenten Stuffe; or, The Praise of the Red Herring* (1599) in *Aguecheek's Beef,* pp. 211-18. See also Turner, "Nashe's Red Herring."

[80] Cob's home in a lane off of Coleman Street is less than a half-mile east of Smithfield and so, perhaps, within nose-shot of that site of martyrdom. In "Gascoignes Recantation," a poem in his 1573 volume *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, George Gascoigne credits the smell of the Smithfield Fires for his reform from prodigality:

> Nowe must I needes recant the wordes which once I spoke,
> Fonde fansie fumes so nye my nose, I needes must smell the smoke:
> And better were to beare a faggot from the fire,
> Than willfully to burne and blaze in flames of vayne desire. (ll. 1-4)

Gascoigne was at Gray's Inn, a half-mile west of Smithfield, from 1555-1558, during the fires.

water-drawer responds: "How know I? why, I smell his ghost, euer and anon" (1.4.19-23).[81] Cob refers to what must have been the powerful smell of the thousands of piscine martyrs that would fill the city on fasting days. In a city of 200,000, every market basket and street would traffic in the circulation of fish; every ditch and compost heap would bear their remains. In *Bartholomew Fair*, the smell of pig anticipates the feast that is to come, but *Every Man In His Humor* uses smell to recall the past. Smell – unlike the other intimate senses of taste and touch – does not rely on the immediate presence of its referent; instead smell can be the haunting reminder that something *was* here that has past. This ghostly residue indicates its decay or recession.[82] Following classical authorities, early modern audiences understood an aroma to be a likeness or emulation of that which gave rise to it, hence an olfactory shadow or echo of an animal that is cooking in *Bartholomew Fair*, or rotting in *Every Man In His Humor*.[83]

The words used to describe the physics of breath in the Tudor-Stuart era convey the absent presence of air's particulate matter, including odors. As Alexander Gill (1565-1635), Master of Saint Paul's School, elucidates, "The word *Ghost* in English, our true speech, is as much as *athem*, or breath; in our new Latine language, a Spirit… Spirit, as it *may* meane any being elementall, as we speak of the wind, or any subtle stream that may rise from a moist

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[81] The "great"-ness of Cob's ancestor may suggest that the herring was delivered to London by the fishing fleets that traveled to the Great Bank off of Newfoundland. Many contemporary travel narratives describe the fish of North American waters being as massive as they were plentiful when compared to the overfished populations of the European banks. Cf. Trinculo's encounter with Caliban in *The Tempest*: "What have we here? a man or a fish? dead or alive? A fish, he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of, not-of-the-newest poor-John [similar to cod]. A strange fish!" (2.1.24-27).

[82] Even smells we find pleasant signal not just the ripeness of a fruit or a flower but its inevitable decay. Cf. Jaques's encounter with the motley fool, "moral[izing] on the time": "And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe, / And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot" (*AYLI* 2.7.26-27).

[83] Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume*, p. 11.

body."[84] Gill addresses the materiality of ghosts by describing their relationship to moist bodies, much like the wafting fetor of a humid market day. But Gill's gloss on "ghost" also captures the animated nature of the miasma emanating from the London's fish markets.[85] The herring ghost that seems to follow Cob is a spirit that takes hold of the city 150 days a year and reminds Londoners of the religious and political forces that shape their relationship to their food.[86]

Figured as a ghost who haunts Cob as his "great-great-mighty-great Grand-father," the "King of fish," and "one o' the Monarchs o' the world" (1.4.13-17), the smell of herring hangs over London with an ancient Catholic authority newly resurrected to disrupt and supersede the present law.[87] By drawing attention to this ghost (notably present in the play's Old Jewry setting), Cob detects what Jonathan Gil Harris describes as the "polychronicity" of smell. Harris

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[84] Gill, *The Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scripture*, p. 113. For discussion of Gill and the spirit of air, see Mazzio, "The History of Air," p. 155.

[85] Mazzio, reflecting on Old Hamlet's ghost, argues that the classical theories that connected air to such ideas as *anima*, *spiritus*, *pneuma*, *psyche*, etc., all have influence on our conception of airy ghosts and the affective capacity of air to move and motivate those within its environs: "To imply a separation between atmosphere and affect would thus be anachronistic." "The History of Air," p. 154.

[86] Another fishy smell that would have hung in the air, familiar to anyone who lives near polluted waterways, would have been the stench of fish kills that follow algal blooms. Keith Thomas mentions that the residents of St. Botolph's Parish, near the Tower, complained about fish kills in 1627. *Man and the Natural World*, p. 245.

[87] The specter of Catholicism invoked by fasting days is apparent in Edward Jeninges *A Briefe Discouery* (1590). Jeninges, an advocate *for* an increase in fish consumption for reasons of ecological sustainability and national security, wants to be absolutely clear that he is no papist: "Wherein I doe pronounce that the eating of fleshe or forbearing to eate fleshe, is not anie matter or thing concerning saluation of man, or that it is the seruice of God otherwaies then all other polliticke lawes are, and be: for it is not the abstinence from flesh, that pleaseth God, nor the eating thereof, that offendeth him: …. [H]e is called a Papist, for that saith some, [if] he thinketh it is necessarie to abstaine from eating of flesh, & doth like & allow of those lawes and deuices made and vsed in the time of Papistrie, and by auncient authoritie of the Pope, who*m* we should not in any thing imitate, but rather in all thinges be contrarie." Jeninges, *A Briefe Discouery*, pp. 27-29.

argues that smell can act as a trace of the past acting in the present: "the centrifugal nature of smell – its propensity to smell *like* something else, and hence to evoke the past by metonymic association – locates its polychronicity ambivalently inside and outside the object."[88] Herring, often smoked, dried, or pickled for preservation for fasting days or for transport to distant markets, already seems a kind of undead animal waiting to be reanimated by the cook.[89] When Cob breathes in the herring's ghost on fasting days, he inhales the rheumy air of the fish market and the spirit of his forebear, but he also awakens a spirit of social conflict long simmering in London. As Harris puts it, smell has an "explosive temporality through which the past is made to act upon, and shatter the self-identity, of the present."[90] The polychronicity of red herring thus points toward the cultural memory of smoked martyrs.

Disturbingly, Cob's remark on the ghost also insinuates a recrudescence of religious violence, as if dormant in the embertides were still smoldering sentiments that might reignite. Cob, already in the middle of a diatribe against meat prohibitions, enters the warehouse of the merchant Kitely, his language bordering on the apocalyptic: "Fasting dayes? what tell you me of fasting dayes? S'lid, would they were all on a light fire for me: They say, the whole world shall be consum'd with fire one day, but would I had these ember-weeks, and villainous fridayes

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[88] Harris, *Untimely Matter*, p. 124. For a discussion of *Every Man In His Humor*'s Old Jewry setting, which is "not simply a location but also a temporality" that recalls the memory of pre-expulsion London's religious minorities, see Harris, *Untimely Matter*, pp. 105-110. Dugan provides a brief history of the "mysterious power of smell to evoke a 'remembrance of things past' (or what scientists now term a 'Proustian' or 'involuntary' memory)," in *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, p. 1.

[89] Dutch innovations in processing and preservation meant that fishing fleets could store herring in barrels while ships "remain[ed] at sea for weeks or even months at a stretch, following the shoals of migrating North Sea herring." Dried cod, a less fatty fish, could be preserved for even longer stretches of time. Bolster, *The Mortal Sea*, p. 31. See also, Sgroi, "Piscatorial Politics Revisted," p. 7.

[90] Harris, *Untimely Matter*, p. 121.

burnt, in the meantime, and then—" (3.4.1-5). Kitely's warehouse manager, Thomas Cash, mercifully interrupts Cob's rant, but his pyromania is apparent enough. Cob's conflagration fantasy combines the cultural memory of the Smithfield fires with the imagery of smoked herring he used earlier. In fact, throughout the play, Cob is likened to one of these martyred fish. When Cob hypothesizes that the "filthie" fasting day almanacs are actually drawn up by "some Fish-mongers sonne" who "puts in more fasting-dayes then he should doe, because he would vtter his fathers dryed stock-fish, and stinking conger," Cash warns him to keep quiet or else "thou't bee beaten like a stock-fish" (3.4.59-64). Cash's premonition comes true when Cob criticizes the *miles gloriosus* Captain Bobadill for smoking tobacco: "By gods mee, I marle, what pleasure, or felicitie they haue in taking this roguish *tobacco*! it's good for nothing, but choke a man, and fill him full of smoke and embers" (3.5.105-10). For Cob's insolence, Bobadill "*beates him with a cudgel*" (3.5.117+SD).[91] First cooked in a cloud of tobacco fumes and then tenderized by Bobadill, Cob figuratively becomes one of "martyrs o' the gridiron" sent to the rack: "poore cobs they smoke for it," indeed (3.4.50-54).

The martyred dead reassert their presence in *Bartholomew Fair* as well. At the opening of the fairgrounds, the hobby-horse seller Lantern Leatherhead, protective of the space surrounding his stall, admonishes the neighboring vendor, Joan Trash. A seller of gingerbread cut into the shapes of the saints, Trash has encroached on Leatherhead's territory:

> LEATHERHEAD: Doe you heare, Sister *Trash*, Lady o' the Basket? sit farther with your ginger-bread-progeny there, and hinder not the prospect of my shop, or I'll ha' it proclaim'd i' the *Fayre*, what stuffe they are made on.

[91] According to Moffett, "Stockfish whilst it is unbeaten is called Buckhorne, because it is so tough; when it is beaten upon the stock, it is termed stockfish." Stockfish is "made tender by age and beating." *Healths Improvement*, pp. 167, 170.

TRASH: Why, what stuffe are they made on, Brother *Leatherhead*? nothing but what's wholesome, I assure you.

LEATHERHEAD: Yes, stale bread, rotten egges, musty ginger, and dead honey, you know. (BF 2.2.2-10)[92]

Trash's use of subpar ingredients is frequently cited as evidence of market corruption, but this scene also demonstrates that putrefied matter has an enduring afterlife. Baked into new shapes, these "rotten egges" and "dead honey" live on within the economic ecosystem.[93] Although rotten, food persists, continuing to circulate through the bodies of others. As Bruce Boehrer puts it, *Bartholomew Fair*'s rapidly accumulating pile of stage properties and consumer wares "provokes both desire and anxiety.... [W]hen the life of things has run its course, an ever-rising tide of rubbish remains. Herein lies Jonson's chief environmental insight, at once simple and profound: goods decay, but trash is forever."[94]

Forever, but also dynamic.[95] Jonsonian foodstuffs recycle through loops of continuous circulation and transformation. Jane Bennett argues that the denial of waste's eternal return stems from a depersonalized and fractured food system, a move that seeks to separate filth from

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[92] Later in the play, Busy overthrows Trash's basket and most of the gingerbread ends up on the ground. Interestingly, in the only other scene that calls for food on stage, the costermonger spills his basket of pears on the ground as well (4.2.32-35).

[93] I am reminded of Kathleen Maus's point that in Jonson's morbid sense of humor, "death creates opportunities." The same is true for diseased meat and "dead honey." Maus, "Satiric and Ideal Economies," p. 43. On the exchange value of waste, see also, Boehrer, *The Fury of Men's Gullets*, pp. 156-57.

[94] Boehrer, *Environmental Degradation*, p. 60.

[95] Perhaps the most famous quandary regarding food waste in early modern English culture is what Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt call "the problem of the leftover" in Eucharistic theology. The question of whether eating and digesting the Host defiled the body of Jesus led to many heresy trials during the English Reformations. While the agency of other "leftover" early modern foodstuffs has been less studied, Gallagher and Greenblatt's application of this problem to *Hamlet* has clearly influenced my thinking here. Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, pp. 136-62, quotation at p. 147.

appetite. This desire for cleanliness has the accidental consequence of devitalizing the food we consume.[96] Bennett proposes that greater consciousness of waste and greater responsibility to ecosystems corrupted by pollution can be accomplished through greater attunement to the difficult problems posed by what she terms "vibrant matter." To understand our attachment to these objects and their captivating qualities, Bennett reconsiders the idea of "enchantment." Through "the figure of enchantment …the agency of the things that *produce* (helpful, harmful) effects in human and other bodies" is strengthened.[97] Just as the smell of pig bewitches *Bartholomew Fair*'s Banbury-bloods, the smell of fish indicates the might of Cob's ancient ancestor, king of the fish. Although the power of this food repels rather than attracts Cob, it is nevertheless an example of Bennett's call to "recognize the agency of food" and thereby "reorient our own experience of eating."[98]

Unlike *Bartholomew Fair*, wherein we confront the pig's face only through the painted image above Ursula's booth, *Every Man In His Humor* does reorient the experience of eating by creating a personal relationship between human and herring. At the emphatic conclusion of Cob's rant against fish days, the stage directions say that "*He pulls out a red [smoked] herring*" in order to make an impassioned, ridiculous apostrophe to "one o' the Monarchs o' the world":

> My princely couz, fear nothing; I haue not the hart to deuoure you, & I might be made as rich as King COPHETVA. O, that I had roome for my teares, I could weepe salt-water enough, now, to preserue the liues of ten thousand of my kin. But I may curse none but these filthie *Almanacks*, for an't were not for them, these dayes of persecution would ne're be knowne. (*EMIHH* 3.4.54-60)[99]

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[96] Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, p. 47.

[97] Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, p. xii.

[98] Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, p. 51.

[99] Although Moffett says of red herring that "it is one of the Cardinal supporters of our holy Lent, and therefore not to be ill spoken of," he decries their gross qualities:"[I]n the Spring time, when we ought to feed on the purest and most wholesome nourishment, our blood is not cleansed

No wonder he can smell his ghost ever and anon! The miasma that has hung over Cob materializes in solid form. Cob, in his absurdity, draws the audience's attention to this representative from the market stalls. But unlike the interchangeable commodities of the fishmongers, Cob invites us to imagine a more intimate relationship with this suddenly individualized creature. Like Busy in *Bartholomew Fair*, Cob is a parody of religious reformers advocating for and against the consumption of different species of animals.

As it was, the relationship between animal slaughter and human martyrdom was ever present in the early modern imagination. In a 1575 letter to Queen Elizabeth interceding on behalf of Flemish Anabaptists, John Foxe explained his sensitivity to the bloody work of meat production:

> For such is my disposition (I will say this of myself, foolishly perhaps, but yet truly) that I can scarce pass the shambles where beasts are slaughtered, but that my mind secretly recoils with a feeling of pain. And indeed with all my heart I admire and venerate the clemency of God himself in ordaining those brute and lowly creatures which were formerly made ready for the sacrifice, should not be committed to the flames before their blood was poured out at the foot of the altar…. And so I dare for Christ's sake beseech your majesty to spare, if it may be, the lives of those wretched men, at least so far that this horror may be stopped, and changed into another kind of punishment. There are banishments, close confinements, there are chains, there are perpetual exiles, there are brandings and floggings or even gibbets. This one thing I earnestly beg, that you suffer not the pyres and flames of Smithfield, so long laid to sleep under your blessed auspices, to rekindle now.[100]

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but corrupted with filthy fish, I mean salt-herrings, red-herrings, sprats, Haberdin, and greenfish: which are not amiss for Sailers and Ploughmen, but yet most hurtful and dangerous for other persons." *Healths Improvement*, pp. 142, 153-54. For an overview of other medical writers' views of fresh and dried fish, see Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef*, pp. 212-14; Fitzpatrick, *Food in Shakespeare*, p. 28.

[100] Qtd. in Anderson, *Martyrs and Players*, pp. 50-51. Foxe's plea was unsuccessful. Jan Wielmacker and Hendrik Ter Woort were burnt at the stake in Smithfield on July 22, 1575, "uttering piercing cries." It was the first writ of *de heretico comburendo* since the death of Queen Mary in 1558. Hume, *Calendar of Letters and State Papers*, p. 500.

For Foxe, the close proximity of city residents to animal slaughter was not desensitizing. It was instead a constant reminder of the violence and cruelty of humanity. The screams of animals were echoes, the blood a returning shadow, and the stench a ghost of the Smithfield fires of the 1550s.

Increasingly global early modern food networks put consumers at greater and greater distances (both spatial and ethical) from food production, and Cob's apostrophe to the red herring sets him apart from Busy. The rabbi would "vaile" the "foule face" of the pig in an effort to circumvent the pollution and corruption of flesh, yet he eats "two and a halfe" to his share. In contrast, Cob is quite conscious of the inescapability of corruption and his own transformation into a herring. As he traverses the lanes of Coleman Street Ward and the Old Jewry, Cob brings with him a stinking reminder that the air common to all Londoners still bears traces of human and animal martyrs.

3. The Common Pot: Overcoming Nausea

Thus far I have discussed the confusion generated by smell in *Bartholomew Fair* and *Every Man In His Humor*. The smells of animals envelop the people of London, mingling self and other, human and animal, eater and eaten. For *Bartholomew Fair*'s Puritans, the porosity of the body creates anxiety about corruption and descent into piggishness; for Oliver Cob in *Every Man In*, fish days raise concerns about cannibalism and martyrdom. Is there a way to clarify, or at least come to terms with, the sorts of indistinction to which odor gives rise? In this section I examine Ursula's Pig-booth as the figurative stomach of *Bartholomew Fair*. Here, food and alcohol churn, transforming food into human flesh but also threatening to turn human flesh into food. For early modern people, a queasy stomach would have pertained to the relationship

between the rational soul and the animal soul, another binary relevant to species confusion as it is represented by Jonson.

Nausea starts to settle in during Act 4 of *Bartholomew Fair*, when the increasingly, dizzyingly drunk (4.4.9) Bartholomew-birds decide to play a "game of vapours" (4.4.27+SD).[101] Members from all sectors of society join in: Knockem, the horse-courser; Northern, the north-country cloth merchant; Puppy, the West Midlands wrestler; Val Cutting, a roarer; Whit, the Irish captain of the watch and bawd; and Humphrey Wasp, tutor and guardian to the wealthy esquire Cokes.[102] Jonson explains the game in a stage direction: "*Here they continue their game of vapours, which is* non sense*: Euery man to oppose the last man that spoke: whether it concern'd him, or no*" (4.4.27+SD). Thus, when Knockem says Wasp "do's vtter a sufficient vapour," Val Cutting objects:

CUTTING:	Nay, it is no sufficient vapour, neither, I deny that.
KNOCKEM:	Then it is a sweet vapour.
CUTTING:	It may be a sweet vapour.
WASP:	Nay, it is no sweet vapour, neither, Sir, it stinkes, and I'le stand to't.
WHIT:	Yes, I tinke it dosh shtinke, Captaine. All vapour dosh shtinke.
WASP:	Nay, then it do's not stinke, Sir, and it shall not stinke. (4.4.52-63)

[101] Although Jonson uses the term "vapour" a whopping seventy-four times in the play, the term never becomes completely clear to us. Jonson seems intentionally to play with its multiple definitions: as steamy exhalation, evaporating moisture, a hollow or meaningless thing, fumes emanating from the stomach that have a noxious effect on the brain, and fanciful grandstanding. *OED*, "vapour, *n.*1, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3a, 4," respectively.

[102] The game of vapors is perhaps the play's prime example of how, in Jean Howard's terms, "the city as a whole was a less insular place than it had been fifty years before. London was becoming an increasingly miscegenated space, by which I mean a place of mixing, where foreigners from Lancashire pressed up against established members of the London guilds and against stranger craftsmen." Howard, *Theater of a City*, p. 11.

Captain Whit fails to follow the rules of the game, forcing Wasp to proclaim that vapor both stinks and does not stink. The game requires its participants to be contrarian, leading to an inevitable collapse into woozy linguistic nonsense.[103] The game reflects the increasing disorientation of the fair and its seemingly directionless plots as the stage is packed with the arrival of more characters to the fair in each subsequent act.[104] As fairgoers consume more and more, discourses devolve from wit to bodily eruptions, belches, farts, piss, and vomit that plunge crowding bodies into a common quagmire.

If language takes the form of bodily excretions, it may be because flesh is already so disorienting. The interplay between pleasure and repugnance, rotting and cooked animals (and sometimes the cooking of the rotting animal) already demonstrates the instability of flesh. As Bruce Boehrer posits, "Not only is it unclear what constitutes food at any given moment; it is also uncertain what food means."[105] The mutability of flesh is best demonstrated in *Bartholomew Fair* by the fluid body of Ursula, the pig-woman. We see Ursula in various states of transformation, caught somewhere between animal and meat. When she curses the combined heat of the August weather and the kitchen's flames while roasting her pigs, she seems half-

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[103] Paster provides an excellent overview of the significance (or indeterminate insignificance) of "vapors" in *Bartholomew Fair*: "What humors are to other Jonson comedies, vapors are to *Bartholomew Fair* – a term that subsumes all forms of meaningful difference into its own endless metamorphoses, both grammatical and material." On the devolution of language in such scenes, Robinson argues that language seems to break down in the face of "strong feeling" but "disgust does so in a particularly intense way, generating a repertory of sounds that linger somewhere between speech and gesture: in the early modern period, "foh," "faugh," and "fogh"; also, "pah," "puh," or "poh"; and "fie," though this can also indicate scorn or anger…. Perhaps their most basic use is as a response to smell." Paster, "*Bartholomew Fair* and the Humoral Body," p. 261; Robinson, "Disgust, c. 1600," p. 559.

[104] Dugan, "As Dirty as Smithfield," p. 208.

[105] Boehrer, *The Fury of Men's Gullets*, p. 82.

cooked herself: "Fye vpon't: who would weare out their youth, and prime thus, in roasting of pigges, that had any cooler vocation? Hell's a kind of cold cellar to't, a very fine vault, o' my conscience!" (2.2.42-45).[106] By invoking traditional associations of cooks with hell, Ursula's language also invites an audience to imagine hell as a kitchen where sinners are roasted. In her own estimation, Ursula, "all fire and fat," is subject to dissolution by the kitchen flame: "I shall e'en melt away to the first woman, a ribbe againe, I am afraid" (2.2.50-51).[107]

With the figuration of Ursula's tent as a hellmouth that receives laborers, human customers, and animal products, the play's explicit references to religious intolerance take on new significance. The conflation of persecution with the pleasures associated with the annual fair serves as a haunting reminder of the violent history buried beneath the newly paved field. The omnipresent word "Bartholomew" recalls the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of Huguenots in France in 1572 and the flaying of St. Bartholomew the Apostle in India. As I have already noted,

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[106] The association of cooks with hell is especially memorable in the *Harrowing of Hell*, presented by the company of cooks in the Chester Cycle. The arrangement of *Bartholomew Fair*'s crowded stage – which must include the pig-booth, stocks, and a stage for the puppet show – has attracted much debate. The pig-booth is also used as a privy in the play which, as Parker points out, "provides another traditional association with hell." Parker, "The Themes and Staging of *Bartholomew Fair*," p. 297. On the entrance to Ursula's tent as a hellmouth, see also, Paster, "*Bartholomew Fair* and the Humoral Body," pp. 265-266; Harris, *Untimely Matter*, pp. 127-28; Waith, "The Staging of *Bartholomew Fair*," pp. 187-88; and Kaplan, "Dramatic and Moral Energy," p. 144n17.

[107] Ursula turns the fairgrounds into a kind of dystopian Eden: "I doe water the ground in knots, as I goe, like a great Garden-pot; you may follow me by the S.S.[s] I make" (2.2.51-53). In this fecund garden, fertility results from the dissolving human body expelling its waste. As Robinson argues in his reading of "On the Famous Voyage," the mud and muck of the Fleet and its environs "also recalls the mud of the Nile … the product of filthy emissions and it too is imagined as loathsomely generative." Gough offers a more critical view, contending that Ursula's "self-proclaimed similarity to Eve" identifies her as a descendant of the "woman responsible for the fall and the resulting division of letter from spirit." Robinson, "Disgust, c. 1600," p. 571; Gough, "Jonson's Siren Stage," p. 95.

Ursula's fires in the heart of Smithfield ineluctably recall the burning of Protestant dissenters at the stake in Smithfield between 1555 and 1558.[108]

Perhaps also in the back of Jonson's mind was *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586) by Timothy Bright, Chief Physician of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew, which overlooks Smithfield. In the course of examining how the body converts food into the bodily humors, Bright describes how the stomach takes in all matter:

> the stomach becommeth the most Catholicke parte in all the bodie, carying a more indifferent affection to whatsoeuer is receiued then anie part beside, which in the first concoctio*n* regardeth not so much it self as other partes, for whose sake it is ordayned, as it were, the Cooke not respecting this or that sorte of nourishment or foode, but applying it selfe alike generally to all that hath not a resistance in nature and a counterpower of poyson, which alwayes altereth and is not altered.[109]

Bright describes the stomach as an indiscriminate centrifuge. It receives all matter, "so easily embrac[ing] both hote and cold, sower and sweete, fat and leane, moyst and drie." Indifferent to whether food is nourishing or malnourishing, poisonous or potable, the "naturall heate" of the stomach "dissolueth" all matter.[110] The mouth is the site of discriminating taste; the stomach is

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[108] Clifford Davidson reviews Jonson's conflicted relationship with Puritan, Anglican, and Catholic approaches to religious iconography and the figure of St. Bartholomew. Davidson, "Judgment, Iconoclasm, and Anti-Theatricalism," pp. 353-54. See also, Pinciss, "*Bartholomew Fair* and Jonsonian Tolerance," pp. 351-52 and Chapman, "Flaying Bartholomew."

[109] Bright's description of an indiscriminate stomach is thus more similar to *Coriolanus*'s First Citizen's description of a "cormorant belly … the sink a' th' body" (1.1.120-122) than Menenius's "deliberate" belly which is "[n]ot rash like his accusers" (1.1.128-29).

[110] Bright, *A Treatise on Melancholie*, pp. 16-17. Although Bright's description of the "Catholicke" stomach is not likely to be a reference to the Roman Catholic faith – in the same work, he also refers to the soul as "that excellent, and catholicke instrument of spirit" (p. 48) – Bright's relationship to religious persecution and his proximity to the Smithfield execution grounds are suggestive. Bright was studying medicine in Paris when the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre brought terror to that city's Protestants. Bright found shelter in the house of Walsingham, then ambassador to France. Bright also edited an abridgment of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, published in 1589. *ODNB*, "Bright, Timothy." On the relationship between the St. Bartholomew Day Massacre and *Bartholomew Fair*, see Chapman, "Flaying Bartholomew," p. 523.

but a chaotic churn that disregards good order. Bright's cook who doesn't respect "this or that sorte of nourishment" resembles Ursula and her pig-booth, which functions in much the same way as the indiscriminate gut. Each and every character at the fair, of every shape and every disposition, passes through Ursula's booth. The booth – which we remember is "the very *wombe*, and *bedde*, of enormitie!" (2.2.106) – is the great leveler at the fair, a hellmouth that consumes human and animal bodies, dissolving them all in a universal pig-broth.

Fluids excreted from the body may even mix with fluids that are ingested since kitchen and privy are worrisomely proximate in Ursula's booth. When Win Littlewit needs to urinate, and finds herself too far from home, John suggests they "goe backe to Captaine *Iordan*, to the pig womans, *Win*; hee'll help us, or she with a dripping pan, or an old kettle, or something. The poore greasie soule loues you, *Win*" (3.6.127-30). Dame Overdo finds herself in a similar predicament when Captain Whit, the bawd, asks Ursula to give her relief: "pre dee now, shweet *Vrsh*, help dis good braue voman, to a *Iordan*, and't be" (4.4.205-07). But Ursula is annoyed with this extra traffic coming through her booth, especially because she is using all of her pans and bottles, except one, to cook pig and serve beer and ale:

> URSULA: I bring her, hang her: heart must I find a common pot for euery punque i' your purlews?
>
> WHIT: O good voordsh, *Vrsh*, it ish a guest o' veluet, i' fait, la.
>
> URSLA: Let her sell her hood, and buy a spunge, with a poxe to her, my vessell is employed Sir. I haue but one, and 'tis the bottome of an old bottle. An honest proctor and his wife are at it, within. If she'll stay her time, so." (4.4.211-18)

But she does relent. And we can only hope that this "old bottle" does not go back into immediate circulation, although John's suggestion that Win could use Ursula's dripping pan leaves us wondering. As more and more fairgoers pass around Ursula's "common pot," we begin to feel

the collapse of the spatial and categorical distinctions of kitchen/privy, raw/cooked, and fresh/rotten.[111] This "common pot," like Bright's "Catholicke" stomach, is figuratively situated halfway between mouth and anus, meat and waste, with matter circulating in every direction.[112]

The contaminants present in Ursula's kitchen, as much as the sullied qualities of Ursula herself, have inspired a wide range of critical responses. Melinda Gough has suggested that "Jonson goes out of his way to display [Ursula's] foul-mouthed, thieving, sweating greasiness."[113] But Ursula is hardly the most foul-mouthed character in the play (critics attentive to the greasiness of the pig-woman's language seem to give Wasp a pass),[114] and her thieving is also rather unexceptional in a play that features no fewer than three outright robberies. The only extraordinary things about her would seem to be her weight, her sweat, and her oily skin, but her excretions are the natural by-products of laboring in a kitchen in hot August weather. Still, critical opinion has tended to credit the insults hurled at Ursula by Quarlous, supposing that her dripping is "able to giue a man the sweating Sicknesse, with looking on her" (2.5.111-12).

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[111] Wendy Wall has shown that household kitchens in the early modern period functioned like mini-meat processing plants: "the early modern kitchen could become a slaughterhouse reeking of blood and strewn liberally with animals waiting to be killed, plucked, and dressed. Devoid of refrigeration or packaged meats, the Renaissance kitchen, as well as its textual elaboration in advice literature, everywhere marked the live origins of food." Although *Bartholomew Fair* does not suggest that Ursula is killing live pigs in her booth, members of the audience surely would have been thinking of housewives slaughtering pigs at home when Ursula emerges from her kitchen covered in animal fluids. *Staging Domesticity*, p. 192.

[112] Not a mere passive receptacle, this old bottle plays a part in the transformation of the women who use it. Paster argues that the chamber pot "serves prevailing cultural requirements in transforming the women from subjects to objects. The chamber pot has become a bawd, the 'jordan' a seller of flesh literalized in Jordan Knockem, the horse-corser." *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 37.

[113] Gough, "Jonson's Siren Stage," p. 95. See also, Cope, "*Bartholomew Fair* as Blasphemy," p. 143.

[114] Wasp, impatient with everything about the fair, tells three different characters to stick a "turd i' your teeth" (1.4.47-49; 1.5.15-16; 4.4.109-11; 4.4.147-50).

Ursula's response is to tell Mooncalf to arm her: "Gi' mee my pig-pan hither a little. I'le scald you hence, and you will not goe" (2.5.142-43). A scene of chaos ensues:

> EDGWORTH, NIGHTINGALE: 'Ware the pan, the pan, the pan, shee comes with the pan, Gentlemen. God blesse the woman.
>
> *Ursula comes in with the scalding-pan. They fight. Shee falls with it.*
>
> URSULA: Oh!
>
> TRASH: What's the matter?
>
> JUSTICE OVERDO: Goodly woman!
>
> MOONCALF: Mistresse!
>
> URSULA: Curse of hell, that euer I saw these Feinds, oh, I ha' scalded my leg, my leg, my leg, my leg. I ha' lost a limb in the seruice! run for some creame and sallad oyle, quickly. (2.5.155-63)

While many critics have analyzed this scuffle and the subsequent injury to Ursula, few have commented on the pan itself.[115] But as I have noted, scalding is an essential part of pork production in which boiling hot water is poured over the carcass of a freshly slaughtered pig to remove hair and bristles. The butcher then removes offal and scours the alimentary canal to rid the carcass of excrement and any undigested food left in the animal's gut.[116] It is messy work.

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[115] The few who discuss the scalding pan are at odds with one another. Frances Teague supposes that it is a pan of hot coals, not hot water. Kaplan suggests that it is a frying pan. Ostovich and Cope take it to be a dripping pan and so assume that Ursula scalds her leg with grease, rather than hot water. Teague, *The Curious History of Bartholomew Fair*, p. 39; Kaplan, "Dramatic and Moral Energy," p. 144n17; Ostovich, "Jeered by Confederacy," p. 122; Cope, "*Bartholomew Fair* as Blasphemy," p. 143.

[116] The Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* may contain an oblique reference to the scouring of pigs' entrails. In his list of Smithfield sights he wishes Jonson would have represented in the play, the Stage Keeper suggests humiliating a prostitute by hosing her down with water: "would not a fine [water] Pumpe vpon the Stage ha' done well, for a property now? and a *Punque* set vnder vpon her head, with her Sterne vpward, and ha' beene sous'd by my wity young masters o' the *Innes o' Court*?" (*BF* Induction 31-35). The Stage Keeper's cruel jest suggests that punks, who are

The monopoly on the Pudding Lane facility where all pigs in the city were required to be scoured and scalded was a chief source of power for the mighty London Butchers' Company. From 1580 until 1622, the scalding house was owned by Ursula Harding, widow, who collected rent from the Butchers Company, who had leased the property since 1575. Although further research is required to demonstrate a relationship between this intriguing figure and *Bartholomew Fair*, the importance of Ursula Harding's scalding house to London's pig economy warrants our acknowledgment that Ursula's scalding-pan is a significant stage property.[117]

If, as Alison Chapman has argued, *Bartholomew Fair* shows that "Jonson struggled to reject some of the key features of [his recently renounced Catholic] religious inheritance,"[118] then this scalding pan may also participate in a (self-)parody of Catholic theology. Protestants derisively refer to Purgatory as a scalding house in which the soul is purged of its impurities. Rudolf Gwalther, popular among English theologians as the head of the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, criticizes the concept of purgatory as the Pope's "great gainyng money marte …

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compared with pork throughout the play, must be scoured "Sterne vpward," just as one would void the entrails of a pig carcass in the scalding house.

[117] According to Simon Harding's will, in the event of the death of Ursula Harding, the property would have reverted to other relatives, but the Butchers Company purchased the rights to these reversions in 1619. Throughout the sixteenth century, the scalding house was a major source of contention between the butchers, the successive owners of the scalding house, the residents of Pudding Lane, and civic authorities charged with regulating waste and food safety. John Stow describes Pudding Lane's pollution problems in his *Suruay of London*: "Rother Lane or Red Rose Lane" is "now commonly called Pudding Lane, because the Butchers of Eastcheape haue their scalding house for Hogges there, and their Puddinges with other filth of Beastes, are voided downe that way to their dung boates on the Thames." He also describes another scalding house in Scalding Lane in Broadstreet Ward, but this seems to have been used mostly by the poulterers. *Suruay of London*, pp. 147, 167. To my knowledge, no one has noticed a connection between these two Ursulas, but future research may discover one. For a discussion of disputes between the owners of the scalding house and the London Butchers, see Jones, *The Butchers of London*, pp. 87-89; for references to civic complaints about pollution from scalding houses, see Jørgensen, "Running Amuck," p. 441-42.

[118] Chapman, "Flaying Bartholomew," p. 511.

that had wonte to come in for y^{e} soules, that lye pewling in the paynles paynes of his pikepurce purgatoire. Than he pisse out the flaming fire of that colde scalding house, for any more vau*n*tage it bringeth."[119] This concept of souls traded like agricultural commodities bound for the scalding house taps into the common Protestant accusation that Catholics were animalistic, even cannibals given to eating the body of God.[120] Whereas the sounds, sights, and smells of animals slaughtered in the shambles reminded John Foxe of Marian martyrs, the comparsion of purgatory with scalding houses reminded Protestants that Catholics are beastly.[121]

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[119] James Pilkington (1520-1576), Bishop of Durham, also calls purgatory the "Popes scalding house." In a similar vein, the civil lawyer Walter Haddon (1516-1572), refuting Continental propaganda, caricatures "all the kytchynes of the Catholickes … kept in a good lyking with the coales of this *Purgatory* fier." Gwalther's description of Purgatory as a Catholic "pickpurse" racket, conventional among Protestants including Tyndale and Latimer, also resonates with the repeated pick-pocketing of Bartholomew Cokes in *Bartholomew Fair*. Gwalther, *Antichrist*, p. 148v; Pilkington, "The burnynge of Paules Church," p. B8r; Haddon, *Against Jerome Osorius*, p. 407r; *OED*, "pickpurse, *n.*2a." Although Chapman does not note the possible connection to purgatory, she does make a case for Cokes as the "play's representative Catholic." Chapman maps many intriguing parallels between Cokes's trials and tribulations at the fair and Catholic hagiographies of Saint Bartholomew. G.M. Pinciss argues that Cokes residence in Harrow-on-the-Hill, an exurb referenced thrice in the play, would have conjured asssocation with "covert Catholicism … as evident to Jonson's audience as Banbury with Puritans." Harrow-on-the-Hill was infamous for its population of recusants "who refused to attend Anglican services." Chapman, "Flaying Bartholomew," pp. 512, 514; Pinciss. "*Bartholomew Fair* and Jonsonian Tolerance," p. 347.

[120] For a thorough discussion of Protestant reformers descriptions of Catholics' and Anglicans' as animalistic and of cannibalistic "carnal eating of the incarnate Lord," see Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*, pp. 97-133. Anne Askew's famously evasive answers to questions about the Eucharist during her examination are especially apposite here: "I answered, that I wold note throwe peraeles amonge swyne, for acornes were good ynough." As Goldstein notes, John Bale extends Askew's porcine metaphors in his commentary on Askew. Qtd. in Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*, p. 109.

[121] Catholics also drew parallels between persecution, martyrdom, and cannibalism. Cob's complaints about the cannibalism of piscine martyrs echoes Montaigne's "On the Cannibals": "I am not sorie we note the barbarous horror of such an action [as the violence of the "cannibals"], but grieved, that prying so narrowly into their faults we are so blinded in ours. I thinke there is more barbarisme in eating men alive, then to feed vpon them being dead; to mangle by tortures and torments a body full of lively sense, to roast him in peeces … as wee have not only read, but seene very lately, yea and in our owne memorie, not amongst ancient enemies, but our

In a more secular sense, perhaps when Mooncalf alerts Ursula to the "Very passionate" pig who has "wept out an eye" (2.4.58-59) over Ursula's spit, there is a suggestion that the pig-booth is a kind of animal purgatory, where scalding water and roaring fire purge the corrupting senses from the beastly body of the pig. In *Bartholomew Fair*, this interchangeability between human and hog is suggested when Ursula threatens the hapless Mooncalf. When he tries to tell some arguing customers to leave the booth, Mooncalf suffers the wrath of Ursula, who disparages him with zoomorphic insults:

> URSULA: Why you thinne leane Polcat, and they haue a minde to be i' their vapours, must you hinder 'hem? what did you know, Vermine, if they would ha' lost a cloake, or such a trifle? must you be drawing the ayre of pacification heere? while I am tormented, within, i' the fire, you Weasell?[122]
>
> MOONCALF: Good Mistresse, 'twas in the behalf of your Booth's credit, that I spoke.
>
> URSULA: Why? would my Booth ha' broake, if they had fal'ne out in't? Sir? or would their heate ha' fir'd it? in, you Rogue, and wipe the pigges, and mend the fire, that they fall not, or I'le both baste and roast you, till your eyes drop out, like 'hem. (2.5.58-71)[123]

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neighbours and fellow-citizens; and which is woorse, vnder pretence of pietie and religion." Montaigne, *Essays*, p. 104.

[122] I have amended these lines from Herford, Simpson, and Simpson where the sentences seem garbled. My correction is based on the 1631 quarto of *Bartholomew Fair*.

[123] The choleric Downright in *Every Man In His Humor* also uses a cannibalistic metaphor. Fed up with the profligacy of his half-brother Wellbred, Downright tries to think of ways to drive out the rabble of gallants and hangers-on who "ha[u]nt [Wellbred], vp and down, like a sort of vnluckie sprites and tempt him to all manner of villainie, that can be thought of. Well, by this light, a little thing would make me play the deuill with some of 'hem; …. I'ld make the house too hot for the best on 'hem: they should say, and sweare, hell were broken loose, ere they went hence." Inhospitality becomes a kind of cooking, overheating where the foul elements will be sweated and purged out: "they should have been perboyl'd, and bak'd too" (4.1.6-16). Don K. Hedrick has written on Jonson's use of cannibalism in his plays and poetry, including Ursula's anthropophagic threats against Mooncalf. Hedrick, "Cooking for the Anthropophagi," p. 233.

Ursula is angry that Mooncalf would attempt to drive away customers just because they have become rancorous. Although Mooncalf believes he was doing a "credit" to Ursula's reputation, the pig-woman maintains that the choler of customers breeds good appetite for food and drink. Her angry, cannibalistic threat to "baste and roast" Mooncalf seems to confirm this. Distinction between tormented pig-woman, animalized tapster, and passionate pig begins to narrow, aided by the heat of the flame which, as Ursula suggests, must be carefully tended so it does not set the tent ablaze, roasting human and nonhuman flesh alike. The liquefaction of flesh before the flame further suggests the mingling of human and nonhuman bodies. In the play, cookery is associated with a range of fluids, including weeping pigs, dropping pig-women, and greasy basters. As Mooncalf wipes and bastes the pigs, cook and cooked cross-contaminate one another, each species melded or infolded into the flesh of the other.[124]

Ursula's intimate relationship with the flesh she works with comes even closer to transgressing the species barrier within the booth's stomach womb. When Jordan Knockem greets Ursula at the pig-booth, he acknowledges the maternal bond of pig-woman and swine: "What! my leane *Vrsla!* my shee-Beare! art thou aliue yet? with thy litter of pigges, to grunt out another *Bartholomew Fayre?*" (2.3.1-3).[125] As "the mother o' the Pigs" (2.5.75), Ursula's

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[124] On indistinction between social and human/animal categories among the Bartholomew-birds, see Boehrer, *The Fury of Men's Gullets*, p. 81; Ostovich, "Jeered by Confederacy," pp. 121-22. I do not view the humans and animals of *Bartholomew Fair* as completely indistinguishable. Such a view unnecessarily flattens Jonson's representation of London's heterogeneity. But building attachment across categorical distinctions requires recognition of the ways in which we contaminate and are contaminated by others. Consider reports from 2015 that claim that 2% of meat tested contain traces of human DNA (likely from hair, skin, and nail particles); Bromwich, "No, Hot Dogs Do Not Contain Human Meat."

[125] Jordan Knockem, the horse-courser, describes another way in which Ursula struggles to maintain bodily integrity. Knockem, perhaps trying to rouse customers who might sympathize with Ursula, says that she is a "Poore soule, she has had a *S[t]ringhalt*, the *Maryhinchco:* but shee's prettily amended" (BF 3.2.61-62). These are diseases that are common to horses, not humans.

characterization as a "walking Sow of tallow" insistently draws attention to the ways that women are turned from subjects into objects to be bought and sold alongside the pigs.[126] Behind the screen of Ursula's canvas, it is impossible to tell whether the "grunting" comes from animals or animalized labor of the kitchen's "pig-broath" or the brothel's punks and their customers.[127] In the tent *qua* stomach or womb, the cross-contaminated bodies of pigs and humans are both alien and familiar, half incorporated into the self and half belonging to the outside world. The stomach full of half-digested food is the organ where the difference between human and animal absolutely collapses, where animal is literally anthropomorphized.

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[126] Early modern cookery emphasizes the gender of animals used for meats for the different quality of meat they provide. Hence, old sows fetch a higher price than younger males, according to Ursula's menu: "fiue shillings a Pigge is my price, at least; if it be a sow-pig, six pence more: if she be a great-bellied wife, and long for 't, six pence more for that" (2.2.109-12). Regard for maternal animals as delicacies is also emphasized in the next scene, when Ursula asks Knockem if he started a rumor that she "was dead, in Turne-bull streete, of a surfet of botle ale, and tripes." Knockem wryly answers, "No, 'twas better meat, *Vrs*: cowes vdders, cowes vdders!" (2.3.14-17)Cf. Sir Epicure Mammon's choice delicacy in *The Alchemist*: "the swelling vnctuous paps / Of a fat pregnant sow, newly cut off'" (2.2.83-84).

[127] Consider the echoes of the animal and meat metaphors used by Ursula and Punk Alice, the "mistress o' the game" who has grown angry at news of Captain Whit's (seeming) recruitment of wealthy town wives for their prostitution ring:

> ALICE: The poore common whores can ha' no traffique, for the priuy rich ones; your caps and hoods of veluet, call away our customers, and lick the fat from vs.
>
> URSULA: Peace you foule ramping Iade, you –
>
> ALICE: Od's foote, you Bawd in greace, are you talking?
>
> KNOCKEM: Why, *Alice*, I say.
>
> ALICE: Thou Sow of *Smithfield*, thou.
>
> URSULA: Thou tripe of *Turnebull*. (4.5.69-76)

This scene reconfigures many of the same terms used for food in Act 2 to describe prostitutes.

Whereas Claude Lévi-Strauss's notion of an "axis" dividing raw and cooked suggests a clean break, Huey-Ling Lee argues that because the process of meat production involves the transformation of raw materials into edible food, cooks such as Ursula straddle "the border between the human and the natural."[128] The transformation of animal into meat "brings the cooks in direct contact with the uncivilized aspect of nature."[129] Much of the authority for Lee's argument comes from the dietician Thomas Moffett. In his *Healths Improvement*, Moffett weighs the evidence for "[w]hether flesh or fish be the more ancient, pure, and wholsom meat" from a variety of sources that advocate abstinence from meat, ranging from Pythagoras and Plutarch to the Carthusians:[130]

> Did we but mark (saith Plutarch) the greasie fowlness of Butchers, the bloudy fingers of Cooks, and the smell of every beasts puddings and offal: we must needs confess, that first every thing was eaten before flesh, which even still we naturally abhor to see whilst it is in killing, and few touch without loathing when it is killed.[131]

Moffett concludes that there is little, if anything, that might be considered "pure," noting that Carthusians readily eat fish banned by Mosaic law and that the ancient people of Egypt and Rhodes were "lascivious" and "warlike," despite a diet that largely avoided meat.[132] To Plutarch's specific objection, Moffett answers that butchery "is not so loathsom to nature, but to niceness and conceit. For what God permits to be eaten, nature permits to dress and kill; neither

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[128] Lee, "The Devil or the Physician," p. 256.

[129] Lee, "The Devil or the Physician," p. 254.

[130] Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, p. 52.

[131] Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, p. 55.

[132] Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, pp. 52-55.

rebelleth she more at the death of an Ox, then at the cutting down of hay or corn."[133] And yet, "niceness and conceit" recommend that it is best to segregate slaughter from "squeamish" stomachs (as Thomas More's Utopians did).[134] Butchers and cooks who work with animals must harden their hearts and stomachs to the grim violence of meat production, leading Moffett to claim that such labor is activity fit for uncivilized anthropophagi: "As for raw flesh (besides Butchers, Cooks, Poulterers, Slaughter men, and Canibals) who dares almost touch it with their fingers?"[135]

To show how killing animals is "natural" but not "nice," Moffett draws on horrific mages of slaughter. To make the flesh of pigs "wholesome and sweet," he recommends restricting their movement by, "stying them up in so close a room that they cannot turn themselves about, and whereby they are forced to always to lye on their bellies." When it comes time to slaughter the pig, Moffett says that some "thrust a knife into one of his flanks, and let him run with it till he dye: others gently bait him with muzled Doggs. The Roman Cooks thrust a hot Iron into his side, and then run him to death; thinking thereby that his flesh waxed tenderer and his brawn firmer."[136] These visceral passages remind us, if we need reminding, that meat production is no Lubberland, as John Littlewit put it, where pigs happily sacrifice themselves to the dinner plate

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[133] Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, p. 56.

[134] Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, p. 57. On Utopia's use of slave labor for its slaughterhouses, see More, "Utopia," p. 64; Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef*, pp. 147-48.

[135] Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, p. 47.

[136] Moffett, *Healths Improvement*, p. 67. Moffett is not alone in this view; baiting was widely thought to be good for meat quality through the seventeenth century. In fact, the London Butchers required all bulls to be baited before slaughter until 1582. But Moffett's ancient authorities are clearly wrong on this point. Stress prior to slaughter results in a condition known in the industry as PSE (Pale, Soft, Exudative) that produces unappetizing meat. Zimmerman, "Why Animals That Died Scared Taste Bad." On the London Butchers' promotion of baiting, see Jones, *The Butchers of London*, p. 140; Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p. 167.

crying *wee*, *wee*. The deaths of animals in hunting texts sound rather pastoral when compared with methods of slaughter recommended by dietaries and cookeries. And yet, almost unbelievably, Moffett precedes this recommendation for "wholesome and sweet" meat by expressing his revulsion at the violence of slaughter:

> [T]ell me, can civil and humane eyes yet abide the slaughter of an innocent beast, the cutting of his throat, the mauling him on the head, the flaying of his skin, the quartring and dismembring of his joints, the sprinkling of blood, the ripping up of his veins, the enduring of ill savours, the hearing of heavy sighs, sobs, and grones, the passionate strugling and panting for life, which only hard-hearted Butchers can endure to see.[137]

Everyone who passes through Ursula's booth understands that the pleasure of pork is enabled by bloody, violent labor. But none of the fairgoers want to see how the sausage is made, as it were. The gallants understand the basic similarity between the flesh of pigs and the flesh of humans and the kinds of contamination concomitant with the activities of the booth, but this still does not stop them from disparaging Ursula's greasy body stained with the "ill savours" of flayed beasts:

> QUARLOUS: Is shee your quagmire, *Dan: Knockhum?* is this your Bogge?
> …
> KNOCKEM: How? Bog? Quagmire? foule vapours! hum'h!
>
> QUARLOUS: Yes, hee that would venture for't, I assure him, might sinke into her, and be drown'd a weeke, ere any friend hee had, could find where he were.
>
> WINWIFE: And then he would be a fort'night weighing vp againe.

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[137] Moffett, *Health's Improvement*, p. 31. Todd A. Borlik points out Shakespeare's frequent use of the dehumanizing language of butchery when characters plot murder: "I should 'a' fatted all the region kites / With this slave's offal," says Hamlet of Claudius, for example (2.2.579-80). As Borlik rightly argues, the connection between murder and animals "conveys repugnance for the butcher's trade." Borlik, "Chameleon's Dish," p. 14. Emily Cockayne examines the declining reputation of butchers from the late medieval period and into the early modern era. Urban butchers were "connected with corrupt meat, spilled blood, and pavements covered with offal. Their trade offended the olfactory and visual senses. Their animals obstructed traffic, polluted streets, and poisoned consumers." Butchers were frequently satirized as "violent or beastly." Cockayne, *Hubbub*, pp. 41-42. See also, Carr, "Controlling the Butchers."

> QUARLOUS: 'Twere like falling into a whole *Shire* of butter: they had need be a teeme of *Dutchmen*, should draw him out. (2.5.90-101)

The two gallants express what many critics fear about the world of *Bartholomew Fair*: if one revels too long in the carnival of flesh, sex, alcohol, and tobacco, the fairground becomes quicksand or swamp. It has been argued that *Bartholomew Fair* illuminates "[o]ur inability, despite our better judgment, to reject Ursula and her world (an inability which seems to parallel Jonson's own)."[138] But rejection seems to me the wrong term since the corrupt and fallen nature of the human body depends upon the corrupt and fallen nature of meat and the often discomforting labor of others for the provision of food. Ruled by what Jonathan Haynes calls the "material bodily principle," the booth "caters to all the body's needs (eating, drinking, defecating, fornicating.)"[139] Appetites of the alimentary tract can hardly be denied outright. Rather than retreat from revulsion, *Bartholomew Fair* dives right in to its Ursulan "quagmire" of viscous fluids, a kind of immersion cure for a communal nausea.

We would do well to learn from Ursula and her litter of pigs, able as she is to accrue and make nourishment of waste. The feedback loops of the fair, according to which waste output does not vanish but finds its way back into the system, promote the recycling of animal waste and challenge the boundary between edible and inedible. The eighteenth-century zoologist Thomas Pennant makes the point explicitly: the pig "devour[s] what is the refuse of all the rest, and contributing not only to remove what would be a nuisance to the human race, but also

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[138] Gough, "Jonson's Siren Stage," p. 95. See also, McAdam, "The Puritan Dialectic of Law and Grace," p. 428.Thomas M. Greene offers a contrasting view: "*Bartholomew Fair* … leads all of its bourgeois characters out of their houses to baptise them in the tonic and muddy waters of errant humanity. Away from the protective custody of their routine comforts, they wander, lose themselves, mistake the fair's disguises, pass through the ordeals it has prepared for them, and reach the chastening conclusion: 'Remember you are but *Adam*, Flesh, and blood!' [5.6.96-97]." Greene, "Ben Jonson and the Centered Self," p. 346.

[139] Haynes, "Festivity and the Dramatic Economy," p. 646.

converting the most nauseous offals into the richest nutriment…. The hog during life renders little service to mankind, except in removing that filth which other animals reject."[140] I hope I am not mistaken here – there is, after all, little to suggest that anyone in *Bartholomew Fair* is interested in the sustainable management of waste. But there is, I think, something to admire in the resilience of the pig as well as the resilience of the pig-woman, both of whom absorb all matter in their "Catholicke" stomachs.

Although the interplay between desire and disgust is never entirely resolvable, Donna Haraway proposes a commensality premised on "nourishing indigestion," where diverse members of a community "refuse to assimilate to each other even as they draw nourishment from one another."[141] Questions of how to live together, how to eat together, and how to become a community were hotly debated in early modern London, a period when the city was coming to terms with its rapidly expanding population and its accompanying ecological and economic footprint. How does one negotiate a "city in flux"[142] without succumbing to the flux? Can Londoners find nourishment in the "common pot" that stews together everything fair and foul about humans and animals?

For characters in the play and for certain critics reading Ursula, anxiety over a threatened bodily integrity inhibits commensality at a common table. Edmund Wilson, in a rancorous piece of psychoanalytic criticism, claims that Jonson's scatological slogs through London's neighborhoods are manifestations of an anal personality, "a lifetime's accumulation of the

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[140] Pennant, *British Zoology*, p. 46.

[141] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 294.

[142] Howard, *Theater of a City*, p. 4.

billingsgate and gutter practices."[143] In this view, excremental excess is a threat to good order, preventing the formation of community. Wilson's argument that *Bartholomew Fair*'s common pot of "London low-life" contains "so much too much of everything" would seem to be proven correct at the play's conclusion.[144] As Justice Overdo makes a show of all the enormities he has seen at the fair and his plan to root them all out, his wife, surfeited on the pleasures of pork and ale, vomits: "O lend me a bason, I am sicke, I am sicke" (5.6.67).[145] The subsequent stage direction reads "*Mistresse* Ouerdoo *is sicke: and her husband is silenc'd*" (5.6.67+SD). If Dame Overdo's stomach has consumed more matter than can be contained, her vomiting might confirm Wilson's thesis, or at least demonstrate the need for moderation in the production and consumption of meat. But Haraway's notion of "nourishing indigestion" also has much to offer here. The presence of waste at the end of the play does not taint Jonson's characters, as Wilson would have it. Instead, the vomit effects a coming together. Where Justice Overdo's railing against enormities threatens to punish the Smithfield community, Dame Overdo's sudden sickness puts an end to divisive language by returning to the "bason." Around this common pot, this community of eaters finds common need and common desire. Not just the inevitability of an unsettled stomachs, but the difficult commensality that welcomes a community of eaters whose

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[143] Wilson, "Morose Ben Jonson," pp. 217-18. E. Pearlman forcefully refutes Wilson's thesis by praising Jonson's gross humor as "anarchic and violent but thoroughly pleasurable … a paean to every orifice, every bodily fluid, every quiddity of man's animal nature." Pearlman, "Ben Jonson: An Anatomy," p. 366. Many scholars have drawn on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin to redeem the grotesque qualities of Jonson's characters. On Jonson and Bakhtin, see, Haynes, "Festivity and the Dramatic Economy of *Bartholomew Fair*," p. 646; Loewenstein, "The Jonsonian Corpulence," pp. 511-12; Manera, "The Language of Carnival," pp. 169-70; Miller, "Consuming Mothers/Consuming Merchants," pp. 86-87; Paster, "*Bartholomew Fair* and the Humoral Body," pp. 262-63; Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, pp. 14-16.

[144] Wilson, "Morose Ben Jonson," p. 217.

[145] Presumably the basin provided is Ursula's pig-pan which had returned to the stage just a few lines earlier in the arms of the madman Troubleall (5.6.50-60).

diets do not agree, might just help to build attachments and responsibility to human and nonhuman others.

The nausea at the conclusion of *Bartholomew Fair*, as witty members of various religious faiths and sectors of society gather around common pot, may be seen as a precursor of what Haraway describes as her own "nourishing community." Remembering a dinner during her campus job interview at the University of California, Santa Cruz, Haraway describes the challenging and profound conversations she and her commensals had about the ethics of food. Her fellow eaters

> [B]egan to look a little green around the gills while they contemplated their comestibles. This community was composed of people who used their considerable intellectual skill and privilege to play, to tell serious jokes, to refuse to assimilate to each other even as they drew nourishment from one another, to riff on attachment sites, and to explore the obligations of emergent worlds where untidy species meet.[146]

The Smithfield fairgrounds provide a comparably "untidy" world. Although the pig-booth is significantly leveling, illustrative of a common animality and of a common need to eat among all at the fair, the Banbury-bloods and the Bartholomew-birds do not fully assimilate to each other. All of their differences cannot be resolved, and yet they can remain neighbors, coinhabitants of the same urban heterocosm.

On the heels of Dame Overdo's bout of nausea, *Bartholomew Fair* ends with a meal very different from the lunchtime feast of roast pig or the gathering around Ursula's "bason." With Overdo's plan to reform the enormities of the fair soundly defeated, Quarlous, architect of the play's resolution, proposes a supper of reconciliation around the "bigg'st bowle" in the Justice's home:

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[146] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 294.

QUARLOUS: Sir, stand not you fixt here, like a stake in *Finsbury* to be shot at, or the whipping post i' the *Fayre*, but get your wife out o' the ayre, it wil make her worse else; and remember you are but *Adam*, Flesh and blood! you haue your frailty, forget your other name of *Ouerdoo*, and inuite vs all to supper. There you and I will compare our *discoueries*; and drowne the memory of all enormity in your bigg'st bowle at home.

…

OVERDO: I inuite you home, with mee to my house, to supper: I will haue none feare to go along for my intents are *Ad correctionem*, *non ad destructionem*; *Ad aedifcandum*, *non ad diruendum*. (5.6.93-113)

Here, by getting "out o' the ayre" of the Fair, the world returns from madness and Jonson closes the play with the promise of idealized commensality: a coming together, a social bond, and a restoration of order. And yet, "drown[ing]" the memory of the fair, and calling for growth without waste or decay, as Overdo does by quoting Horace in the penultimate line of the play – "for correction, not destruction; for building up, not tearing down" – suggest a supper that reverts to accumulation without dissipation. Instead of finding nourishment in decay and possibility in waste, the retentive personality is reasserted.[147]

What might we imagine will follow this supper? We know that the Smithfield fair will continue until the nineteenth century, that animals will continue to march through the booth, and that waste will continue to flow down the Fleet. As I have argued throughout this dissertation, no form of eating frees a community from violence. By choosing certain values over others, communities of eaters necessarily limit the places at the table. Each community decides the conditions under which its members will live together, eat together, and sustain each other as citizens and as a species.

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[147] As Boehrer rightly argues, Overdo's restatement of the impulse to "correct" ends the play with an "inconclusiveness" that "is then famously intensified when Bartholomew Cokes accepts Overdo's dinner invitation in the comedy's final line: 'Yes, and bring the *Actors* along, wee'll ha' the rest o' the *Play* at home' (5.6.114-115)"; *The Fury of Men's Gullets*, p. 194.

Changes in London's socioecological landscape necessitated difficult decisions about how to feed the people on a massive scale. Throughout this dissertation I have argued that theater models the ethical complexity of interpersonal and interspecies networks. In *Bartholomew Fair* and *Every Man In His Humor*, the willful and coerced, desirable and disgusted relationships the characters have with food animals have consequences that reverberate across the table, the urban ecosystem, and history. Haraway's blunt assessment of twenty-first century political ecology is equally true of the bonds between human and animal in Tudor-Stuart drama: "Citizenship across species ties many knots, none of them innocent."[148] Still, the members of a plural community gathered around the common pot each possess a different perspective on what it means to raise, kill, and eat animals, on the responsibility owed to human and nonhuman others. As Haraway argues, recognition of the ways in which other forms of creaturely life contaminate human bodies offers an opportunity for new beginnings: "Born again … but into ongoing complexity, curiosity, and care, not grace."[149]

Postscript: An Indigestif

The size of the community in early modern London reminds us that eating both was and remains a collective, not an individual problem. Such size undermines the recognition of shared investment in collective order and complicates the possibility of dramatic representation on the Jacobean stage. Certainly, the Induction's Stage-keeper accuses Jonson of a failure of mimesis and even indicates that the audience might as well go to Virginia, "for any thing there is of *Smith-field*" (Induction 11), so pale is the Hope theatre's imitation of the fairgrounds. Well, perhaps. But it might just be that it is the Stage-keeper who is blind to the global system in which

[148] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 118.

[149] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 118. Where, we might ask after Haraway, will *Grace* Wellborn fit in the post-play community?

Smithfield, the Virginia colonies, the Hope theatre, and even twenty-first-century audiences participate.

As the labor of food production becomes more and more fragmented, and as meat producers feed larger and larger populations, the complexity of food networks becomes increasingly indecipherable. Consequently, it is harder to instill in the individual (either producer or consumer) a sense of shared responsibility for the abuses of the larger system. In these last few pages, I would like to think with Jonson about our distance from slaughter and its implications for the present day food economy. Three centuries after Jonson, swinomania endured in Smithfield – that is, in the town of Smithfield in southeastern Virginia.[150] Something like the Bartholomew-pig commodity flourished in the early twentieth century under the name Smithfield ham, defined as pigs from the Hampton Roads region fed a diet of Virginian peanuts. The incorporation of Smithfield Foods Company in 1936 changed all of this, transforming a distinctly regional cuisine into the largest manufacturer of industrial pork products in the world.[151] Smithfield ham, once a local food, is now virtually synonymous with "global food conglomerate." Worldwide demand for pork drives the disassembly of pigs at an astonishing rate. At Smithfield's processing plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina, 16 million pigs are killed each year, or "one every seventeen seconds for each worker for eight and a half hours a day."[152]

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[150] Sadly for my argument, Smithfield, Virginia was named after the eighteenth-century surveyor Arthur Smith IV, not the London neighborhood.

[151] Smithfield slaughters 27,000,000 pigs at its US plants each year, "more than any other operation by a factor of three." Philpott, "Squeezed to the Last Drop," p. 180. In 2013, Smithfield was acquired by the Chinese food conglomerate Shuangui, which processes 15,000,000 pigs in China each year. The new company, WH Group, maintains the largest footprint on the global pork market. See also, Eisnitz, *Slaughterhouse*, p. 259.

[152] LeDuff, "At a Slaughterhouse, Some Things Never Die," p. 183.

Investigative reporting by Gail A. Eisnitz and Charlie LeDuff, among others, has lifted the veil on the Tar Heel plant, the world's largest slaughterhouse. A distant descendant of the *Bartholomew Fair* pig-booth, the Smithfield disassembly line exposes many of the same anxieties about working with raw flesh that were described by Tudor and Stuart dieticians (and by others long before that). Feces and ringworm in the intestines are cleaned out of the meat, but only half-effectively. The pigs are brutalized: "You get a stubborn hog that doesn't want to go, they're going to beat that hog till he does. They use a shackle, a pipe, anything they can get their hands on. If the government's not around, which they're not, employees can get to beating that hog all they want to."[153] Workers risk burns from the stomach acid of gutted pigs. One woman interviewed by Eisnitz shows her the burns on her arm caused by dripping stomach acid from the gutted pig.[154] Anxieties of human flesh becoming commingled with the pork flesh also recall Renaissance dietaries. Given the safety record of the meatpacking industry, workers' fears of being turned into pork are not *always* metaphorical, even if Eisnitz and LeDuff mostly describe the figurative transformation of laborers into brutes. The packing plant uses up human bodies nearly as quickly as pigs: "Five thousand quit and five thousand are hired every year. You hear people say, They don't kill pigs in the plant, they kill people."[155]

Ineffective government oversight over the Tar Heel plant, raw and grotesque sensation, and fear of filth and corruption all recall Jonson's play. However, to talk about slaughterhouse practices and *Bartholomew Fair* is to talk somewhat anachronistically, the modern abattoir being a nineteenth-century invention. But, perhaps, the "slaughterhouse" is not so much a building as it

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[153] Eisnitz, *Slaughterhouse*, p. 267.

[154] Eisnitz, *Slaughterhouse*, pp. 261-262.

[155] LeDuff, "At a Slaughterhouse, Some Things Never Die," p. 185.

is an idea or a mode, a way to separate that which we find odious about animals and that which we find appetizing about meat.[156] Desire and disgust in *Bartholomew Fair* pertain unmistakably to what Derrida examines when he asks how it is that we may "eat well," and perhaps even more so to Haraway's response to Derrida, her hope that we may eat "at least well enough that care, respect, and difference can flourish in the open."[157] This requires that we situate our individual desires in relation to a variety of cultures of commensality, to the economies of human labor, to the ecologies of agriculture, and to the suffering of animals. Close examination of the composition of our common pot is perhaps our best strategy for confronting the sociological, ecological, and ethical problems with slaughterhouses, where animals are transformed into abstractions, vapors without referent.

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[156] Paula Young Lee, writing about the development of the American and European abattoir in the nineteenth century, has presented a similar argument about the slaughterhouse as a decentralized infrastructure. She argues, "As conventionally understood, the slaughterhouse is a service structure akin to sewer systems and culturally marginalized for the same reasons. Service structures in general (including power stations, prisons, public restrooms, loading docks, silos, and warehouses, among others) do not serve as representational spaces articulating lasting social values, as do iconic civic monuments such as the cathedral and library…. Among this sordid group, however, the slaughterhouse is especially reviled, for its sole purpose is to kill, producing serial death along with saleable meat. Disingenuously cast as an impersonal machine that is less a specific site than it is a collective abstract system, the slaughterhouse is a utilitarian collection of activities with only one priority: to process animals swiftly, as dictated by economics."

P. Lee, "Introduction: Housing Slaughter," pp. 1-2.

[157] Haraway, *When Species Meet*, p. 287.

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