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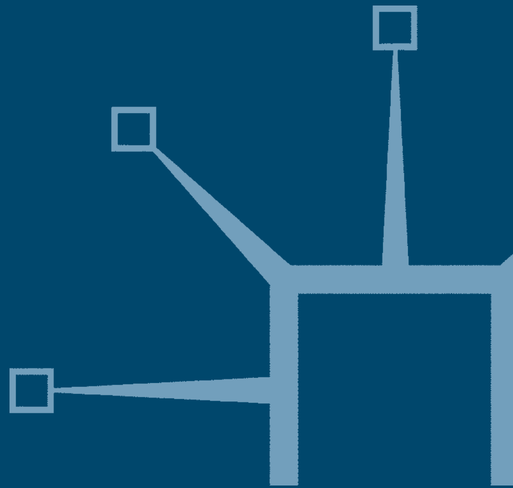
Fictions of Disease in Early Modern England

Bodies, Plagues and Politics

Margaret Healy



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Also by Margaret Healy

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Bodies, Plagues and Politics

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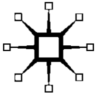

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First published 2001 by
PALGRAVE
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010
Companies and representatives throughout the world

PALGRAVE is the new global academic imprint of St. Martin's Press LLC Scholarly and Reference Division and Palgrave Publishers Ltd (formerly Macmillan Press Ltd).

ISBN 0–333–96399–7

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Healy, Margaret, 1955–
Fictions of disease in early modern England: bodies, plagues and politics / Margaret Healy.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0–333–96399–7
1. English literature—Early modern, 1500–1700—History and criticism. 2. Literature and medicine—England—History––17th century. 3. Literature and medicine—England—History–16th century. 4. Politics and literature—Great Britain––History—17th century. 5. Politics and literature—Great Britain—History—16th century. 6. Body, Human, in literature. 7. Medicine in literature. 8. Diseases in literature. 9. Plague in literature. I. Title.

PR438.M43 H43 2001
820.9'356—dc21

2001034499

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
10 09 08 07 06 05 04 03 02 01

Printed in Great Britain by Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

For Tom

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Contents

List of Plates viii

Acknowledgements ix

List of Abbreviations xi

A Note on the Text xii

Introduction 1

1 The Humoral–Paracelsan Body 18

2 The Plaguy Body: Part I 50

3 The Plaguy Body: Part II 88

4 The Pocky Body: Part I 123

5 The Pocky Body: Part II 152

6 The Glutted, Unvented Body 188

Conclusion: Thinking through the Body 229

Appendix: Regimens Analysed in Chapter 1 238

Notes 239

Index 268

List of Plates

1 *The Daunce and Song of Death*, 1569 (*by permission of the British Library, Huth 50/49*)

2 William Bullein, physician, woodcut frontispiece, *A new booke Entituled the Governement of Healthe*, London, 1558 (*by permission of the British Library, C.113.a.6*)

3 Woodcut accompanying Joseph Grunpeck's tract on syphilis (1496), from Karl Sudhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin* (Leipzig, 1907, p. 194)

4 Albrecht Dürer: image of the syphilitic accompanying a broadside by Theodoricus Ulsenius, 1496

5 Anon., *On the Pox called Malafrantzosa*, woodcut accompanying a broadside, *c*. 1500 (*by permission of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Sign.: Einbl. VII, 9f, Munich*)

6 Agnolo Bronzino, *An Allegory with Venus and Cupid*, *c*. 1545 (*by permission of the National Gallery, London*)

7 Frances Quarles, Emblem, pp. 4–5, *Emblemes*, London, 1635 (*by permission of the British Library, C.59.a.21*)

8 Sculpture 47, accompanying John Ogilby, 'The Seaven and Fortieth Fable: Of the Rebellion of the Hands and Feet', in *The Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in Verse and Adorn'd with Sculpture*, London, 1651 (*by permission of the British Library, C.77.c.12*)

9 An 'Ewaipanoma', illustration from *The Voyage of Syr John Mandeville*, 1568 edition (*by permission of the British Library, C.114.c.62*)

10 A cannibal feast, illustration from *Sir John Mandeville's Travels*, 1483 edition

Acknowledgements

This book has many origins and has been shaped by encounters with many more generous and knowledgeable individuals than it is possible adequately to acknowledge here. Some of my debts of gratitude go back a very long way. I would particularly like to thank the forward-looking medical sociologist at St Thomas's Hospital, London, whose compelling lectures in the 1970s first alerted me to the crucial importance of listening carefully to the culturally embedded narratives that we and our institutions construct around ailing bodies. Thanks are due, too, to generations of patients who subsequently confided their stories, confirming that medicine is about far more than scientific method and paradigms. Closer to my present professional home in English, I especially wish to highlight Helen Hackett's invaluable warm support and friendly guidance when reading early drafts of this work. Without the generous sharing of knowledge, too, by the London Wellcome Institute medical historians in those early days, especially Roy Porter and Andrew Wear, this project would have been much the poorer. The British Academy should be thanked for providing the initial scholarship that facilitated my change of career and enabled this project to take any shape at all. But it is to Tom Healy that I owe the greatest debt: he has provided the crucial long-term intellectual support, patient tolerance, and sense of humour that have helped bring this book to fruition.

Over the years I have benefited enormously from the discussions with members of the London Renaissance Seminar including Caterina Albano, Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, Gordon McMullan, Michelle O'Callaghan, Ken Parker, Kathryn Perry, Susanne Scholz, Boika Sokolova, Alan Stewart and Sue Wiseman. I would also like to thank Pascal Briost, Warren Chernaik, Brian Cummings, Martin Hilsky, Lorna Hutson, James Knowles, Kathleen McLuskie, Jennifer Richards, Jonathan Sawday, René Weiss and Richard Wilson. The following institutions provided the much needed venues where I received helpful feedback on various aspects of this work: Charles University, Prague, Clare College, Cambridge, the European Institute at Florence, University College London, the University of Wales at Aberystwyth, the London Wellcome Institute, and the English departments of the universities of Hull, Lancaster, Newcastle, Southampton, Stirling and Sussex. I am grateful, too, to Josie Dixon for her encouragement and advice in the initial stages of this project, and to Eleanor Birne, my editor at Palgrave, for the enthusiastic interest she has taken in this book. Latterly, two readers for the press have provided invaluable guidance about final revisions.

Last, but certainly not least, special thanks are due to those students and postgraduates at the University of Sussex whose enthusiasm for discussing bodily representations, literature and politics, has spurred me on, convincing me that I am not completely alone in my obsessions.

List of Abbreviations

OED2	*Oxford English Dictionary* (revised edition)
STC2	*Short Title Catalogue* (revised edition)
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography* (1921)

A Note on the Text

All Shakespearean references are to *The Complete Works*, Compact Edition, general editors Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

After a first full note, all references to primary works are given in the text of the book. Where citations are from early printed books, the original spelling and punctuation has been preserved, though the short 's' has in all cases been substituted for long, and omitted letters from contractions and suspensions have been inserted and are identified by underlining. Any emphases in early books are indicated in my transcription by underlining.

Introduction

> Now, what is the cause of disease, or, whence arising
> can violent illness suddenly blow up death
> and disaster for humankind and hordes of beasts?
> Let me explain: to begin, I showed above
> that atoms of many things give life to us;
> . . . .
> And all this mass of pestilence and disease
> comes . . . from elsewhere, floating like clouds and fogs.
>
> Lucretius (96–55 BC), *De Rerum Natura*[1]

> Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die,
> By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more
> In meats and drinks which on earth shall bring
> Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
> Before thee shall appear; that thou mayst know
> What misery the inabstinence of Eve
> Shall bring on men.
>
> John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667)[2]

Disease – the dark side of life, hell on earth – is *the* recurring nightmare of much great fiction. Consider these two famous epics, separated temporally by many centuries: *De Rerum Natura* (*RN*) and *Paradise Lost* (*PL*). Surrounded by the profound political turmoil and intellectual ferment that characterized the closing years of the Roman republic, the poet Lucretius took up his pen and set about composing a radically new type of epic with Nature as its heroine and atheistical atomic theory as its philosophical linchpin. Purporting to be driven by repugnance at the 'vile and vicious'

acts perpetrated in the name of religion, Lucretius sought to defuse the powerfully 'subversive' charge which he associated with priests' supernatural 'fantasies' about fearful occurrences like plagues being 'acts of god' (I, 83, 105, 104, 154). Countering such occult explanations with material ones based on observation, 'truth and reason' (I, 51), this accomplished rhetorician embraced his vocation as Nature's oracle, displaying all the fervour of ideological commitment, and deploying the relentless logic of Milton's Satan. Some 1700 years later, at the end of England's only republic and at another moment of political turmoil and intellectual ferment (the eve of the scientific Enlightenment), Milton's insatiate thirster after knowledge (a type of Enlightenment scientist, perhaps?) rose from the Tigris as a miasmic exhalation 'wrapped in mist / Of midnight vapour' (IX, 69–75, 158–9) and proceeded on his pestilential course (in the manner of Lucretius' atom-like seeds of disease, 'floating like clouds and fogs', *RN*, VI, 1099) motivated by lust for power and intent on polluting Paradise with his evil, contagious and intemperate desire for forbidden knowledge. Sadly, but predictably, the 'inabstinence of Eve' would prove the key to his success (*PL*, XI, 476).

In fact, both Lucretius and Milton expounded their times' medical orthodoxy of epidemic disease dispunging itself onto humanity from poisoned clouds and mists (the theory of miasma); and both appropriated 'truth and reason' for their cause, deploying their interpretations of bodily misfortune, and their talents as rhetoricians and poets, to criticize and shape the ideological fabric of their societies. Where they differed drastically, of course, is that one desired to 'justify the ways of God to men' (*PL*, I, 26) (and to curb society's increasing heretical thirst for empirically based understanding); whilst the other set himself up as a 'match for heaven' intent on trampling religion 'beneath our feet' (*RN*, I, 79, 78). Thus, whereas the later poet expounded a Christian, providential and moralistic overview of disease, the earlier one insisted on the exclusive validity of sense perception, and rejected as lies all religious interpretations of disease, which he linked to 'terror and confusion' and political manoeuvring in ancient Rome (I, 106). Undoubtedly Milton would have approved of Dante's relegation of Epicureans such as Lucretius to the sixth circle of Hell, along with the heretics, in *The Inferno* – another distinguished poem impregnated with the horrors of disease.

The juxtaposition of these epics foregrounds the socio-culturally constructed nature of explanations of disease, and literature's important participation in that process: two major premises that have informed and shaped this book. Together, these poems raise fascinating questions that resurface repeatedly through the course of this study: questions about the dynamics of social and political instability and writings about disease;

about the relation of categories of intellectual knowledge to power structures; about the strong and potentially manipulable emotions surrounding bodily chaos; and about gender tensions and writing disease. The phenomenon that Susan Sontag described as 'the struggle for rhetorical ownership of . . . illness' is rendered apparent by these poems: the ailing body can be a charged political site, and the way people explain and write about it has important consequences for individuals and for social groups.[3] Indeed, any society's understanding and management of its sick bodies is constituted within a network of competing beliefs and interests.

But this is a two-way process, and perceptions of sick bodies can influence the way we imagine and order social structures too.[4] Because our minds are embodied, our conceptual systems are 'wired up' to interpret the world through our bodily experiences – we *can* only rationalize, and communicate with the world through the medium of our bodies.[5] This means that when social systems are perceived to be disordered – 'sick' – we tend to imagine their basic conditions of integrity and well-being partly according to how we perceive our physical bodies' conditions of health. Additionally, because medicine adjudicates between the normal and the pathological, the innocent and the guilty, medical ideas might also be called into play to facilitate a 'cure' (thus, for example, a 'cancer' at the heart of government might need 'excising').[6] However, this is a dynamic relationship and perceived problems in, for example, national and economic bodies may well impact on the schema of the individual body. Material disease events play their part in this process too; for example, cultural theorists of AIDS have argued that 'imagining an AIDS epidemic involves thinking the whole social order as itself an infected body'.[7] Epidemics by their very nature demand political responses and provide a good opportunity and rationale for intervention into the lives of others, for the re-ordering of bodies.

This book is an exploration of this complex bodily dynamic in the context of the early modern – a period repeatedly described as a highly somatic moment, one that witnessed an unprecedented series of exchanges between medical and other knowledges; between the corporeal and other domains. This is traditionally put down to a pre-Enlightenment mode of thinking promoted by Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophies and by Pauline theology, all of which encouraged a modish and obsessional rendering of the world in terms of correspondences between macrocosm, body politic, and microcosm; hence the plethora of body images in medieval and early modern writings. In *The Elizabethan World Picture* E. M. W. Tillyard famously described this habit as an expression of 'the idea of that order' which all Elizabethans longed for: 'with their passionate love of ceremony they found the formality of these correspondences very congenial'.[8] Corporeal analogies

were basically a quaint, pre-modern, and eventually discardable way of articulating a world in which man was the measure of all things. When the world was 'enlightened', especially by Cartesian philosophy with its radical mind–body split, we became more objective in our approach to knowledge and, thanks to 'Royal Science' and the anti-metaphor strictures of mid-seventeenth-century figures like Thomas Hobbes and Sir Thomas Browne, rational men stopped thinking in terms of organic bodily analogies – effectively we became 'disembodied'.[9] According to this perception, body politic metaphors ceased to be a functional way of thinking social unity from the mid-seventeenth century: if they appear in modern writings they are fossilized relics or significant 'survivals' bequeathed to us from an earlier age, or mere decorative analogies.[10]

It will be clear that I am highly sceptical of this positivist account, which is premised on the post-Cartesian desire to separate knowledge into distinct disciplinary categories and drive a wedge between imaginative, aesthetic discourse and the discourses of 'objective' knowledge.[11] But, if this customary story does not satisfactorily explain the early modern's particular discursive obsession with corporeal analogies, how do we understand it? And if an explanation is forthcoming, what might it tell us about our own highly somatic moment in which the body has emerged, we are reliably told, as 'a new [intellectual] organizing principle'?[12] Not so 'new', perhaps, but why has it come out from behind closed doors and been reinstated as a viable 'organizing principle' now? The key to these questions lies, I believe, with the alternative way of apprehending the body–mind–society dynamic outlined above in which the significance of the 'body politic' extends beyond that of a mere heuristic device. This 'embodied' approach to cognition, premised on the insights of cognitive philosophy, metaphor theory, anthropology and the cultural theory of AIDS, will be utilized throughout this book.

Fictions of Disease is the outcome of two professional careers which have merged – courtesy of our somatic moment – in the pages of this book. As a health care practitioner with some 17 years of caring for sick bodies behind me, I profess a deep and lasting interest in the stories both sufferers and physicians tell about ailing bodies, and in how material factors such as signs and symptoms and routes of transmission, as well as cultural experiences, shape those stories. As a university lecturer teaching English I am now immersed in a discursive realm which is similarly preoccupied with narratives and their cultural embeddedment, but predominantly textual ones. In this study, real bodies and diseases meet with the early modern texts that interpreted them and imaginatively represented them. It is hoped that this will be a creative collision enabling enhanced understanding of embodiment in a period spanning from the first reforming parliaments

(1530s) to the English civil wars. Through focusing on the three most written-about disease states of this period – bubonic plague, syphilis and the replete, glutted, humoral body – *Fictions of Disease* seeks to understand the cultural location which promoted such a complex intertexture of medical, religious, economic, political and literary writings. It particularly strives for a better apprehension of the relation between aesthetic and ideological deployments of disease in early modern literary texts. Alongside pursuing questions of ideology and power, I am interested in providing an account of the erotic and aesthetic potential (the appeal to the commercial stage, for example) of certain diseases at specific cultural moments, and in exploring how generic conventions shape disease representations. My book concludes by asking what insights such a study can provide into the operations of today's somatic fictions.

Disease as a construct and medicine as myth

> So far . . . the assumption that disease entities are natural objects, has not come under frontal attack. . . . Medical categories . . . are the outcome of a web of social practices, and bear their imprint. . . . Analyses of medical knowledge as a social construction are still neither common nor well known.
>
> P. Wright and A. Treacher, *The Problem of Medical Knowledge* (1982)[13]

In the post-Foucauldian fall-out of the past decade or so, medicine's elision of its own discursiveness has, like that of science, 'come under frontal attack' from a range of disciplines, and with a force which the authors of this pioneering book would undoubtedly wish to celebrate.[14] The burgeoning field of cultural theory and discourse analysis relating to AIDS has been a major impetus to this. Nevertheless, lay perceptions of medicine remain largely unchanged, and early modern literary criticism's response to this theoretical blast has been less marked than might be anticipated in the wake of poststructuralism and the new venereal 'plague'. A dominant tradition persists in which medicine is viewed as background information against which to read the canon, and in which images of disease in literature function simply as mood-creating tropes reflecting 'reality': thus more allusions to disease equal more disease in society, or in the body or mind of the author.[15] Indeed, ignoring the 'constructed' nature of medicine and its disease paradigms inevitably leads to critical studies which juxtapose medicine to literature, providing lengthy lists of borrowings from one distinct sphere into another, effectively serving to perpetuate the myth that medicine, like science, possesses a discrete and rarified form of communication.

But two groundbreaking volumes which approach medicine and literature in a different, more integrated way, should be highlighted here: Jonathan Sawday's *The Body Emblazoned,* and Gail Kern Paster's *The Body Embarrassed.* These compelling studies have greatly enriched our understanding of the Renaissance cultures of anatomy and Galenic medicine respectively. Michael Schoenfeldt's subtle and convincing *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* has been an extremely significant recent addition to the field, and Jonathan Gil Harris's *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic* has added an important Paracelsan dimension too.[16] However, to date, critics have, in my view, placed too much emphasis on a standard, Galenic model of the body, or one that shifted drastically to a Vesalian or Paracelsan paradigm in the early seventeenth century.[17] This is not to denigrate the importance of emphasizing each in its own way, but, as this study demonstrates, the age tended to combine these ostensibly competing theories in idiosyncratic manners: certainly, the Galenic bodily model (which will be explored in Chapter 1) together with its body politic analogies, was not eclipsed by the major seventeenth-century challenges to its authority. Furthermore, from the mid-sixteenth century, the biblical Word became increasingly indispensable for interpreting and acting upon bodily signs, especially those to do with contagious disease and pollution. This important shift is occluded by too singular an emphasis on what might be termed 'élite' medical paradigms. Similarly, as we shall see in relation to Thomas Lodge's plague treatise of 1603, under the impetus of humanistic learning, ancient historical, mythological and philosophical writings about disease assumed a heightened significance too.

In fact, in the early modern period plausible fictions about 'dis-ease' (human, social and environmental misfortune) formed the bedrock of medical theory. Furthermore, as clear-cut divisions between lay and professional healers were not operative at this time, it would be anachronistic and mistaken to assume that medical understanding, and its textual inscription, were the privileged preserve of an élite body of university-trained and objectively-seeing practitioners. In sixteenth-century England the majority of interpreters of bodily misfortune were not learned physicians.[18] Indeed, we might even conclude that attempting to separate medical writings into a distinct category – a practice inevitably encouraged by modern disciplinary boundaries – is a contentious and extremely problematic exercise when applied to this period.

My work favours a far more holistic, less scientifically heroic, account of 'medicine' – in any age, but particularly in pre-technological societies. As the analysis of a broad range of early modern vernacular medical books in Chapter 1 reveals, general understanding of the body was not limited to one clearly defined paradigm, but was far more diverse, idiosyncratic

and unstable: in fact, there was not one model of the body in this period, but a slightly bewildering range. Many physicians operating in the seventeenth century were, like James Shirley's physician in the masque *The Triumph of Peace* (1634), 'A Galenist, and parcel Paracelsus' – a bit of both – or, like Simon Forman and Robert Fludd, extremely eclectic.[19] Indeed, as *Fictions of Disease* demonstrates, the various models of bodily dysfunction and healing that circulated in early modern English culture were viewed less as competing structures than as ones to be employed in complementary fashions. Similarly, body politic constructs were diverse and often compendious, each writer emphasizing elements that authenticated his argument about how to achieve the 'health' and unity of the commonwealth. This produces a very different, less straightforward, frustratingly less clear-cut cultural dynamic than is acknowledged in recent work.

But this view of diseases as 'constructs' requires further clarification. After all, it is common knowledge that infections like measles and sore throats are caused by germs called viruses and bacteria which invade the body – isn't it? Today, in advanced technological societies we are used to thinking about diseases as discrete bio-medical entities that can be detected with the aid of a microscope. Effectively, as the sociologists Claudine Herzlich and Janine Pierret have argued, 'the discourse of medicine about illness is so loud that it tends to drone out all the others'.[20] But not completely, it seems, if we consider, for example, competing explanations of measles in Hong Kong in the late twentieth century. As the social anthropologist J. B. Loudon has described, most informants there, when asked about measles, viewed it not as a disease but rather as a 'natural, necessary, inevitable but dangerous transitional condition', linked to 'womb poison' affecting adult males, and resulting from intercourse with a woman within the ritually prohibited period of one hundred days after childbirth.[21] Clearly, here, the traditional Chinese cultural understanding of measles was powerful enough to 'drone out' the competing Western medical explanation of measles, even though the theory of measles as a viral entity could be substantiated using available technology.

In fact Renaissance English humoral medicine offered a remarkably similar explanation of measles. In his medical regimen of 1593 the humanist scholar Simon Kellwaye described 'the conjunct cause' of 'measels and pockes' as:

> the menstruall bloud which from the beginning in our Mothers wombes wee receaved, the which miring it selfe with the rest of our bloud, doth cause an ebulition of the whole . . . which matter if it be houte and slimy, then it produceth the pocks, but if dry and subtill, then the measels.[22]

The 'filthy menstruall matter', the corrupting mother's blood, had to be expelled from the infant's body and this was accomplished in the course of the 'measels' or 'pockes' sickness (f. 39r). This cross-cultural comparison yields a striking insight: two cultures separated by centuries and vast geographical distance can provide remarkably similar explanations of a collection of bodily signs and symptoms (the link is possibly that humoral theory had its roots in ancient China).[23] In Hong Kong in the 1970s, however, measles was not popularly perceived as a disease (even though it had a high mortality rate), but as a 'transitional condition'. In early modern England, described alongside smallpox and plague, it clearly was.

Definitions of diseases are, in fact, rarely just a matter of causative organisms: if cultural traditions participate in constructing diseases, so do prevailing fashions and lifestyles. The illness 'chlorosis', related to the earlier 'green sickness' and to current 'anaemia', is an example of this from the nineteenth century. This is how a medical historian, Henry Sigerist, described the phenomenon in 1943:

> The latter, an anemia of young girls, has completely disappeared today. It has been attributed to the effect of the corset on the adolescent organism. . . . Chlorosis was the disease of the young girl of the upper classes who lived an indoor life without physical exercise, doing some needlework, playing some music and waiting for her husband to relieve her. It was the pale ethereal girl, dear to the poets of the time.[24]

Sigerist alludes not only to the lifestyle associated with the affliction but to its Romantic qualities too – 'the pale, ethereal girl'. Indeed, the poets described here as enamoured of the tubercular victim, arguably played a role in constructing the disease's persona.

A century earlier another fashionable sickness, 'The English Malady', had caused a polemical stir in Britain. In his treatise on the subject, a contemporary sufferer and physician, George Cheyne, implicated the following in the production of this new disease's 'atrocious and frightful Symptoms':

> The Moisture of our Air . . . the Richness and Heaviness of our Food, the Wealth and Abundance of the Inhabitants . . . the Inactivity and Sedentary Occupations of the better Sort.[25]

The melancholy stereotype of a century before appears to have helped shape this culture-bound affliction; but the most fascinating thing about the English Malady is its relationship to eighteenth-century politics. The Whigs appear to have promoted the disease, citing it as evidence of Britain's

economic success (a healthy constitution allowed more resources and time for self-indulgence), whereas, conversely, the Tories represented it as evidence of the country's decline and political failure.[26] Here is another instance, then, of a 'struggle for rhetorical ownership of . . . illness'.

Traditions, art, lifestyles, popular beliefs, climate, economics, politics and medical theories can all, therefore, be shown to inform cultural explanations of disease, but other less tangible and often less rational factors play a part too. Meyer Fortes is one in a line of ethnologists to ponder on E. H. Ackerknecht's point (1945) that to seventeenth-century European observers American-Indian medicine would not have seemed 'strange or primitive':

> Not only were such treatments as cupping, bleeding, purging, herbal remedies, some forms of surgery, and even exorcism, common to both, but so also were some of the associated beliefs and mystical theories about the causation of illness and the rules for healthy living.[27]

This led, as we shall see in Chapter 4, to Europeans quite happily adopting the Indians' cure for syphilis: leaves from the Guaiacum tree. But how did cultures that had never intersected before have 'beliefs and mystical theories about the causation of illness' in common? Shared myths about disease might arise, in part, from embodied subjects in different cultures seeking answers to the same or similar questions.[28] A study of Zande witchcraft and magic carried out by the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard drew graphic attention to the questions Zande people ask when their bodies go wrong: 'Why me?', 'Why now?', with their corollaries of 'Am I myself to blame?' or 'Am I the victim of attack from outside?'[29] These are probably the same questions that a twenty-first-century European asks on being diagnosed as suffering from a serious illness. Epidemic diseases, such as the recurrent outbreaks of plague in early modern Europe, prompted similar collective questions: 'Why us?', 'Why now?' As we have seen in relation to Lucretius' and Milton's epics, the explanations can be naturalistic or supernatural, or a mixture of both (as in the case of bubonic plague, *circa* 1600); and belief systems, morals and politics are all implicated in the chosen responses.

Indeed, many basic but important questions about human misfortune remain unanswered by science, so we continue to speculate and construct plausible stories to render things more intelligible and less chaotic. The recent outbreak of Creutzfeldt–Jakob disease is an interesting example: ingested 'prions' are proposed as a mysterious new agent of contagion, and eating too many beefburgers has been implicated in terminal brain disorder. However, the scientific evidence for these links is fairly tenuous

and the beef 'hypothesis' might well soon be supplanted by another and exposed as a myth. Importantly, though, this explanation has allowed some control measures to be implemented. As the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss concluded in *Myth and Meaning*:

> if we look at all the intellectual undertakings of mankind, as far as they have been recorded all over the world, the common denominator is always to introduce some kind of order. . . . While, of course, myth is unsuccessful in giving man more material power over the environment . . . it gives man, very importantly, the illusion that he can understand the universe.[30]

The urgent need to order disorder encourages the construction of plausible accounts, which may later be revealed as erroneous.

On the basis of these observations it might be concluded that every culture's system of medicine is required to meet two ends: first to provide convincing explanations of bodily misfortune; and secondly to attempt to control the underlying processes, to re-establish order. Meyer Fortes's work in this field has led him to assert that any system of medicine should be viewed as 'an institutional apparatus of defence against the incursion of pain' and 'the ever-looming threat of annihilation that is the human lot'.[31] Medical explanations can be 'exopathic' (disease as an external force of some kind by which the body is invaded), or 'endogenous' (disease as an internal disorder or derangement, a state of being out of step with the environment). Because the body has an inside and an outside separated by a protective carapace, there is always an interplay between endogenous and exopathic explanations, and ideas about disease are part of a wider system of beliefs regarding contagion, pollution, sin and death.[32] The religio-medical myth of Milton's epic exemplifies this and will be explored in the final chapter. Furthermore, and as my exploration of humoral theory in Chapter 1 will demonstrate, explanatory theories of disease are always interwoven with ideas and beliefs about the relationship between body and mind, individual and society, man and his natural environment.[33]

An anthropological model of disease is particularly useful because it avoids a teleological account of medical understanding in which 'we' moderns emerge as inheritors of significant advances in objective, scientific thinking about the body which began with decisive paradigmatic shifts in the seventeenth century. It allows us to acknowledge a process of continuous renegotiations (rather than 'decisive breaks' with the past) characterized by much smaller shifts – backwards as well as forwards.[34] An example of this is the current increasing emphasis in Western culture on endogenous accounts of disease and 'holistic' medicine in which what we eat and

drink, our lifestyles, and our relationship with our environment are of crucial importance – as they were under humoralism.

Bodies, texts and tropes

> The act of 'seeing disease' . . . is socially coded in many complicated ways. To decipher this code one must be able to reconstruct the patterns that dominated and shaped the perception of the patient, the sufferer of disease.
>
> Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation* (1988)[35]

Deciphering the social 'codes' and reconstructing the 'patterns' of perception surrounding diseased bodies inevitably involves the hazardous enterprise of disciplinary boundary crossing, and becoming enmeshed in the tangled territory of bodies, tropes and texts intersected today by a considerable range of disciplines. The work of cultural theorists of the body, particularly Norbert Elias's seminal study of 'the civilizing process', and the theories of those like Sander Gilman and Mary Douglas who have been involved in the interpretation of the more disordered aspects of its symbolism, will be recognized as formative forces in this research.[36] Mary Douglas's assertion that 'The body is a model which can stand for any bounded system' is cited today to the point of cliché, but without this seminal insight studies such as this could not exist.[37]

My insistence on cluttering up the field with real bodies (as well as textual ones) is potentially problematic for those textual critics who perceive humankind as entirely constructed by social, historical and, above all, textual forces. Biologism is, of course, especially dubious because of its association with dangerous prejudicial ideologies and social practices. Although I share the latter concern, I feel it is crucial to try to understand the way the sign systems of material bodies functioned in the past to shape social responses. As Lyndal Roper has so forcefully argued in her important book on witchcraft, *Oedipus and the Devil*, there is a need for histories of early modern culture that will 'admit the psychic and the corporeal': bodies, and diseases, are more than mere linguistic constructs.[38] In my view, extratextual biology, marked and deformed bodies, pain and suffering, and the factual history of epidemic diseases, cannot safely or responsibly be excluded from the emotionally charged, murky terrain of bio-politics and medical morality that literary writing repeatedly addresses.

This book, therefore, attempts to reconstruct diseases and diseased bodies in their social and historical contexts, and, through examining the culture's fictions about them, to elucidate representations of them in poems,

pamphlets, and on the stage. *Fictions of Disease* has specific 'literary' concerns, then, which are reflected in the selection of texts and authors. A diverse range of popular and élite forms, and of genres, are represented here, but they are similar in one important respect: they all use disease metaphors and deploy symbolic diseased bodies in a particularly thoroughgoing way which seems to invite – indeed, even demand – their scrutiny from a somatic vantage point, and from within a highly contextualized and historicized frame. Some accomplished writings such as William Bullein's and Thomas Dekker's plague pamphlets have, I argue here, been unduly neglected and misunderstood because they are couched in a boundary-crossing corporeal idiom, defying post-Enlightenment attempts to categorize and order them. The tendency has been for literary critics and medical historians to plunder them piecemeal, focusing on aspects which seem pertinent for their own, separate disciplines. These writings, which often went through several editions (suggesting they were widely read in their own time), warrant re-evaluation and a more prominent place in literary history. For this reason some lesser-known texts – particularly those by Thomas Dekker – are given considerable space in this study and rub shoulders with widely available canonical works by Shakespeare and Milton, which are discussed in rather less detail.

Insights from the field of trope theory have proven invaluable in helping to unravel the complicated processes whereby bodies, social structures and texts interact. As described earlier, a major premise of this study is that medical discourse constitutes itself through its intersection with other discourses. I would now add to this that tropological language features centrally in both exposing and understanding this process. Indeed, tracing particular metonyms and metaphors through writings is essential in marking out the most illuminating framework within which to view the focal text: shared tropes function to foreground textual and cultural relations. This will become particularly apparent in my discussion of William Bullein's *A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence*, a text densely impregnated with metonyms and metaphors of pestilence and plague.

Tropological language, particularly that associated with the richly symbolic medium of the body, has the power to disrupt stable meanings and disseminate them across domains (material, psychic, social) and beyond the boundaries marking a specialized discourse. Indeed, the metaphor theorists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have posited a major role for metaphor in human cognition. Johnson's compelling book *The Body in the Mind* describes this phenomenon:

> metaphor, conceived as a pervasive mode of understanding by which we project patterns from one domain of experience in order to structure

> another domain of a different kind. So conceived, metaphor is not merely a linguistic mode of expression: rather it is one of the chief cognitive structures by which we are able to have coherent, ordered experiences that we can reason about and make sense of. Through metaphor, we make use of patterns that obtain in our physical experience to organise our more abstract experience.[39]

As this study demonstrates, tropes are far more than stylistic devices to cajole the imagination into pleasure and to create mood: they facilitate understanding and reasoning, initiate hypotheses, and enable us to have a cognitive hold on the more problematic, intangible experiences of our everyday existence. Furthermore, metaphors may act as guides for future action, creating realities for us. Equally, I would argue, placing a densely symbolic body bearing the stigmata of its disease on stage (a relatively common practice in the Renaissance, as we shall see), has the potential to disrupt and shape cultural meanings, to fashion responses, and to negotiate social change.

'Plaguy', 'pocky', and 'glutted' bodies

A strange line-up of bodies – 'plaguy', 'pocky' and 'glutted' ones – shapes the structure of this book for a simple but important reason: bubonic plague, syphilis, and the replete, costive, humoral body, were the disease states which caused the most ink to flow in the Renaissance. Through focusing in depth on these three conditions, this study seeks to illuminate why these particular disordered bodily types occupied so much textual and cultural space in early modern England.

An initial chapter explores how people imagined their bodies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and establishes the dominant medical contexts for understanding disease. It investigates the classical legacy for interpreting bodily misfortune and proceeds to analyse reshapings of the humoral myth in 14 early modern books of regimen, from Thomas Paynell's *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* (1528) to Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). Medical regimens provided their readers with detailed instruction on how to manage the body to maintain it in healthy working order. They are particularly useful because they targeted a non-specialist audience and were the type of medical book likely to have been read by the literary writers encountered here. Like the little books of manners described by Norbert Elias in *The Civilizing Process* they record, in Elias's words, 'the models of behaviour for which the time was ripe'.[40] It follows that, like the manuals prescribing 'outward bodily propriety', the regimens dealing with the inner workings of the body can, as this book demonstrates,

'throw some light on elements in the social process on which we possess . . . very little direct information'.[41] With this insight to the fore, the chapter concludes by relating the shifting bodily paradigms uncovered in the medical regimens to the processes of 'reformation' in the social and religious 'bodies' of the sixteenth century.

Two subsequent chapters examine the plague-troubled years between 1520 and 1625 and explore the role of rhetoric, especially metonymy and metaphor, in both reflecting and shaping the experience of that disease for the plague victim and the community. Chapter 2 begins by establishing the medical and social contexts of bubonic plague and proceeds, with the help of Thomas Lodge's *A Treatise of the Plague* (1603), to explore the Renaissance cultural heritage for ordering and making sense of this terrifying and incurable affliction. In the second part of this chapter the densely tropological environment of William Bullein's *A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence* (1564) is analysed in the context of Reformation rhetoric and ideology. Chapter 3 focuses on Thomas Dekker's plague pamphlets – notably *The Wonderfull yeare* (1603), *Newes from Graves-end* (1604) and *Worke For Armorours* (1609) – locating them within a radical English plague-writing tradition and firmly amidst the capital's political arguments about the management of its 'plagues', including its burgeoning underclass of the poor.

Chapters 4 and 5 spotlight the emblematic 'pocky' body and its theatrical exploitations. The study commences with an exploration of the medical and social contexts of the new Renaissance 'plague', syphilis. It proceeds through an analysis of the function of names and myths in relation to the new disorder, and an examination of the artistic antecedents for its representation. Erasmian humanism, and depictions of the syphilitic in Erasmus's *Colloquies*, are shown to have exerted important shaping effects on subsequent representations. Finally, analyses of dramatic deployments of the Pox in *Nice Wanton* (1560), Lewis Wager's *Marie Magdalene* (1567), Dekker and Middleton's *The Honest Whore 1 and 2* (1604 and 1605), and Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (1604) and *Pericles* (1608–9), open a revealing window onto the strange close affinities between the Pox, religion and politics, and the Renaissance stage.

The concluding section engages with the heavily disease-impregnated cultural environment of the decades preceding the English civil wars, and in particular with the glutted humoral body: an endogenous disease state which was closely embroiled in radical Republican thought and initiatives. It explores the ideological import of representations of temperance and excess in the Stuart court masques, notably *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618) and *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), and proceeds to examine the economic and political ramifications of the luxurious, consuming bodies of the trade

tracts of the 1620s, and of the prodigal, gormandizing ones in Thomas Heywood's *The English Traveller* (1626) and Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624). It glimpses at the monstrous bodies inhabiting the Renaissance treatises on tyrannicide, notably John Ponet's *A Shorte Treatise of Politicke Power* (1556), and associates these with the medical underpinning of anti-absolutist polemic. Finally, through the poetry of John Milton, namely *Comus* (1634), *Paradise Lost* (1667) and *Paradise Regained* (1670), the formidable seventeenth-century ideological resonances of gluttony and feasting are further unravelled, and the curious body logic of dietary regimen(t) is linked to a very drastic 'cure' – the killing of the king.

Traditionally, analyses of disease in literature have taken place at the level of image and theme.[42] Syphilis is recurrently described as the ultimate image of decay and corruption in Shakespearean drama; as the 'word picture' that 'illustrates' the Bard's world.[43] The prevalence of the Pox in his late plays has been accounted for by the presumed sexual laxity of Jacobean society, or by the Bard's own venereal affliction.[44] Syphilis is consistently seen, too, as the generic handmaid of satire, and its extensive deployment in the period's literature consequently reveals a vogue for satire.[45] The disease has also been inscribed as the figure of excess appetite and desire; and, in this reading, sexual desire was 'remorselessly' encoded (through its figure) on the Jacobean stage.[46] Most recently syphilis has been linked with something far more sinister: anxieties about the infiltration of the commonwealth body by hostile, foreign others.[47]

Sander Gilman has offered a rather different approach to disease and art forms in his important book *Disease and Representation* (1988). Gilman argues that images of disease in literature are projections of the human fear of 'our own collapse', and 'the finite limits of the stage, the covers of the book' serve to put a comforting 'boundary' between us and the diseased-other represented in the art form. In some cases, the fearful is made harmless through being made comic; in some cases it looms as a threat, controlled only by being made visible.[48] As demonstrated throughout this book, Gilman's theories are certainly relevant to understanding representations of 'plaguy', 'pocky' and 'glutted' bodies in early modern pamphlets and drama.

Plague literature prior to Daniel Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* has, in fact, received surprisingly little attention. Plague writings generally have been described as dramas of the 'self and other'.[49] Another widely articulated view is that plague affords the opportunity for sensationalism. Building on this perspective, the writings of Nashe and Dekker have been categorized as 'an offshoot of news reporting', 'recording' the real situation with an added touch of ghoulishness to enhance the sell.[50] On a more upbeat celebratory note (perhaps inspired by Millard Meiss's pronouncement that

the Black Death led to a liberation in pictorial form [1951]),[51] a number of English critics have accorded plague a positive, enabling function in relation to art: 'art – in the face of the greatest horrors (plague, the slave-trade, the death-camps) – may be obliged by indirections to find directions out'.[52] In this rather rhapsodic view (not disassociated from the Romantic myth linking terminal diseases like the 'white' tubercular plague with enhanced creativity) art rises above the material chaos of human existence (certainly beyond the plane of political engagement), shaping something enduring, 'consoling' and transcendent in the face of horror and extinction.[53]

The embodied approach to disease representations encountered in this book suggests, on the contrary, a creative culture preoccupied with perceived bodily chaos and the need for 'cures', whose imaginative flights were grounded in the flesh and its perceived pathologies. Disease and politics are, in fact, inseparable. When Thomas Starkey so powerfully lamented the condition of England in the late 1520s ('who can be so blynd or obstynate to deny the grete dekey, fautys & mysordurys . . . of our commyn wele') and proceeded to 'anatomise' the 'commyn wele' through disease analogies, he was responding to a 'dekey' which had broad, entangled bodily implications (individual, social, religious, economic, political) and which arguably had its origins in an epidemic – the Black Death.[54] Starkey described actual bodies decaying through disease and malnutrition, producing a 'dekey' in the population, and moral, social, religious and economic degeneration brought about by the greed, intemperance, idleness and ignorance of the nobility and clergy; all of which warranted urgent political responses, responses which even impinged on the constitution of the country. Judging from the wave of reformation parliaments that shortly followed, the nation was widely perceived to be in a state of terminal decline. Undoubtedly, the high morbidity and mortality associated with the new disease, syphilis, and with recurrent outbreaks of bubonic plague, contributed to this sense of poor social order which needed to be brought under control. *Fictions of Disease* illuminates a process in which the body and its diseases functioned as the nexus for fraught sixteenth- and seventeenth-century discursive battles (and decision making) concerning the regeneration of the 'commyn wele'/commonwealth, led by Protestant reformers intent on restoring 'health' to, and for, the 'common wealth'. As we shall see, all the disease-impregnated writings encountered here – including the literary ones – were involved in mediating and shaping the anxious debates about the refashioning of the English 'body'.

Discourses of disease, in fact, inscribe social tensions and reveal elements in the social process which become blurred or erased when we police disciplinary boundaries and impose a post-Enlightenment disembodied rationale upon them. All 'bounded structures' (nations, societies, cities)

must imagine their conditions of disunity – problems relating to boundaries, internal structures and the relationship between parts – in much the same way as they imagine the physical body's conditions of disharmony. When disunity is perceived, a shared set of metaphors is drawn upon to imagine the conditions of well-being and wholeness for both the social field and the individual body – to reconcile one with the other. However, this process 'depends on circulating ideas and images about bodies available in a culture, rather than on the use of a "natural" body to serve as a basis'.[55] In order to follow the early modern debates about bodily reform and literary writing's important role in that process, it is crucial, therefore, to commence by addressing this elusive but seminal question: just how did people imagine their bodies in sickness and in health?

1
The Humoral–Paracelsan Body

Defending the 'castell' in 'the haven of health'

> Even as it is better to stande fast still, than to fall and rise againe, better to keepe still a Castell or Citie, than after we have suffered the enimie to enter, to rescue it againe.
>
> Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (1584)[1]

A recurring motif from medieval and early modern writings is the human body as a fortified (materially and/or spiritually) yet vulnerable enclosure – castle, ship, city or temple – threatened constantly by 'enimie' incursions which can only be averted through sound and vigilant regimen. In the absence of empirical knowledge about the body's functioning (and of effective cures), elaborate myths designated as 'medical' form a culture's 'bulwarke of defence' against the disorder of disease which threatens the collapse of the individual body and, in the case of epidemic disease, of whole cities and thus of civilized existence, too.[2] Medical myths such as these are intriguing constructs claiming to speak with an authoritative voice about harmony and strife, about the relation between body and mind (and/or soul), and about an individual's relation with his environment and his society.[3] They have a natural (though not inevitable) inclination to prophecy; and, like all fictions, each time they are retold they are subject to permutation, the story accommodating itself to the designs of its teller and the demands of the time.

Any attempt to recapture how early modern people imagined and experienced their bodies in sickness and in health must inevitably begin by piecing together the dominant medical myths of the period: How did you maintain a healthy 'castell'? What was the 'enimie'? How could you keep it out (or in)? And how might order be restored once inner corruption or invasion had occurred? As stated in my introduction, it would be

anachronistic to assume that medical understanding in this age was the exclusive preserve of university-trained physicians. Indeed, to focus solely on 'learned' Galenic medicine, or on the writings of innovative practitioners like Paracelsus or his English disciples, would be severely to distort the picture. I propose, therefore, having first established the ancient Hippocratic–Galenic legacy bequeathed to the Renaissance, to focus on reshapings of that myth in a wide range of early modern medical 'regimens' written for the layman. As popular medical books penned in the vernacular, regimens are 'keenly time- and culture-specific', which makes them rich repositories of information about how early modern men (sadly none were written by women) construed their bodies and minds, and the relation of their physical and spiritual selves to a changing world.[4] In the light of Mary Douglas's observation that the 'human body is always treated as an image of society and . . . there can be no way of considering the body that does not involve at the same time a social dimension', this chapter concludes by relating the shifting corporeal constructs of the regimens to the processes of social 'reformation' in early modern England.[5] But first, what did the ancient humoral myth of the body that was so important to the pre-modern English imaginary look like?

The classical legacy: humoral medicine

The roots of European Renaissance beliefs about health and disease can be traced to the writings of the first Greek philosophers of nature: the Pythagoreans believed they could prevent disturbances in the body and mind through submitting themselves to a strict mental and physical diet; lost balance could be restored by medicines from nature and by music.[6] A later Greek philosopher, Empedocles, was the first to teach that the world was constructed of four elements: earth, water, air and fire. He saw the elements as in constant tension with one another, combining and separating in response to the basic forces of Love and Strife: man and his powerful emotions could affect the environment (elemental nature) and an unkempt physical body could compromise the soul. Maintaining a balanced, harmonious state within the body and in relation to nature, was the basis of health.[7]

Schools of humoral physicians developed in the Greek outposts (southern Italy, Sicily and Asia Minor) in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, but the body of writings which make up the Hippocratic Corpus were probably written between 410 and 360 BC and later attributed to Hippocrates of Cos.[8] Importantly, Hippocratic physicians largely excluded magic and the supernatural from their theories about the origins of disease: witchcraft, evil spirits and revengeful gods could not cause illness (the author

of the Hippocratic text, 'The Sacred Disease', believed a 'god would be more likely to purify and sanctify [a body] than pollute it').[9] Rather, disease was construed as a natural process to do with an imbalance between the four cardinal humours in the human body (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile). Such imbalance was frequently triggered by a corresponding disturbance in the four elements exterior to the human body: excessive rains, winds, heat and dryness all took their toll on the human vessel.[10]

The theory of the four humours was further developed by Galen (AD 129–*c*. 200/210) and then by the Arabs, particularly Avicenna in the early eleventh century, and by the Salerno school of physicians throughout the Middle Ages.[11] The theory was very logical and seemed to account adequately for observed effects. Each humour was related to an element: blood, from the heart, was hot and moist like air; phlegm, from the brain, was cold and moist like water; yellow bile, from the liver, was hot and dry like fire; black bile, from the spleen, was cold and dry like earth. Within the individual body one humour was felt to dominate slightly, giving rise to recognizable 'complexions': both personality and external appearance were related to humoral type. A predominance of yellow bile thus gave rise to the choleric temperament; of black bile, to the melancholic; of blood to the sanguine; and of phlegm, to the phlegmatic complexion. When the humours were balanced in quantity and quality the condition of 'eukrasia' prevailed and man was healthy; if, however, one humour had come to dominate in an abnormal way, the mixture was bad, a 'dyskrasia' prevailed, and the individual was sick. Eventually the humours would ripen, forming a 'coction', and when they had matured, the polluting matter, the 'materia peccans', was expelled in the stools, urine, sputum or as pus. The physician's role was to aid this natural process of purging and rebalancing by prescribing the patient emetics, enemas, and bleeding him. His treatment would be specific to the patient's symptoms, complexion and age and would take into account the workings and state of external nature. Bleeding, for example, was more appropriate in some months than others and for particular complexions. Similarly, astrological movements might be observed. Drugs and foodstuffs, as products of nature, were also felt to contain specific properties so that, for example, a disease that was hot and moist could be cured by substances that were cold and dry. According to the Galenic model, body and mind, man and the elements were intimately associated and any one of these parts of nature could become disordered, transmitting its chaos to the others: the learned physician must be a competent natural philosopher, able to read the signs of nature in the macrocosm as well as in the human microcosm.[12]

Imbalance of the humours (an endogenous explanation of disease) was not, on its own, sufficient to account for infectious ailments and epidemic disease. As Lucretius' poem *De Rerum Natura* foregrounds, vested interests (rulers, priests) in classical societies had a particular propensity to attribute outbreaks of epidemic disease to gods seeking to punish recalcitrant human beings. In Lucretius' view, potent supernatural explanations of disease warranted urgent countering with less terrifying rational ones,[13] and it was predominantly the latter type of explanation, derived from natural philosophy, that the classical physicians had favoured from Hippocrates onwards. Indeed, although practising in the Christian era, Galen had rejected its beliefs on the grounds that Christianity was not confirmed by demonstration: he grounded his theories of epidemic disease in observation and experience. A combination of commonsensical responses to obviously unhealthy places (those with high mortality and morbidity), together with humoral explanations of disease, gave rise to the classical theory of 'miasma'. From classical times through to the Renaissance it was, in Galen's phraseology, the 'putrid exhalation' from damp, low-lying places, drawn from the earth by warm south winds, which posed the threat of 'ague'. Stagnant pools of water and rotting corpses (especially after battles) similarly polluted the atmosphere: something in unpleasant-smelling air, a 'corrupting influence' not observable to the human eye but accessible to the nostril, was held responsible for epidemic disease. The avoidance of unwholesome places and close, crowded environments during periods of epidemic disease was advocated on the basis of practical knowledge and observation.[14]

In *On Initial Causes* Galen postulated that the initial cause of infectious disease was something external – 'seeds of plague' – which, impinging on and entering the human body, served to imbalance the four humours of certain bodies, leading to incapacity and sickness. Considering other types of infection in *On the Different Types of Fever*, he described how, in ophthalmia, noxious rays were sent with the psychic pneuma to be received by the receptive eye; in phthisis (consumption), the putrid air exhaled by a victim was inspired by others; in psora (skin infection) a thin exudate passed on the infection. The harmful effects of exposure to contagion could not, however, occur without another initial cause, unwise regimen. A healthy lifestyle ('appropriate exercise and . . . a temperate life') could prevent infection. The opposite ('a life of ease devoted to gluttony, drink and sex') predisposed one to disease with an exopathic origin.[15] Care of the body and its neglect, leading to sickness, clearly had important moral implications in the classical world: even in the absence of Christian moral strictures, disease had a propensity to be a blameworthy affair, particularly if it was associated with a perceived overindulgence in the pleasures of food, drink

and sex. As Michel Foucault concluded, in his examination of ancient theories of regimen:

> 'Diet' itself – regimen – was a fundamental category through which human behaviour could be conceptualized. It characterized the way in which one managed one's existence, and it enabled a set of rules to be affixed to conduct. . . . Regimen was a whole art of living.[16]

Concerned with 'a whole art of living', discourses of proper regimen are not confined to the ancient physicians' writings but occur widely in treatises of moral and political philosophy, notably Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*. Sixteenth-century authors of medical regimens were keenly aware of this and, under the impetus of humanism, drew increasingly heavily on ancient philosophical and literary sources for understanding bodily disorder.

Through analogy the classical model of communicable disease yielded a cognitive framework together with potent metaphors for explaining the transmission of negative properties (such as evil, tyranny and sedition) throughout society. As Chapters 2 and 3 will demonstrate, two related concepts, 'plague' and 'pestilence', function as particularly charged tropes in both ancient and early modern political writings. The creation of mood and atmosphere in classical (and, indeed, Renaissance) poetry is obviously similarly indebted to the physicians' accounts of disease, as seen in Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1567): 'First the Aire with foggie stinking reeke / Did daily overdreepe the earth: and close culme Clouds did make / The wether faint.'[17] Descriptions of unhealthy miasmic environments occur particularly frequently in Shakespeare's plays and poetry, often in contexts with negative moral associations. In *The Rape of Lucrece*, for example, Lucrece rails against the 'hateful, vaporous, and foggy night' which has witnessed her rape, demanding that 'rotten damps' and 'poisonous clouds . . . ravish the morning air', and that 'exhaled unwholesome breaths make sick / The life of purity', to match the injustice of the assault on her own body (ll. 771–80).

From classical times through to the Renaissance and beyond, endogenous explanations of disease combined with exopathic ones to produce a model of infectious disease in which outer pollution could only corrupt a body suitably disordered and susceptible (physically and/or morally). The balance of the relationship was not, however, stable, and key elements within the medical equation – body, mind (soul), environment, society – could shift into a position of greater prominence or lesser significance, subtly altering the meaning and implications of disease. For example, whilst ancient physicians appear to have been remarkably assiduous in their attempts to avoid religious interpretations of disease, later physicians and

writers (to varying degrees according to the social climate and their personal beliefs) attempted to accommodate the precepts of classical humoral theory to Christianity, which from its inception demanded recognition and inclusion in any medical model. As will become clear in the analysis of early modern regimens which follows, health and disease constructs are shaped by, and themselves exert an effect on, other socio-cultural phenomena: discourses of the body are sensitive indicators of social and intellectual change.

Early modern regimen: the shifting language and emphases of vernacular books of medical regimen

> This boke techyng al people to governe them in helthe . . . Whiche boke is as profitable & as nedefull to be had and redde as any can be to observe corporall helthe.
>
> Thomas Paynell, *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* (1528) title-page[18]

> *The Castel of Helth* Gathered . . . out of the chiefe authors of Physyke, wherby every manne may knowe the state of his owne body, the preservation of helth, and how to instructe well his physytion in syckenes that he be not deceyved.
>
> Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (1534) title-page[19]

The sixteenth century witnessed the development of a genre of vernacular medical books, like the two cited above, which instructed the educated layman how to 'governe' his body (maintain his 'castel') in order to preserve or restore health. A range of factors encouraged the production of these English medical regimens: humanist translation, developments in printing and distribution, the growth of literacy, and anxieties about epidemics all contributed to the growth and success of the new genre. English learned physicians were, for a variety of posited reasons (ranging from professional jealousy to laziness),[20] more reluctant than their Continental counterparts to disseminate medical knowledge in their mother tongue. The gap in the market was, however, admirably filled by a motley body of scholars, statesmen, clerics, teachers and lawyers, eagerly professing the civic humanist's desire to serve his commonwealth. The medical regimens are discursive texts (as opposed to collections of remedies or medical almanacs) which, as the title-page of Elyot's suggests, proffer knowledge about bodily constitution and functioning, as well as its regulation, and concern themselves with causes of disease as well as treatment.[21]

Thomas Paynell's free translation and adaptation of the Salerno physician Joannes de Mediolano's Latin verse, and Sir Thomas Elyot's English synopsis of 'the chiefe' ancient 'authors of Physyke' (notably Galen and Hippocrates), were flagship regimens, providing models that many later writers self-consciously imitated. The cleric-physician William Bullein declared, for example:

> I have builded this little Fort, callyng it my Bulwarke. Not beyng able to builde any bigger woorke of defence, against sickenes, or evill diate: as that manne of worthie memorie, Sir Thomas Eliot knight did, when he builded his Castle. (Preface, *Bulleins Bulwarke of defence*, 1562, sig. C2v)

The physician-schoolteacher Thomas Cogan went further:

> If they finde whole sentences taken out of Maister Eliote his Castle . . . or out of Schola Salerni . . . they will not condemne me of vaine glorie . . . I have so enterlaced it with mine owne. (To the Reader, *The Haven of Health*, f. 4v)

Both works were highly esteemed and proved popular: Paynell's went through nine editions between 1528 and 1634 (if we include the plagiarized versions that omitted his name), and Elyot's claimed 17 editions between 1534 and 1610 (*STC2*).

Paynell's book opens with a dedication to the 'hyghe chamberlayne of Englande', the Earl of Oxford, which reads like a gentle sermon. Making the commonplace observation 'I fynde that men in tyme past were of longer lyfe and of more prosperous helthe than they are nowe adayes' (sig. A2r), the author proceeds to offer two possible explanations: the choice (and it is either/'OR') is between 'our myslyvynge and fylthy synne', 'OR . . . our mys diete?' (sig. A2v). Significantly, especially given that Paynell is a cleric, he favours and stresses the natural cause:

> Surfet and diversites of meates and drynkes lettyng and corruptyng the digestion febleth man. . . . Yll diete (as me thynketh) is chief cause of all dangerous and intollerable diseases: and of the shortenes of mans life . . . (sig. A2v)

Indeed, following the dedication, Paynell's rendering of the Salerno text is remarkably devoid of religious intrusion and biblical reference: its main authorities are Avicenna, Galen and Hippocrates. Medicine is represented as a pragmatic discipline concerning the corporal body and disease is

construed as entirely the result of 'putrified' humours caused initially through poor diet and habits and ungoverned emotions.

The *Regimen* opens with lists of doctrines to follow 'if we desyre corporall helthe' (sig. B1r). 'We' are apparently 'unlerned persones' (non-Latin speakers, sig. A3r), but 'specially noblemen' (sig. B2r). Three prime rules are continually restated: first, 'to lyve joyfullye: for joye & myrthe cause man to be yonge & lustye'; secondly, to maintain 'tra<u>n</u>quillitie of mynde'; and thirdly, 'moderate diete' (sig. B2r–v). The emphasis on 'myrth' being healthful and mental disturbances (especially sadness) being detrimental to corporal well-being had both Hippocratic and Galenic foundations and a humoral explanation: 'greatte charges, thought & care . . . drieth up mans body' (sig. B1r).

Mirroring its own aphorisms, perhaps, this medical regimen is characterized by a cheerful and optimistic tone as it proceeds to discuss aspects of daily hygiene (washing, sleeping, eating), and to detail at length the digestive qualities of various foods and drinks before considering the most suitable times to bleed and purge the body. Referring to Avicenna's 'regiment of helthe', the reader is also advised about air quality: 'the aier shulde be eschewed which is myxed with vapours of lakes and depe pittis conteinynge stynkynge waters' (sig. I4r). Overall, this early sixteenth-century regimen represents bodily functioning in very material, secular terms – it is about individual 'corporall helthe' – with a medical concept of mind but not, notably, of the soul.

Indeed, the same can be said of Elyot's *Castel*, which declares itself about:

> The Conservation of the body of mankynde, within the limitation of helth, which (as Galene sayth) is the state of the body, wherein we be neyther greved with peyne, nor lette from doyng our necessary busynesse . . . (f. 1r)

This is a very Galenic regimen informed by Linacre's new Latin translation of 'the book of Galen, of the governance of health'.[22] It methodically describes the body's composition, listing and defining: 'elementes, complexions, humours, membres, powers, operations, spirits' (f. 1r). The 'signes' of various complexions are given in some detail: the melancholic individual, for example, is lean, has hard skin, plain thin dark hair, is watchful, has fearful dreams, is stiff in opinions, timorous and fearful, is prone to anger, seldom laughs, has slow digestion, weak pulse and watery urine (f. 3r).

Once the reader has established his own complexion, he must learn about 'Thynges not naturall' ('ayre, meate and drynke, slepe & watche, mevyng & rest, emptynesse & repletions', f. 11v), which are basically habits and rules to observe in order to remain healthy. Interestingly, when Cogan

wrote his regimen he rejected Elyot's categories ('according to Galen'), making a point of following instead what he describes as the Hippocratic ones (exercise, meat, drink, sleep and Venus), finding these more comprehensible and suitable for 'our English Nation' ('To the Reader', f. 4r): an emerging discourse of nation is very apparent in medical regimens from the second half of the sixteenth century.

'Ayre', for Elyot, is the most important 'non-natural' because it surrounds the body all the time. It can be 'corrupted' by stars, 'standynge waters', unburied carrion, and 'moche people in small rome lyvynge unclenly' (f. 12r). As in Paynell's regimen, lengthy descriptions of the hot and cold, dry and moist qualities of food and drink make up the bulk of the text. He focuses, too, on the harmful humoral effects of depressed mood states: 'There is no thynge more ennemy to lyfe, then sorrowe, . . . for it exhausteth bothe naturall heate and moysture of the body' (f. 66r). In fact, this is one of a handful of instances where Elyot backs up a medical point with biblical authority: 'Also in the boke called Ecclesiasticus, Sorowe hathe kylled manye, and in it selfe is founde no commoditie' (f. 66r). Occasionally, too, he demonstrates the wide range of his humanist scholarship, wittily illustrating a medical aphorism by drawing on ancient philosophy and history – a practice which becomes increasingly popular in subsequent regimens.

Disease in *The Castel* is rarely a moral affair though Elyot does rail against the 'contynuall gourmandyse . . . the spirite of gluttony' which is tormenting 'this realme' with 'sycknesses' (f. 45r).[23] God enters his regimen only briefly in the appended section on pestilence where the author, finding no natural explanation why 'stuffe lyenge in a cofer shutte by the space of two yeres' (f. 88r) retains the capacity to infect, determines that this must be an instance of 'the powre of god . . . above mans reason or counsell, preservyng or strykyng whom, whan, and where it shall lyke his maiestie' (f. 88r). Nevertheless, avoiding 'corrupt' air and partaking of 'A diete preservative in the tyme of pestilence' (f. 86v), are stressed as effective practical ways to prevent infection: maintaining the body in a balanced humoral condition is the key to health.

Both Paynell's and Elyot's regimens convey highly condensed and simplified versions of the humoral scheme of the body which was taught in the medical faculties of universities throughout medieval and Renaissance Europe. Ironically, at the same time as the authority of Galenic medicine was being consolidated by the labours of such humanistic physicians as Linacre and Caius, it was undergoing its most serious challenges to date in the Christian European context. Not only was Galen's account of the structure of the body (based on the vivisection of animals) being undermined by Vesalian anatomy,[24] but Galenic physiology was being declared erroneous, unchristian and degenerate by a new breed of Paracelsan prac-

titioner. Theophrastus von Hohenheim (1493–1541), generally known as Paracelsus, established his medical reputation and following through opportunistically publishing two short treatises on the anxiety-producing 'new' disease of the Renaissance, syphilis, and advocating the mercury cure which proved so popular.[25] He declared Aristotelian and Galenic scholastic medicine heathen and obsolete (like Roman Catholicism); its practitioners greedy (like priests); and its cures ineffective (like absolution) – new diseases like syphilis demonstrated the need for innovative approaches, and the whole concept and practice of medicine required radical renewal (like religion). His answer was to formulate a rival myth of bodily functioning which was intensely spiritual and informed by the mystical approaches of both alchemy and Neoplatonism, and which incorporated the belief that only Christian charitable physicians could cure the body's ills. The biblical Word – especially the book of Revelation – was virtually the only textual source acknowledged by this self-styled medical prophet, who stressed the importance of experimentation and observation and ridiculed traditional medicine's over-dependence on book-learning.[26]

The *Volumen Paramirum*, an early work, explains how and why human beings become sick in terms of five 'entia': the five spheres that determine man's life in health and disease. The stars, nourishment, environment, individual constitution and spiritual state, all influence bodily functioning.[27] As in the Galenic myth, diet and physical surroundings are, therefore, important, but the workings of the heavens and the mysteries of the spiritual world have taken on new or enhanced medical significance. The writing of the English Paracelsan, R. Bostocke, reveals the strong Platonic underpinning of Paracelsus' theories: 'For all thinges good or bad, be derived and doe flowe from Anima . . . into the body and to every parte of man.'[28] Indeed, Bostocke's *Auncient and Later Phisicke* (1585) argues that Plato followed the 'Priestes of Aegypt' in subscribing to this 'chymicall' as opposed to 'heathnish Phisick', and that Paracelsus had simply revivified the art. In this system there are (since the Fall) 'spirituall Seedes of al maner diseases, indowed with lively power' (p. 80). Like the human body, all diseases are constituted of 'Sal, Sulphur, and Mercury' (p. 80) and they require cures which relate to the sphere of influence which contributed to the illness. The prized vegetable and mineral cures ('Arcana') are not, therefore, always useful, as Bostocke describes:

> If the disease bee caused by influences of the heavens, neather of the other Arcana will serve, but they are to be cured by Astronomy and influences. But those Diseases and griefes that come by supernaturall meanes, will not be holpen by any meanes aforesayde, but by supernaturall meanes. (p. 90)

The essence of Paracelsus' 'religion' of medicine is a 'supernaturall' universe inhabited by spirits (and unified by spirit), in which stones, roots, plants and seeds all have 'powers' accessible via the practice of chemistry, which can be channelled into the service of medicine by the true Christian. For this committed reformer a new myth of the body, and a revised medical schema, was an integral, essential part of the process of the renewal of religion.

The situation in the first half of the sixteenth century was one, therefore, in which the credibility of the established theory of bodily functioning was being contested by a radically alternative model with profound implications for both medicine and religion.[29] Furthermore a biological event (the new epidemic, syphilis) triggered the emergence of this rival medical authority: an interplay between religion, medicine and epidemic is detectable here. But what effect, if any, did this have on the educated Englishman's perception of his own body and its relation with others and with the world, and what other significant variables shaped sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century models of pathology?

I propose, following Norbert Elias's observations discussed in the Introduction, that the answers to these seemingly elusive questions might best be approached through consulting further manuals detailing the appropriate management of 'the body'.[30] Given the vagaries of individual authorship, and the historical specificity of the popular medical books, it is, however, crucial to consult a broad range of regimens. I shall explore them chronologically, analysing their discourses of pathology under the medical anthropologists' categories of: 'body, mind and soul', 'the body and its environment' and 'the body, society and the state'. The Appendix contains a list of the medical regimens examined in this survey, together with numbers of editions and their authors' occupations.

Body, mind and soul

One eminent learned physician who took the unusual step of writing a medical regimen in the vernacular was John Caius. Having discoursed at length on the 'Infection of the aier, and impure spirites by repletion' (f. 20r) which caused the 'sweatyng sicknesse' (a deadly form of influenza which broke out in England in 1551), Caius concluded his regimen (1552) against the disease with the pointed statement:

> If other causes ther be supernatural, theim I leve to the divines to serche, and the diseases thereof to cure, as a matter with out the compasse of my facultie.[31]

Caius is not denying the possibility of 'supernatural' causes, rather, as a noted Galenist and Fellow of the College of Physicians, he is impressing on his readers that religious matters are the preserve of 'divines' and are 'with out the compasse' of medicine ('my facultie'). 'Phisicke' is for him a corporal business – as it had been for Paynell and Elyot – but there is a sense, too, that he is making a last stand (in print) against the visible encroachment of religion into his discipline. Virtually all subsequent early modern medical regimens concern themselves with the health of the spiritual body, and with the primary cause of disease – sin.

William Bullein's *Governement of Healthe* (1558) supplies a striking contrast to Caius' position. Having quoted Galen on 'distempered' air, Bullein proceeds to describe 'certain stars called infortunates . . . whose influence bringeth corruption . . . & pestilence',[32] and sermonizes:

> Against the said influences al christen men must pray to god to be their defence, for thei be gods instrumentes to punisheth [*sic*] earth. Example, we have of mortall pestilence, horrible fevers, and sweeting sickenes, and of late a generall fever, that thislande is often plaged withal sicalie. (f. xlii.r–v)

As a committed Protestant recently returned to England from exile, this cleric-turned-physician is concerned to stress his country's recent proneness to plagues (under Mary), but disease is inevitably a spiritual, moral and corporal matter in his medical books. In fact, at times, explanations of spiritual and corporal health and disease are intimately and ingeniously intertwined through the use of symbolic and allegorical language: the techniques Bullein must have mastered for sermon writing during his period as a church minister (the Quadruplex Exposition, for example) are redeployed in the medical context.[33] Passages and words in his writings often operate in several dimensions: the literal, the tropologic (some reference to human morals), the anagogic (some reference to heavenly things), and the allegoric. In the *Governement of Healthe*, for example, the body is described succumbing to spiritual and actual 'pestilence' simultaneously through a careful choice and ordering of semantically complex diction:

> Certainly the occasion of this moste fearefull sickenes commeth many waies: as the chaunge of the aire from a good unto an evill qualitie, taking his venemous effect of the vitall spirites, whiche incontinent with al speede, corrupteth the spirituall bloud, and sodenly (as it were) an unmerciful fire, it quickely consumeth the whole body even to death, unlesse the holsome medicine do prevent and come to the heart, before

> the pestilent humour. And because it is a very strong sickenes, it is requisite to have a strong curing medicine. (f. cxxii.r)

The clue to this passage is the use of the word 'spirituall' as opposed to the more usual 'spiritous' blood in a medical text. Many of the words here are operating in the tropological as well as the literal plane and the whole is a sort of allegory of moral contamination, of sin consuming the body and extinguishing the spirit. 'Holsome medicine' is prayers and repentance as well as natural remedies.

In a subsequent regimen, *Bulleins Bulwarke of defence* (1562), the reader is instructed that whilst 'infirmities of the bodie' require a physicion, 'God's woorde . . . is the principall regimente' for the 'griefes of minde' ('of sicke men and medicenes', f. lxxviij.v). Indeed, the listed 'Aurthours' ('Capitaines, and Souldiours') of the *Bulwarke* include 'Moyses, David, Salomon . . . JESUS Chrystus, Lucas Evangel, Paulus' (who head the list) as well as Galen and later physicians (including chemical practitioners) and ancient philosophers and poets too, notably Plato and Virgil (Preface, sig. C4r). Bullein's is a truly eclectic brand of medicine (this will be discussed in detail in the next chapter) which concerns itself with, and moralizes about, other forms of behaviour construed as detrimental to health, besides the traditional gluttony:

> There are many idle people in citees, and in noble houses, dooe thinke the chief felicitie onely, to bee from bedde to bellie . . . to bedde again: none other lives thei wil use, then Cardes, Dice, or pratlying title tatle excepted . . . slepyng, eatyng and laughyng . . . ('The booke of the use of sicke men and medicenes', *Bulleins Bulwarke*, f. lxvij.r)

This manner of 'idle' living, the reader is instructed, quickly makes a noble person 'a deformed monstrous man' and reduces him to beggary (f. lxvij.r). In fact, as we shall see in Chapter 4, these are the didactic preoccupations, too, of the mid-century dramatic Interludes.

Thomas Newton's translation (*The Touchstone of Complexions*, 1576) of the regimen of Levinus Lemnius (an eminent Dutch physician) similarly hypothesizes about degenerate behaviour:

> For there be many excellent witts and very towardly natures, which by unthrifty company and lewd education, do degenerate from their good inclination of nature, and become altogether rebellious, wilfull, lewde and barbarous.[34]

'Health' is about good behaviour and morals, preventing sickness of the soul and sin, pursuits which cannot be dissociated from medical regimen:

> I judge it right needefull . . . to have a diligent eye and respect to the body, leaste (otherwise) it should be a burthen to the Soule. . . . For the body being healthfull, everye member doth his office and dutie, and is to the minde . . . obeysaunt and serviceable. (f. 1v)

The individual's 'chiefest care and whole diligence' (f. 2v) should be 'perfectly' to know:

> The exacte state, habite, disposition, and constitution, of his owne Body outwardly: as also the inclinations, affections, motions, & desires of his mynde inwardly, so that he can regulate them accordingly. (Title-page)

Damnation is the ultimate consequence of 'not knowinge of our owne selves' (f. 2v),[35] and of poor regimen:

> For if the bodye do abounde and be full of ill humours, if the Spirites bee unpure, and the brayne stuffed full of thicke fumes proceedinge of humours, the bodye and Soule consequentlye cannot but suffer hurte, and bee thereby likewise damnifyed. (f. 19v)

'We are what we eat' is the unstated but ever-present maxim of this medical text. Through a change of diet and temperance, the body can be 'refourmed into better' (f. 3v); but the effect of 'immoderate gurmandyze, surphet, and dronkennesse' is to bring about 'lewd affections, and unbrydled motions', the dulling of reason, and subsequent 'venerous luste' and beastly behaviour:

> For when the body is bombasted wyth drincke, and bellycheere, the privities and secrete partes do swel, and have a marveylous desire to carnal coiture. (f. 10v)

All this is underpinned by a curious combination of traditional medical theory and a form of mystical philosophy which is heavily Neoplatonic:

> Such nourishments and meates as engender good bloude & juyce are hereunto very avayleable, out of which the humours & spyrits (which be the . . . stirrers forwarde of the minde) obtayne and receyve theyr nature. (f. 5r)

'Spyrits' are very active in the disease processes described in this text, and in the manner of Paracelsus' universe, Lemnius' is infused with divine 'Spirite . . . breathed by God above . . . [which] governeth and ruleth all

thinges . . . [and] imparteth vitall heate' (f. 20r). But, in this airy, mysterious world, man is continuously beset by 'externall spirites recoursing into his body and mynde' (f. 21v) – 'good Angels and the badde' – which, being 'without bodies slyly and secretly glyde' into their unsuspecting host 'like as fulsome stenche', intermingling with the humours and spirits and pricking him forward to 'grace' or, more problematically, to 'mischeife . . . & drawe him from God as farre as may be' (f. 22r). Abundance of bad spirits and 'dullness' (f. 8v) of the better ones through poor regimen has such deleterious effects because it is 'by the mynisterye and ayde' of 'the Spirite' that 'the Soule . . . perfourmeth her powers and faculties' (f. 7v). By contrast, in Elyot's regimen 'Spirite' had indeed been 'an ayre substance subtyll', but its function was to stir 'the powers of the body to perfourme their operations' (the soul was not mentioned) and though the 'Spirituall powers' were construed as affecting the emotions there was no discussion of behaviour or sin (f. 10r–v). Unlike Elyot's *Castel* but in common with Bullein's texts, *The Touchstone of Complexions* is a deeply religious, though far more mystical medical book. Both Thomas Newton and Levinus Lemnius were learned physicians and humanist scholars with an English following sufficient to warrant three editions of *The Touchstone*: there is no evidence to suggest that a preoccupation with the occult operations of the universe undermined their medical reputations.

Thomas Cogan's *The Haven of Health* (1584), written chiefly 'for the comfort of Students' (title-page), though self-confessedly imitative of 'Maister Eliote's' regimen, is characterized, rather differently, by constant moral and religious exhortation and a rigorous concern to illustrate medical maxims through scriptural texts. 'The Epistle Dedicatorie' sets the tone:'

> And no doubt but that meane and temperate dyet, in the feare of God, is more commendable than all the delicate fare in the world, and ought of the godly to be esteemed as a thing that best contenteth nature, and preserveth health. Which is not onely confirmed by Saloman in his Proverbes, and by the example of the Prophet Daniel, but most manifestly by Ecclesiasticus in these wordes. . . . By surfet have manie perished . . . (f. 2v)

In this manual, 'a meane and temperate dyet' ('The Epistle Dedicatorie', f. 2v) is a mark of 'the godly' – it is essential Protestant regimen underscored first by the scriptural word, then by Aristotelian and Socratic philosophy ('reason ought to rule, & all appetites are to be bridled and subdued', f. 3r), also by common sense ('such as the foode is, such is the bloud: and such as the bloud is, such is the flesh', f. 4r), and finally by Galenic and Salernitan physiology.

Like Bullein's regimen, Cogan's deploys epidemic disease – particularly a mysterious 'burning fever' which raged among the notaries of Oxford in 1577 – as a warning to beware God's displeasure, to 'speedilie repent' (pp. 282–4). Furthermore it lists, and then interprets, the signs of the sickness entirely through the biblical Word:

> this kinde of sickenesse is one of those roddes, and the most common rodde, wherewith it pleaseth God to beate his people for sinne, as it appeareth in Leviticus . . . I will appoint over you fearefulnesse, a consumption, and the burning agewe . . . likewise in Deuteronomie: the Lord shall smite thee with a consumption . . . (p. 282)

The primary 'enimie' to health in *The Haven* is definitely sin associated with the unleashing of beastly appetites through inadequate self-government and failing to heed God's Word ('Plague and sicknesse be Gods punishment', p. 262). The godly individual should do everything in his power to avoid 'falling': he must maintain a regimented castle; 'avoide the place infected' (p. 266); and employ 'Phisicke' ('the gift of God', p. 266). In fact, this regimen represents medical concerns as completely indivisible from religious ones. For this physician turned Manchester grammar-school teacher, disease is a spiritual matter with individual corporal, social and national consequences: in 'the haven of health' (Protestant England) personal bodily discipline – especially in matters of 'Venus' (sexual conduct) and diet – is the linchpin to the nation's 'health' (physical, spiritual, moral and social).

William Vaughan's *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health* (1600), also construes health and disease in spiritual terms, but focuses, rather differently, on the physiological mechanism that connects soul and body so intimately that one can 'destroy the other'.[36] This melancholic 'student in the Civill Law' represents himself, rather melodramatically, as driven to study medical regimen in order to save the 'purer faculties of my soule' – 'Reason and Religion forced me to take this course' ('To the Ladie Margaret Vaughan', sig. A3v). He later explains, 'For if the bodie be replenished with . . . diseases, the soule can not be whole, nor sound', because 'of their joint qualities one with another' (p. 52). The physiological link is construed as the 'moisture and drinesse, heate & cold' common to both 'the bodies qualities, & the soules affections' and the health-producing affection, 'mirth', apprehended by the 'wise' as 'contemplation' (as opposed to 'gratification'), is God-given to induce men 'to seeke after his divine Majestie' (p. 33). It is as if humoral medical theory has been carefully adjusted and retuned to accommodate the clamouring demands of religion for a far greater stake in society's schema for understanding disease:

even health-giving mirth has been qualified, subdued and accorded a Christian-spiritual function.

Indeed, at the turn of the seventeenth century, because of anxieties about the health of the spiritual body, the corporal body appears in danger of being pushed to the margins of the field of medical concern altogether by some (especially clerical) writers, but is reprieved, out of necessity, as 'the cage' of the soul. As James Manning's *I Am for you all, Complexions Castle* (1604) explains: it is the 'duty' of man to 'look after his castle', 'to keepe the cage as cleane as he can, neither breake or dissolve the same, least his soule, as an untimely bird, flie unto the hill'.[37] It proceeds to rail:

> No bodie polluted with grosse humours either with excesse, or defect of any humour, but it is more apt to grieve the soule, defile the soule, and offend the creatour of bodie and soule. Doth not excesse of choller cause men to rage? Of phlegm to be dull & sleepie? Of melancholie to phrensie? and subtiltie of blood to wantonness? (p. 2)

In fact this tract reveals a deeply ambivalent attitude to the body which is, on the one hand, conceived as 'this rare and wonderfull order of man' (p. 1), and on the other, as the potential enemy of the soul which resides within it in 'spirit which is the vapour of blood, and becommeth vitall, and animall' (p. 4). Regimen is a Christian obligation and has particular implications for behaviour – imbalance leads to sin – and thus for the healthful maintenance, or the degeneration of, the soul: 'The soule crieth unto thee to correct bad humours, and not admit them to raigne' (p. 5). Perfect knowledge of one's own complexion (inner and outer), as construed through the reading of 'signes', is thus a prime key to salvation: if the soul is to be saved from corruption, the regrettable animal tendencies of the body must, indeed, be closely addressed and repressed. Consequently Manning – 'minister of the word' – provides pages of finely detailed observations of each complexion enabling his godly readers to search out their 'type' and to practise proper regimen of body *and* soul accordingly.

Robert Burton's bulky medical tome *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) similarly stresses the intimate interplay of relations between body and soul ('the body, being material, worketh upon the immaterial soul, by mediation of humours and spirits', p. 374),[38] and gives graphic expression to the pathological consequences to both of 'an insatiable pouch [stomach]':

> As a lamp is choked with a multitude of oil, or a little fire with overmuch wood is extinguished, so is the natural heat with immoderate eating strangled in the body. . . . An insatiable pouch is a pernicious sink, and the fountain of all diseases, both of body and mind. (p. 226)

The body and its environment

From the mid-sixteenth century, as we have observed, the discourse of religion, and the related ones of spirituality and morality, intruded increasingly heavily into the medical domain: this has two major consequences for the way the body's natural environment is represented in the English regimens. First, and especially in recognizably Protestant-authored regimens against the pestilence, the macrocosm is rendered as an ever-burgeoning storehouse of (sometimes very curious) signs which – like the microcosm – need to be interpreted and acted upon if God's wrath is to be assuaged, and His scourges averted.[39] Simon Kellwaye's exhaustive list of 'forewarninges and tokens of the comming therof [of plague]' in *A Defensative against the Plague* (1593) includes descriptions of 'firie impressions in the firmament', of plagues of toads, mice and caterpillars, of swarms of gnats, and flocks of children playing particular games: all provide vital information 'given us beforehand' better to prevent the plague by 'prayer and repentance'.[40]

The second consequence might be described as the moralization of the environment. If we return to William Bullein's rendering of his native, 'sicalie' land in the *Governement of Healthe*, for example, it is possible to detect how his apprehension of sin (and subsequently of God's anger) being the prime cause of England's recent pestilences colours his depiction of landscape. He provides a long list of uncongenial places productive of 'distempered' air and juxtaposes this to a contrasting vision of 'pleasaunt clere aire, swete gardens, goodlye hilles' and temperate climate associated with health (f. xlii.r). Thus an Edenic countryside is contrasted, suggestively, with a hellish, fallen cityscape of overcrowded 'foull houses' surrounded by polluted waters 'wherinto jakes or stinkes, have issues' (f. xlii.v), complete with 'wallowing swine', unburied carrion, 'sellers, boltes, holes . . . walles, joyned together' (f. xli.v–f. xlii.r). Having urged his fellow countrymen to pray to God against this instrument of his displeasure, he advises lighting fires and burning sweet perfumes 'to purge this foule aire' (f. xlii.v).

In the same year that Bullein's book was first issued, another reformer, Thomas Becon, published *The Pomander of Prayer* containing 'spiritual preservatives' against disease which produced large numbers of imitations throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries bearing similar titles with health-giving connotations ('godly gardens of herbs', 'salves for a sick man', for example): it is clear from this context that Bullein's 'swete perfumes' (f. xlii.r), like his 'foule aire' (f. xlii.v), have spiritual and moral significances in addition to natural medical ones.

Indeed, air quality, and particularly its smell, becomes heavily symbolic with occult resonances in some books of regimen. In *The Touchstone of Complexions*, for example, 'good Angels' impart 'holesome ayre, and with

a pleasaunt and sweete inspiration refresh our inward minds' (f. 24r), meanwhile:

> As a pestilente winde induceth sickenesse and infection: so do evill Spirites exhale & breath out a pestiferous poyson, & to the mindes of men bring mischiefe and destruction. (f. 24r)

Spiritual and moral infection are caught from evil spirits and 'wicked fiends' (Vaughan, p. 75) in the same manner that pestilence is inhaled with 'corrupt' air and from infected people. Interestingly Robert Burton's regimen, written almost half a century after *The Touchstone*, constantly alludes to the wisdom of Lemnius' treatise and contains a fascinating and lengthy 'Digression' on the variety of 'Spirits, Bad Angels, or Devils, and how they cause Melancholy'. 'I must conclude with Lemnius', he stresses, 'spirits and humours do most harm in troubling the soul' (p. 375).

'Evil' exhalations and 'ill' vapours are associated increasingly through the course of the sixteenth century with 'darke, troublous and close' environments near 'draughts, Sinckes, dunghils, gutters, chanels' (*The Haven*, p. 7) and in 'shippes, common Gayles, and in narrow and close lanes and streetes, where many people doe dwell together' (*A Defensative*, f. 1v). Dirty, threatening townscapes are moralized so that things such as puddles, sinks, stench, vapours and dunghills are often accorded negative attributes like venemous, malicious and evil. 'Evil' is a particularly charged word in the late part of the century: it usually no longer refers simply to an illness or a misfortune (as it does in earlier sixteenth-century medical books) but tends to function suggestively, sliding between the material, psychic and moral domains. Indeed, all the regimen writers from Bullein onwards project into their writing fears and anxieties about foul, stinking, city environments; disguising them with perfumes and greenery by burning sweet woods and strewing herbs and flowers is the next best thing to fleeing from them. In Cogan's *Haven* even 'noyse' and 'rumours' emanating from the plague-stricken city are dangerous and the godly individual's flight to safety is represented as a perilous pilgrimage away from 'venemous vapours', putting 'high mountaines inbetweene' (p. 264). Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century medical regimens devoted entirely to the plague, such as the gentleman-scholar Simon Kellwaye's *A Defensative* (1593), and the poet-physician Thomas Lodge's *A Treatise of the Plague* (1603), focus increasingly on measures for cleansing filthy urban sites and on segregating and avoiding the contagious people associated with them.

Read in this context it becomes easy to see why evil, sin and vice are so closely associated with miasmic environments, vile smells, disease and dirt

in late Elizabethan and Jacobean drama and satire. In Shakespeare's *Henry V*, for example, King Harry warns of 'the filthy and contagious clouds / Of heady murder, spoil, and villainy' (III.iii.114–15); and in *King John* Salisbury cries: 'Away with me, all you whose souls abhor / The uncleanly savours of a slaughter-house; for I am stifled with this smell of sin' (IV.iii.111–13). Moral revolt is here conveyed very powerfully as physical revolt from a loathsome smell. Early modern Pox was especially linked with unpleasant odours, as this peculiarly Jacobean satiric adaptation of the Salerno school regimen (probably by Sir John Harington) intimates:

> Though all ill savours do not breed infection,
> Yet sure infection commeth most by smelling,
> Who smelleth still perfumed, his complexion
> Is not perfum'd by Poet Martials telling,
> Yet for your lodging roomes give this direction,
> In houses where you mind to make your dwelling,
> That nere the same there be no evill sents
> Of Puddle-waters, or of excrements,
> Let ayre be cleare and light, & free from faults,
> That come of secret passages and vaults.[41]

Perfumes were sold by barber-surgeons to camouflage unpleasant smells caused by bodily infection, and 'secret passages and vaults' with 'faults' has sexual-disease connotations. Unsavoury odours were suggestive, then, of sexual transgressions and moral contamination, as well as physical disease. The surgeon William Clowes's polemical regimen (1579) against 'the pestilent infection of filthy lust . . . the French Pocks' – 'A sicknes very lothsome, odious, troublesome, and daungerous' (Preface: 'To the friendly Reader') – pinpoints a particular urban environment which he associates with the infection: 'the great number of lewd alehouses, which are the very nests and harbourers' of the 'filthy creatures' who spread it (sig. B2r).[42]

The body, society and the state

As Clowes's words reveal, by the 1570s 'filthy' people congregating in unsavoury environments were construed by some as contaminating the 'nation' with their dangerous disease:

> It is wonderfull to consider, how huge multitudes there be of such as be infected with it, and that dayly increase, to the great daunger of the commonwealth, and the stayne of the whole nation: Ile [*sic*] none so great as the licentious and beastly disorder of a great number of rogues

> and vagabondes: The filthye lyfe of many lewd and idell persons.... By meanes of which disordered persons, some other of better disposition are many tymes infected. (*A Short and profitable Treatise*, sig. B1v–B2r)

This eminent practitioner (who prided himself on his services to the capital's poor) attributes the spread of the disease to idle 'disordered persons' – 'rogues and vagabondes' – unregimented, 'ungodly' types who plague the city with their roguish behaviour as well as their pestilence.[43] Transmission of 'the pocks' was recognized to occur through sexual contact which Clowes elides readily with 'stinking sinne . . . the originall cause of this infection' (sig. A3v): resonances of original sin and ideas about 'uncleane' fallen behaviour inform the language and shape the constructions of this medical text.[44] In this regimen it is 'sinne' which 'stinks' and the 'sickenes' which is 'odious' (sig. B2v): the nostril-assaulting epithets of miasmic exhalations are transferred to the disease, the sin associated with it, and to the 'uncleane persons' who suffer from it (sig. B4r).

Clowes's discourse of syphilis is thus highly unstable and emotive, sliding as it does between the metonymic and the metaphoric and consequently between physical disease and moral and social domains. 'This most noysome sickenes' (sig. B2v), for example, has potential corporal, moral and social significations (the 'wretches' who spread it are a 'noysome sickenes' too) in a context where it 'stayne's' the nation (like those tainted with it). Through such verbal gymnastics, sin, disease, disorder and the idle poor become intimately (and metonymically) linked matters for public action because these 'disordered persons' infect those of 'better disposition' (sig. B2r). This St Bartholomew's surgeon advocates magistrates rounding up the 'idell' / diseased (the two are by now conflated) and 'executing' upon them 'such severe punishment, as may terrifie the wicked wreches of the world' ('To the friendly Reader', sig. A4v). Anxieties about the growing numbers of poor, unemployed people in the capital were intense in the 1570s and in 1575 an Act had been passed covering both the punishment of 'vagabonds' and the relief of the poor, which prescribed the construction of 'houses of correction'. It seems, however, to have been largely ineffective and Clowes's tract might thus be construed as a call for tougher and more concerted initiatives to deal with this 'stayne' to the commonwealth. There is no evidence that the Pox was more rampant among the poor, though there is ample to suggest that the 'better' sort went to great lengths to disguise its shameful presence in their bodies.[45] Clowes's tract renders the socially divisive potential of the rhetoric of disease apparent: in 1579 the English medical regimen entered full square into the arena of social control.

Regimens against the plague written in the last 20 years of the six-

teenth century, and subsequently, reveal a similar, though far less hostile and pronounced tendency, to localize and stigmatize the 'disordered' infected and to advocate measures to confine them. Thomas Lodge, for example, represents the poor as the focus of the plague – 'For where the infestion most rageth there povertie raigneth among the Commons' (sig. A2r) – and recommends keeping the unemployed and 'base' sort out of the City: 'for such as are vagabonds, masterless men, and of servile and base condition, for such I say, they ought not to be admitted'.[46] His treatise prescribes Orders for cleaning up the environment and containing infection and dwells disturbingly on the mysteries and 'evil' of 'Contagion' – 'an infection proceeding from one unto another by communication of a pestilent and infected vapour'; or 'an evil qualitie in a bodie' (sig. C1v, sig. B2v). Simon Kellwaye, drawing on the learned Italian physician Fracastoro's theories and on 'experience', proposes that a disease is 'very contagious and infectious [when] . . . it proceedeth by ebulition of blood, whole vapour being entred into another bodie, doth soon defile and infect the same' (f. 39r–v). Since, in this period, the vapour of blood was hypothesized as 'the cage wherein the soule mooveth' (*Complexions castle*, p. 4), this has potential implications for the transmission of moral and psychic infection, too. Such accounts can only have served to intensify anxieties about other bodies, especially those construed as contagious and 'unruly'.

Medical writers were, in fact, encouraged by the government to foreground contagion and measures to control it in their accounts of plague and some, like James Manning, obliged the authorities to an extraordinary degree:

> May not they be condemned for murtherers, which having plague soares will presse into companies to infect others, or wilfully pollute the ayre, or other meanes, which others are daily to use, and live by? (p. 2)

The maintenance of the body under strict control is construed by this cleric as a social as well as a religious obligation: failure to regiment the body warrants earthly sanctions as well as divine ones. Manning's views were clearly in step with London's legislators: the same year that this was published (1604) an Act was passed making the execution of careless plague victims a real possibility (though no one was actually condemned to death on this count).[47]

Whereas regimen for Paynell and Elyot in the first half of the sixteenth century was a matter for individuals, to maintain corporal health and lengthen life, for later authors it is increasingly about social and national responsibilities, about collective initiatives and penal sanctions to subdue

the 'enimie' within the castle (the animal passions) and contain or eradicate the growing spectrum of hostile forces (disease, evil spirits, bad angels, the dirty poor) hovering dangerously close to its ramparts. In 1604 Manning's regimen stridently, and urgently, called the regiments of England's 'godly' to attention: 'the lawe of God . . . the law of man, parents, king, and country, commaund, and call unto thee to endeavour to preserve thy bodie' (p. 6).

In regimens from the second half of the sixteenth century, therefore, medical discourses of the body increasingly intersect with those of religion and the state; often the three domains are intimately associated and even represented simultaneously through the deployment of heavily symbolic language. The emergent 'castel' is a charged political site, especially in discourses of contagion and proper regimen. No wholesale change in representation of the body – from a Galenic to a Paracelsan model – is observable, but a shift towards a greater eclecticism and idiosyncrasy *is*. A wide range of authorities – medical, religious, philosophical, historical – ancient and modern, are drawn upon to explain bodily misfortune, and herbal, alchemical, astrological and Paracelsan ideas and cures often appear in the regimens alongside Galenic ones. Medical schemas *c.* 1600 are, in fact, remarkably diverse and unstable.

As will also be becoming apparent, changing socio-geographical patterns (particularly in London); a rise in epidemic disease associated with slum developments; the legislation designed to control the spread of disease and the idle poor associated with it; and, indeed, the manifestations and characteristics of the biological causative agents, all have important bearings on representations of the diseased body in medical, political and literary contexts. These will be considered in detail in later chapters. Two areas warrant further exploration at this stage: late sixteenth-century medicine's preoccupation with the occult, and the overt intrusion of religion into the medical domain from the mid-century.

'Evil contagion': the occult moral universe of early modern England

In spite of John Caius' concern to keep the 'supernatural' out of his discipline, medical interest in psychic functioning and spiritual disease was clearly intense from the last 30 years of the sixteenth century. Significantly in 1601 the statutes of the College of Physicians were altered to allow Fellows to practise alchemy;[48] and, as the papers from the notorious Mary Glover case reveal, in the early seventeenth century medical practitioners were important arbitrators in disputes about witchcraft and possession.[49]

Religious, alchemical, Neoplatonic and Paracelsan ideas are all implicated

in the rise of an occult discourse in some medical books. Lemnius' and Burton's sly spirits are a flamboyant manifestation of this tendency but Thomas Lodge's account of contagion reveals a subtler veering in a similar direction:

> Contagion, is an evil qualitie in a bodie, communicated unto an other by touch, engendring one and the same disposition in him to whom it is communicated. . . . very properly is he reputed infectious, that hath in himselfe an evil, malignant, venemous, or vitious disposition, which may be imparted and bestowed on an other by touch. (*A Treatise of the Plague*, sig. B2v)

'Disposition', in the Renaissance, had the same ambiguous meaning as it has today, encompassing both 'physical constitution' and 'turn of mind' (*OED2*). The words 'contagion', 'corrupt', 'defile' and 'malignant' are all potentially functioning in the moral/psychic, as well as in the physical (disease-transmission) domain. 'Quality', in this period, could refer simply to a Galenic 'property' but also (as now) could pertain to character. The cumulative effect is to suggest that contagious people with their 'evil qualitie' are to be feared as much for their moral infection as their bodily disease. They are a danger to society, rather like the masterless men and vagabonds who, Lodge warns, should be purged from the City (like the evil smells). As this physician's constructions indicate, and as we shall see in Chapter 3, fears about social disorder and about the social pollution of inner city spaces, are implicated in this heightened anxiety about vulnerable bodily boundaries.

Unfortunately, descriptions such as Lodge's cannot be dismissed as mere witty figurations: when it was written medicine was at the centre of a fierce debate (with troubling implications) about if, and how, psychic transmission could occur. Clerics had long employed contagion as a simile to describe the moral consequences of contact with ungodly 'evil men' (and with the righteous):

> Neither ought any man to think that good custome and companye, are in smal moment. . . . For as with the felowship of evil men we are infected (as it were) with some contagion: even so with the dayle conversation of those that feare God, we are reformed.[50]

Similes in both medical and religious tracts began, however, increasingly to elide into metaphors, and metaphors into hypotheses. Francis Bacon recorded the parameters of the psychic controversy in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605):

> Fascination is the power and act of Imagination intentive upon other bodies, than the bodie of the Imaginant . . . wherein the Schoole of Paracelsus, and the Disciples of pretended Naturall Magicke, have beene so intemperate, as they have exalted the power of the imagination, to be much one with the power of Miracle-working faith: others, that drawe neerer to Probabilitie, calling to their view the secret passages of things, and specially of the Contagion that passeth from bodie to bodie, do conceive it should likewise be agreeable to Nature, that there should be some transmissions and operations from spirit to spirit, without the mediation of the sences, whence the conceits have growne, (now almost made civile) of the Maistring Spirite, & the force of confidence, and the like. Incident unto this, is the inquirie how to raise and fortifie the imagination. . . . And herein comes in crookedly and dangerously, a palliation of a great part of Ceremoniall Magicke.[51]

Speculation about the machinations of minds was clearly most 'probable' and therefore most scientifically respectable, when it was based on the observation of contagion, but the continued play of 'conceits' was obviously pushing the hypotheses beyond the realm of the admissible for this committed empiricist. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that in the early seventeenth century moral pestilence and various forms of psychic contagion were no longer merely metaphorical for many people: the mind and soul had to be fortified against these diseases. In *Spirituall Preservatives against the Pestilence* (1593) Henry Holland inveighed: 'they [wicked spirits] can poison the soules of men, suggesting and breathing most pestilent motions into the minds of men' (f. 33r). Indeed, books such as Holland's seem to have been published as frequently around 1600 as texts foregrounding natural preservatives against the plague. In 1621, discoursing on the power of beauty 'to fascinate', Robert Burton detailed a route for happier psychic transmissions: 'The rays, as some think, sent from the eye, carry certain spiritual vapours with them, to infect the other party, and that in a moment' (*Anatomy*, p. 85). It would appear that psychic contagion, demonology and medicine were interlinked areas of intellectual enquiry in the seventeenth century. This is very much in keeping with Stuart Clark's observation in his magisterial *Thinking with Demons,* that the questions which 'dominated learned discussions' of witchcraft in this period concerned its 'very possibility as a genuine occurrence in the physical world'.[52]

Obviously, descriptions of psychic disease in medico-religious texts have an important bearing on readings of plays such as Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, with its witches and miasmic air, Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, with its good and bad angels, and our interpretations of sudden extreme reversals of behaviour, notably in domestic tragedy (*A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *A Woman*

Killed with Kindness). This drama is undoubtedly participating in the highly topical and medically-sanctioned debate about the transmission of evil.[53] Searching for explanations based on modern ideas of psychological realism to account for Anne Frankford's fascination with Wendoll (a man who claims he is 'pricked on' by 'some fury' *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, II.iii.100) is undoubtedly misplaced in this context, yet critics ponder repeatedly on the 'curiously unmotivated' nature of her desire.[54] Far from a growth of rationalism as England advances apace towards the scientific Enlightenment, the vernacular medical regimens provide evidence of a more complex and far more interesting story which has crucial implications for the way we understand the portrayal of character, and of misfortune, on the Jacobean stage.

Reforming the body: the discursive intertexture of medicine, religion and the state

The regimens also bear witness to a remarkable convergence between religion and medicine in the sixteenth century and, furthermore, they throw light on why this marked intensification of a long-standing relationship occurred when it did. Early modern medicine centred far more on prevention of disease through ordered lifestyle and self-government than medicine does today, and it was precisely these areas which early sixteenth-century religious reformers (convinced of endemic spiritual, moral and social 'disease' under Roman Catholicism) were concerned to address. Medicine (healing) is a potent political tool and whilst the extremist, Paracelsus, was in favour of replacing 'heathen' Galenic medicine (which he aligned with the old religion) with a radically alternative model with important spiritual implications (and of which he was the prime prophet), other Protestants appropriated, adjusted and redeployed the traditional schema in the service of reform.

Two texts which were fundamental to English Protestantism – Calvin's *The Institution of Christian Religion* (1536) and the Geneva Bible (1560) – illustrate how crucial the apprehension of disease processes, and their management, were to the new faith. Indeed, man's inner 'corruption' (disease of the soul), his 'originall sinne', formed the central crux of the reformed religion. *The Institution* describes in detail the disastrous consequence of Adam's 'filthy and detestable offense' of despising 'Gods worde' (II.I.4, f. 4v):

> Originall sinne . . . the inheritably descendynge perversnesse and corruption of our nature, poured abroade into all the partes of the soule, whyche fyrste maketh us gilty of the wrath of God, and then also bryngeth forth these workes in us . . . the workes of the flesh . . . Sinne.[55]

The soul is 'corrupted' – rather as poisoned vapours, or the digestive products of imprudent or excessive consumption, corrupt the blood in the humoral process – and the disease is 'inheritable' ('the very infantes themselves . . . brynge with them their owne damnation from their mothers wombe', II.I.8, f. 4v), suggestively recalling the congenital transmission of the new infection of the period, strongly linked to sin, the Pox. Contradicting the early Church Fathers (including Augustine), Calvin, Luther and Melanchthon, all maintained that original sin was not just a weakness but an actual sin which conferred guilt:[56] nature's order ('which before was good and pure', II.I.5, f. 5r) had been 'infected' and the godly individual's duty was to apply himself to regenerating his tainted soul and to preventing himself from falling down a slippery slope associated with man's regrettable post-Lapsarian inclination to 'workes of the fleshe' ('adulteries, fornications, theftes, hatreds, murthers', II.I.8, f. 4r). Not surprisingly in this context, *The Institution* gives prominence to 'The history of Job' with his skin disease which it represents as an outward sign of, and fitting punishment for, his inner corruption, serving to bring Job to timely knowledge of his 'follye, weakenesse, and uncleannesse', and thus to repentance (I.I.3, f. 1v). As we shall see in Chapter 4, this has important implications for our understanding of depictions of the Pox in Edwardian Interludes. 'Follye' such as Job's, and that associated with 'false pretence of righteousnes', the reader is instructed, 'shal stinke before us': as in the medical regimens of the later sixteenth century, spiritual and moral depravity is represented as a repugnant smell (I.I.2, f. 1v).

Stressing the interrelatedness of body and soul, *The Institution* argues that 'wisedom' is achieved through 'the knowledge of God, and of our selves . . . with many bandes linked together' (I.I.1, f. 1r). Calvin's 'institutionalisation' of the believer's inner anxiety, his injunction to know and be displeased with 'our selves', ultimately, and increasingly through the course of the sixteenth century, meant reading and interpreting the spiritual and the physical body in the light of the biblical Word – a point reinforced by the Geneva Bible's prefaces and in its introduction to Leviticus:

> And because they shulde give no place to their owne inventions . . . he prescribed . . . what diseases were contagious and to be avoyded: what ordre they shulde take for al maner of filthines and pollution: whose companie they shulde flee.[57]

God, the divine physician, 'prescribed' and dictated a regimen ('ordre'), for all types of 'filthines and pollution' (disease is symbolic and moralized). The 'uncleane', 'polluted' leper of Leviticus, and his equally 'uncleane' dwelling place which should be 'shut up' (f. 52r), clearly inform English

discourse about infectious disease in the second half of the sixteenth century (Clowes's hygiene-ridden rhetoric most notoriously). In *A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues Infection* (1603), James Balmford, minister of St Olaves in Southwark, having quoted from Leviticus, instructed his parishioners:

> What (I say) do these lawes and customes (well considered) teach us . . . but that Gods people should be carefully preserved from filthinesse and contagion? Let us a little better consider the lawes of Lepers, as most nearely concerning us, and we shall find that they were not onely to have markes to be known by, but also to give warning to companie approching. . . . And it is as evident that they were not to come into the house of God. . . . But the plague is more daungerously contagious being mortall, then the Leprosie . . . therefore Princes and Magistrates . . . ought to be carefull, to keepe the sound from the infected . . . especially in assemblies.[58]

Indeed, by 1600 some religious extremists were prepared to acknowledge only the biblical Word as a source of authority to make sense of and manage 'contagious' diseases like the plague. Most medical writers, such as the Protestant humanists Bullein and Cogan, preferred, as we have observed, to foreground scriptural precepts and then to enlarge on them by drawing upon a wide range of secular authorities.

Knowledge of 'our selves', body and soul, was also a pivotal feature of Lutheran doctrine and under the auspices of Luther's friend and ally, Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), Wittenberg anatomy and the study of medicine took on interesting new significances in the first decades of the sixteenth century. As the medical historian Vivian Nutton has described, Melanchthon proposed that knowledge of the anatomized body actually reduced anger and increased virtue (love and charity); in 1545 he expected all arts students at his university to be familiar with the 'doctrina on the nature of the human body, the rudiments of medicine, and the description of the faculties (virtutes)'.[59] Indeed, Mikhail Bakhtin has observed how such expectations of bodily knowledge were, in 'the time of Rabelais', not unusual:

> Medicine was the center not only of the natural sciences but of the humanities as well . . . this phenomenon was observed not in France alone; many famous humanists and scientists of the time were physicians: Cornelius Agrippa . . . Copernicus.[60]

Under the influence of humanistic learning, the body was undergoing profound interrogation and re-evaluation, and a rise of interest in Neoplatonism (away from scholasticism) ensured that in intellectual centres

throughout Europe (Protestant and Catholic) speculation about the soul's relation to the body and the spirit world, and a renewed emphasis on temperance and morality, would be considerable. Indeed, it is important to stress that the new temperance movement was not just a Protestant phenomenon; the Counter-Reformation produced a similar impulse to curb the body's excesses.

For Protestant reformers, however, the body and its management had specific 'godly', doctrinal implications. Medical regimen provided a tangible working model for the regeneration of the soul, and society's spiritual and moral life: it entailed close self-scrutiny and self-regulation, and, crucially, it did not involve obedience to the authority of another (clerics and physicians were construed as avaricious and corrupt by early reformers). Indeed, Mary Douglas's observation in *Natural Symbols* that 'to insist on the superiority of spiritual over material elements is to insist on the liberties of the individual and to imply a political programme to free him from unwelcome restraints' seems particularly pertinent to understanding the somatic fictions of the early modern period.[61] Submission to the regiment of God – the first physician – was central to the reformed faith and by the 1590s the regimen model had evolved, giving rise to its opposite: a 'regiment of Satan'. William Perkins's bestseller, *A Golden Chaine*, describes how all mankind 'is infected' with sin;[62] the first punishment for sin is 'a proneness to disease', but the worst cases of sinning are punished 'with fearful subjection to the regiment of Satan' (p. 34). The regiment of God – knowing oneself, body and soul, and acting upon that knowledge in the light of 'the Word' and humoral medicine – was essential practice for the would-be elect. Furthermore, as Chapter 6 will reveal, 'God's regiment' developed important political and constitutional implications in the mid-seventeenth-century context.

Regenerating the 'sicke soule' was construed by divines as an inevitably painful process involving self-denial, suffering and even torment. Perkins urges:

> Wee permit Chirurgians that they should both bind us lying diseased in our beds, and seare us with hote irons yea lanch and search our members with rasors. . . . and will wee not give God leave to cure by afflictions the most festered diseases of our sicke soules? (*A Golden Chaine*, p. 163)

Early modern medicine and surgery could be extremely painful affairs, providing perfect analogies for explaining God's torturous 'crosses': suffering in Perkins's writing is a sign of 'adoption', of being one of the elect. We should, perhaps, recall at this juncture how Thomas Elyot's regimen

had urged, citing biblical authority, how 'sorrow' had 'no commoditie': in the late sixteenth century mental anguish continues to have harmful humoral effects on the corporal body but these appear to be outweighed by the benefits conferred on the soul. In the seventeenth century the valorization of suffering, and of regimen to improve the soul, was not restricted to Calvinist writings. The importance of knowing the state of one's body, of reading it like a text and applying the appropriate medicine, is explicated very fully in John Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (1624):

> But, O my God, . . . I know that in the state of my body, which is more discernible, than that of my soule, thou dost effigiate [present a likeness of] my Soule to me . . . a man may have such a knowledge of his owne constitution, and bodily inclination to diseases, as that he may prevent his danger in a great part.[63]

Divines wrote about medicine, physicians about spiritual disease, satirists about lancing sin. Richard Stock's sermon on *The Doctrine and Use of Repentance* (1610) could easily be mistaken for a medical regimen from this period:

> A daintie and full diet, as at the first entrance by heating the bodie, it inflameth the soule, stirring within it excessive joy, pleasure, boldnes, . . . so after it putteth it into a new temper, lulling it asleepe . . . drowning it in a drowsie forgetfulnes, both of God, and of it selfe. (p. 90)

As in the passage from Donne, medical understanding is not being deployed here to illuminate spiritual matters through meaningful analogies. Rather, the activities of the body and soul are so thoroughly intertwined that any attempt to separate 'medical' from 'religious' matters would be erroneous and impossible. The boundaries between discourses and professions concerned with 'disease' are inevitably weak in a medical schema where body and soul are intimately related and restraint of bodily pleasures is construed as fundamental to health with implications for society (and its controlling mechanisms) as well as the individual. The early Protestant movement – with political, economic, social, as well as religious reforming designs – was arguably well served and even empowered by emergent 'medical' fictions which could simultaneously embrace and (by prescribing prevention and cure) intervene in multiple areas of life helping to fashion the unstable, fragile body of the evolving Protestant nation.

Some reflections on the sixteenth-century 'shifts'

The analysis of vernacular regimens contained in this chapter may give the impression that a distinct shift in the focus of medical concern from individual corporal health, to spiritual and social disease, took place through the course of the sixteenth century. A rather more complex overall picture is, however, probable and is suggested by the co-existence and contending popularity of the older and newer types of medical regimens, judged by numbers and dates of editions and reprints. For example, the thirteenth edition of *The Castel of Helth* was published in the same year (1576) that *The Touchstone of Complexions* began circulating in the English market-place.

The rise in medical preoccupation with the occult coincided with an increased emphasis on empiricism in the same period, a linkage that to us seems paradoxical, but which illustrates that history (and scientific progress) is not a straightforward, unilinear development. Raymond Williams's distinction between residual, dominant and emergent aspects of culture is, I feel, helpful in characterizing and situating the elements which coexist at any one historical moment.[64] If we take into account the growth through the sixteenth century in the publication of religious texts dealing with preservatives and remedies for disease (especially plague), together with the rising popularity of almanac literature with medical information,[65] and the increasingly occult language of the books of regimen, the dominant picture that emerges in the second half of the sixteeenth century is of disease paradigms grounded in humoral physiology but with increasingly prominent spiritual, supernatural, moral and contagion components.

Though shifting and unstable, the Galenic body is never substantially displaced by the emergent Paracelsan form with which it coexists; indeed, it remains the dominant model, but by 1600 its boundaries are often represented as less distinct and less material (sometimes appearing to dissipate altogether in a Neoplatonic-type universe of spirit), more porous and vulnerable, and thus more susceptible to penetration and occupation by hostile circumambient forces. William Vaughan's *Directions for health* (to his sister) provides an engaging example of this:

> Pray fervently to God, before you sleep, to inspire you with his grace, to defend you from al perilles & subtelties of wicked fiends . . . & let your night cappe have a hole in the toppe, through which the vapour may goe out. (pp. 75–6)

The enemy within these fragile bodily boundaries (the innate corruption of original sin) emerges as an increasingly formidable source of physical

and mental ill-health from the mid-century. Indeed, anxious cries for temperance and against all manner of 'excess' seem to be fuelled by fears about the need to keep troublesome inner corruption under tight control; and, as will be further explored in Chapter 6, from the late sixteenth century 'excess' has enormous political and economic ramifications, too.

As we have seen, a substantial number of authors of English medical books were not physicians, and those who were tended to move between two or more occupations (notably teaching, religious ministry, being 'men of letters', politics and the law). Humanistic training at university level often involved reading classical medical texts; such interdisciplinary and professional fluidity inevitably encouraged intertextuality and the interrelatedness in terms of vocabulary and tropological character of the discourses of medicine, religion, politics and literature. In the late sixteenth century they tend to be particularly richly impregnated with images from medicine and surgery and to share a figurative style in which metonymic associations (disease, dirt, dunghill, corruption, stench, puddle, contagion, sin) elide readily into shifting metaphors ('fulsome stench 'in such a discourse might, for example, refer to a bad smell emanating from a dunghill, a person, a social group or a moral state), destabilizing the discourse and allowing rapid and easy movements between physical and psychic, moral and social domains.

I have suggested that this form of symbolic discourse (which had long been cherished by sermon writers) was particularly useful for mediating the Protestant reformers' ideas. So, too, was a medical model dominated by concern to 'refourm' the fallen degenerate body and soul 'into a better' (*The Touchstone*, f. 3v) by strict personal and social discipline. Under the joint impetus of humanism and Protestantism the classical art of regimen, with its emphasis on temperance, sobriety and continence, was revived in the sixteenth century and endowed with new significances to facilitate an ideological programme of spiritual, moral, social and political renewal. As we shall see repeatedly throughout the course of this book, early modern literary writing both engages with these concerns and – crucially – intervenes in the debates surrounding the correct maintenance and regeneration of the English 'body'. But if, as this chapter has argued, medicine was deeply embroiled in the project of reforming the nation, so too, of necessity, were the diseases it dealt with. The next chapter will begin to unravel just how the horrifying 'plaguy' body, bearing the terrifying signs of its affliction, was pressed into the service of reform.

2
The Plaguy Body: Part I

The Plague, *the Sicknesse* – 'A terible Enemie'

> For all other Infirmities, and maladies of the Body, goe simply in their owne Habit. . . . As the Goute passeth onely by the name of the Goute: So an Appoplex, an Ague, the Pox, Fistula, &c. But that dreadfull scourge . . . that sudden destroyer of Mankind: that Nimble executioner of the Divine Justice: (The Plague or Pestilence) hath for the singularity of the Terrors waiting upon it, This title; THE SICKNESSE.
>
> Thomas Dekker, *London Looke Backe* (1630)[1]

Looking back on the epidemics he had witnessed in London prior to 1630, the playwright and pamphleteer Thomas Dekker was in no doubt which sickness stood out from the rest in terms of the fear it aroused and the devastation it caused. *The* plague, *the* sickness (note the stress on the definite article in the above account), was characterized by the rapidity of its spread, high mortality and morbidity, its defiance of medicine, and the pain and horror of its signs and symptoms. These are now known to have been manifestations of the bacterial infection transmitted by the fleas of the black rat: bubonic plague – 'A terible Enemie' (*London Looke Backe*, sig. A4v).

In his earlier 'plague pamphlets' of 1603 and 1604, Dekker had graphically illustrated the external signs of this 'purple plague': 'blew wounds', bodies like 'speckled marble', ulcerous 'running' sores in groins and armpits, 'carbuncles' or 'tokens' on the skin.[2] Indeed, after the major bubonic plague epidemic of 1563, all writers of plague pamphlets tended to be equally specific about the external signs of the horrific disease they were dealing with. William Bullein (*A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence*, 1564) de-

scribed the 'foule bubo, antaxis and Carbuncles', which appeared especially on the 'side, head, neck, flanckes'.[3] Simon Kellwaye (*A Defensative against the Plague*, 1593), likewise, detailed the 'exterior Carbunkles and botches' (f. 1r), and Thomas Lodge (*A Treatise of the Plague*, 1603) declared that the plague was 'a popular and contagious sicknesse, for the most part mortall, wherin usually there appeare certaine Tumors, Carbuncles, or spottes, which the common people call Gods tokens' (sig. B2v). He added, thoughtfully, that the plague was 'engendred by a certaine and more secret meanes then all other sicknesses' (sig. B3v). Sadly, the actual mechanism of this disease's spread remained mysterious and the subject of much controversy until the late nineteenth century and this, together with its lurid skin manifestations and the fear it inspired, seems to have made it a particularly good vehicle for the type of ideological appropriation famously decried by the ancient poet Lucretius.[4]

Certainly, as this chapter will show, the materialities of this devastating sickness – its signs, symptoms, routes of transmission, the characteristics of outbreaks – conditioned the fictions in which the early modern 'plaguy' body was enmeshed; however, something else was of immense importance – narrative tradition. Sander Gilman's seminal work on disease representations has demonstrated the centrality of cultural heritage in making sense of new and incurable 'plagues'.[5] As my analysis of the physician Thomas Lodge's medical treatise on the plague will reveal, accounts of this mysterious disease were steeped in layer upon layer of classical, biblical and native myth-making. It is this eclectic soup of competing and complementary narratives that shapes the cultural imaginary and ultimately determines the ideological appropriations of bubonic plague in the period under study. William Bullein's accomplished literary–medical plague pamphlet of 1564, together with the densely metaphorical location in which it was situated, will form the focus of study of the sixteenth-century political deployments of the 'plaguy' body.

A 'flea-byting' affair: medical and social contexts of *the* plague

There are three forms of bubonic plague, which are all caused by the same bacterium *Yersinia pestis*.[6] The commonest variety, transmitted to man by bites from the fleas of the black rat, has an incubation period of approximately six days and kills 60–80 per cent of its victims within eight days. Symptoms of the disease include a high temperature, headaches, vomiting, pain, delirium and coma. A blister forms at the site of the original flea-bite and develops into a gangrenous blackish carbuncle. The lymph nodes, especially in the groin, swell and suppurate forming the buboes

which give bubonic plague its name. In the early stages of an epidemic a particularly virulent form of the infection, known as septicaemic plague, sometimes occurs causing sudden, swift fatalities before the buboes have emerged. Occasionally (usually less than 10 per cent of cases) the bacteria penetrate into the lung tissue and multiply swiftly, producing pneumonia and a high possibility that the infection will be passed on to others in expired air. In the absence of antibiotic treatment, pneumonic and septicaemic plague are inevitably fatal.[7]

All three forms of plague were probably evident in the Black Death of 1348.[8] The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century outbreaks, however, tended to be associated with the warm, flea-favouring summer months, which probably reduced the likelihood of many cases of pneumonic plague arising: nevertheless, the potential did exist for droplet infection to occur, making close bodily contact in overcrowded environments doubly risky (both fleas and sneezes might carry the infection). However, the incidence of septicaemic plague, especially amongst the young, who were particularly vulnerable, is likely to have been high. Thomas Dekker repeatedly describes how, 'many who had health in the morning, lay in their graves at night',[9] and the physician Thomas Lodge remarks on the speed and violence of the disease's progress towards death: 'there can be nothing more daungerous then the same, which by the malignitie and violence thereof, inforceth sodaine death' (sig. B1v).

It is unclear whether plague was endemic in Britain from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, occasionally flaring up to epidemic proportions. It certainly seems to have been a regular feature of London life between 1603 and 1610, breaking out in one parish or another during the summer months. Paul Slack favours the view that, apart from the first decade of the seventeenth century and possibly the latter half of the sixteenth, plague was probably introduced anew to England each major epidemic via rats travelling from the Continent on ships.[10] Contemporaries were particularly worried about cargoes of woollen and other cloth mysteriously introducing the plague into the country: presumably textiles provided a congenial environment for flea and rat travel. Dekker alludes several times to his fellow Londoners' fears of buying new clothing or even passing by wool merchants' premises during epidemics. This anxiety about cloth might, however, have been intensified by the biblical book of Leviticus, which dwells at some length on the management of the leper's woollen and linen garments, their 'warpe' and 'woofe', and how to cleanse 'The garment that the plague of leprosie is in'.[11] Other bodily coverings were implicated in the spread of infection, though: Lodge comments on how a fur collar seemed curiously to pass plague from one person to another. He also reflects on how rats 'forsake their holes and habitation' prior to

epidemics, and describes the presence of ‘red markes like to the biting of Fleas’ accompanied by fever, as a ‘signe’ of the plague (sig. C3r). Rather ironically, Thomas Nashe chastises those of his fellow Londoners who attempted to play down the horror of the epidemic in 1592–3 by jesting about it as a ‘flea-byting’ affair that would cease with ‘the season of the yeere’.[12]

Among the attributes of the plague, Dekker lists its ‘suttlety’ and ‘catching’ (*London Looke Backe*, sig. A4v.); indeed, authors repeatedly dwell on, and attempt to account for, the stealth of the plague in selecting its victims. In *A Moche Profitable Treatise Against the Pestilence* (1534), Thomas Paynell asks the question: ‘Why that some do die and peryshe of the foresayde syckness, and some not: and beynge in the sayde same citie or house, why one dothe dye, and another dyeth not?’[13] He appears to be echoing a common formulation from late medieval sermons and homiletic writing, as in *Dives and Pauper*, when the author elaborates on the reason why plagues strike ‘sumtyme in on toun and nought in the nexte; sumtyme in the to syde of the strete and nought in the tothir’ [sometimes in one town and not in another; sometimes on this side of the street and not on the other].[14] In *Dives and Pauper* this phenomenon is cited as evidence that evil stars do not cause disease, because they shine over all places simultaneously; rather, man’s sin is to blame and God’s good and evil angels select His targets for punishment. The Tudor authorities frowned upon supernatural constructions such as this common one because they discouraged practical attempts to avoid infection: prayers and repentance were perceived as the only recourse. Probably because of this, Paynell, a cleric, but also a university-educated humanist translator in the employ of Henry VIII around this time, follows the example of the ancient physicians rather than the homilists, providing natural explanations on both counts – ‘celestiall bodies’ and the proneness of certain humorally imbalanced persons to succumb to miasmic air. Stressing the infectious nature of pestilence and the importance of practical responses, Paynell advocates fleeing and avoiding close association with others, especially plague victims, during epidemics.

Later sixteenth-century medical accounts inevitably foreground sin initially as the primary cause (citing the Old Testament), and then go on to detail God’s ‘instruments’ (often natural ones) for affliction. An approach to plague control that was based on the idea of contagion, necessitating segregation of the sick (heavily influenced by the Italian model), informed all Tudor and Stuart plague policy. In 1543 the Privy Council stated unequivocally that plague increased: ‘rather by the negligence, disorder and want of charity in such as have been infected . . . than by corruption of the air’.[15] The message here was that people, primarily, spread disease and so had a

moral, Christian obligation to isolate themselves if knowingly infected. This rose to the status of a godly obligation in later Protestant accounts, such as Thomas Cogan's and James Manning's, which endorsed Privy Council policy. Indeed, the mainstream Protestant approach to plague, emphasizing the duty of the individual to exercise proper regimen – bodily discipline – in order to preserve the cage of the soul and to protect others in the commonwealth, seems to have given rise to far less conflict between the religious and secular authorities than in Catholic countries.[16]

The most widespread epidemics, all coinciding with years of plague in Germany and the Low Countries, seem to have begun in 1498, 1535, 1543, 1563, 1589, 1603, 1625 and 1636. The 1603 plague was particularly widely diffused. In 1563 mortality rose eightfold, implying that as many as 20 per cent of the population may have died. After the major epidemic of 1563, the notable plague years in the metropolis (City and liberties) were 1578, 1593, 1603, 1625, 1636 and 1665 with sporadic, limited outbreaks in various parishes through the first decade of the seventeenth century.[17] Throughout the Tudor and Stuart reigns, plague epidemics were the commonest and most threatening causes of serious mortality. At such times most physicians, according to numerous written accounts, followed their own best advice and got as far away from the focus of infection as possible. With the growth of literacy there was obviously a rising market for self-help guides to the plague. Between 1486 and 1604, 23 books exclusively concerned with the plague were published.[18] The more general books of regimen, like Cogan's and Manning's, dwelt increasingly on plague prevention and treatment; and religious tracts dealing with the 'scourge of God', and advocating moral reform and repentance, mushroomed in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Discourses of the plague thus flourished in the early modern period, inscribing and circulating a set of signs and symptoms increasingly specific to bubonic plague: discourse itself encouraged definition. Competing meanings, explanations and approaches to ordering the 'plaguy' body and society were textualized with the help of an increasingly available and broadening body of prior authorities. Humanist translation, Protestant reform and the growth of publishing all contributed to the greater accessibility of ancient texts, which were supremely important for making sense of a terrifying disease in a pre-scientific world.

Literary plagues: the Renaissance heritage

The most substantial physician's treatise in the vernacular to emerge out of the massive plague epidemic of 1603, Thomas Lodge's *A Treatise of the*

Plague, illustrates how essential non-'medical' texts were in the socio-cultural understanding of a terrifying affliction which effectively rendered the physician impotent. Impotent, that is, beyond the power which his authority and his pen gave him to interpret, and thus to impose order on, an intractable medical problem. Lodge gives a particularly full account of the Old Testament and classical sources which for him, as for many others of this period, addressed the 'How?' and 'Why?' questions associated with this 'deadly infirmitie':

> This sicknesse of the Plague is commonly engendred of an infection of the Aire, altered with a venemous vapour. . . . This dangerous and deadly infirmitie is produced and planted in us, which Almightie God as the rodde of his rigor and justice, and for the amendment of our sinnes sendeth down uppon us, as it is written in Leviticus the 26, Chapter, and in Deuteronomy the 28, To the like effect is that of CELSUS . . . who very learnedly saith, that all straunge sicknesses befall mortall men, by reason of the wrath and displeasure of the Goddes, and that the necessary meanes to finde recovery and remedie for the same, is to have recourse unto them by intercession and prayere. The same also testifieth HOMER (the soveraigne of all divine Science and Poeticall perfection) in the first booke of his ILIADES. (sig. B2v–3v)

Lodge's humanist training is revealed in his eclectic mingling of Christian and pagan sources: the biblical Word contained in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, Celsus – the Roman author of *De Medicina* – and Homer are the outstanding authorities on the matter of 'Why?' In fact, with remarkable consistency, throughout Greek, Hebrew and Roman literature, the plague is construed as punishment meted out by an angry deity incited to wrath and vengeance through man's misdemeanours.[19] The god must be pacified through prayers, offerings, intercession and, above all, by correcting the action or sin which has provoked the scourge in the first place.

The English 'plague' derives from the Latin word 'plaga' meaning 'a blow, a stroke, a wound' (*OED2* [1]), which in its turn was derived from a Greek word with the same meaning. Practically all the Hebrew words for plague, likewise, indicate a blow.[20] In the mythology of these languages the blow or wound comes most frequently from an archer god, a sword, a serpent, an angel or a spirit. The resulting wound might, within this imaginative framework, be visible on the victim's skin as a mark or 'token'. Undoubtedly this is a major reason why the external skin signs of plague feature so prominently in Renaissance accounts like Bullein's, Nashe's and Dekker's, which repeatedly highlight God's displeasure as the cause of '*the*

sicknesse'. Skin markings feature centrally, too, in visual representations of the diseased body from this period (see Plate 1, *The Daunce and Song of Death*, *c.* 1569).

In the first book of Homer's *Iliad* (750–725 BC) alluded to by Lodge, Apollo, 'master of the silver bow', is depicted hurling down arrows of sickness on the Achaean army because Agamemnon has stolen the daughter of one of his devotees, the 'man of prayer', Chryses.[21] Paradoxically, Homer also represents Apollo in the guise of best physician, the god of the bright light that dispels the pestilence – imagery shared by Psalm 91, which came to be the most frequently cited biblical text in plague sermons written between 1378 and 1683.[22] The title-page of Dekker's *The Blacke Rod and the White Rod (Justice and Mercie) Striking and Sparing LONDON* (1630), quotes from the Geneva Bible version of the psalm:

> Surely hee will deliver thee from the snare of the Hunter, And from the noisome Pestilence. Hee will cover thee under his wings, and thou shalt be sure under his Feathers. Thou shalt not bee afraid of the Pestilence, that walketh in the Darke, nor the Plague that Destroyeth at Noone-day.

Vivid images of personified plague, of a hunter stalking his victims in the darkness, are scattered throughout late medieval and early modern sermons and pamphlet literature. Indeed, in his exploration of English imaginative responses to the Black Death, Siegfried Wenzel agrees with Rosemary Woolf that: 'Whatever few indications of a new sentiment one may find in these poems [the death lyrics of medieval sermons] seem to occur in the image of death as a personification.'[23] In Friar Grimestone's lyrics written after 1348, for example, Wenzel detects an intensification of tone in the characterization of Death 'as a grim figure who stands and waits, who threatens, exacts, and brings misery'.[24] Beyond this enhanced adversarial response to personified Death, Wenzel concludes that the Black Death left a surprisingly small impact on the artistic consciousness and offers this as a corrective 'to the exaggerated and even rhapsodic statements about the influence of the Black Death on English art and literature'.[25]

When the plague is alluded to in medieval sermons it is inevitably as 'A warning to be ware', enabling the preacher to illustrate perceived moral deficiencies in his society and to advocate prayers, repentance and moral reform before it is too late. *Dives and Pauper*, the most frequently cited homiletic text in later Complaint literature which takes its impetus from the plague, construes 'moryn' [plague] as the just punishment for the proud rich:

> And whan a man hath travaylyd al hys lyf in gaderyn good togedere and to han welthe and worchepe in this world it wil sone welkyn, fatyn and fallyn awey as the rose. Sodeynly comyth moryn, and his bestis dyyn; comyth adversitie and los of catel, and at the laste deth takyth awey every del. And hoso wil ben gaderyn the rose of worldly welthe and of rychesse, but he be ryght war, he shal hurtyn hym bothyn bodyly and gostly . . . fallyn in the fendys snare.[26]

William Langland's substantial narrative poem *Piers Plowman* appropriates plague for a similar didactic purpose: it serves as a clear signal to wicked men to amend their evil ways.[27] Here, as in the sermon literature, pestilence, synonymous with Death, is a particularly good leveller of the proud rich with the poor and the indirect political message is always that charitable actions towards the poor are profitable. This same maxim is conveyed far more graphically by the fifteenth-century morality plays. It is easy to imagine a production of the most famous of them, *Everyman*, putting the fear of God into spectators as Death descends onto the stage clad in black gear, clutching his menacing arrows and warning the audience:

> He that loveth riches I will strike with my dart, His sight to blind, and from heaven to depart, Except that alms be his good friend, In hell for to dwell, world without end.

The play ends with the punch-line: 'Amen, say ye, for saint CHARITY.'[28] In the mid-sixteenth-century Morality, as we shall see, this tradition evolves, culminating in embodiments of 'God's Plague' strutting across the stage threatening oppressors of the poor with God's ultimate affliction.

John Lydgate and Geoffrey Chaucer seem to have favoured a more light-hearted approach to the pestilence, stressing the Salerno school's maxim expressed here by Lydgate:

> Who will been holle and kepe hym fro sekenesse
> And resiste the stroke of pestilence,
> Lat hym be glad, and voide al hevynesse.[29]

Listening to humorous stories was one way to alleviate 'hevynesse' and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* undoubtedly fitted the prescription. Chaucer's Death/Pestilence in *The Pardoner's Tale* is a grim character in a comic tale with a moral point. Indeed, the story is rather like a jovial, protracted 'exemplum' in a medieval sermon – appropriate as a Pardoner's tale.[30] Three young men given to corrupt living set out to kill 'a privee theef men clepeth Deeth' who 'hath a thousand slayn this pestilence'.[31] Predictably,

they do not succeed and their mutual slaughter by dagger and rat poison is brought about by, and is a suitable punishment for, their greed. There is evidence that some such 'medicinal tales' had come to be so far-fetched and bawdy they were considered by many to be ill advised, especially in plague time. Even Lydgate's upbeat 'Dietary and Doctrine for Pestilence' cautions: 'To every tale yif not credence' (stanza 14, l.105).

The most frequently cited biblical texts in early modern plague sermons are 2 Samuel 24, Deuteronomy 28 and Psalm 106: 30: inevitably they represent an angry God punishing or threatening to punish mankind for his misdemeanours.[32] 'God's Hand' (2 Samuel 24), 'the sword of God' (1 Chronicles 21), 'Arrows' (Psalm 91), and 'Angel(s)' (2 Samuel 24), are all associated with the spread of pestilence. In the medical literature these supernatural mechanisms are always linked to natural explanations: most writers debate whether the air, the stars or contagion – or a combination – produce and/or spread the plague. Lodge draws on the writings of Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Plato, Plotinus, Proclus, Trismegistus, Aristotle and others to help illuminate the mechanisms. His conclusions, not surprisingly, are confusing and contradictory, but 'evil air' and contagious people definitely emerge as most dangerous.

When it comes to demonstrating the urgent need for effective 'Orders' to limit the spread of the plague to and within the City of London, Lodge appropriately turns to the accounts of city plagues by the Greek and Roman historians, Thucydides and Livy. Careful management is required:

> Because the sicknes of the plague and contagion invading a city is the totall ruine of the same by reason of the danger and spoile of the citizens, as are reade in THUCIDIDES of the great plague in Greece, which for the most part ravished the inhabitants of the same, and in TITUS LIVIUS, of divers horrible pestilences that happened in Rome, which by their greatnesse and cruelty made that mother citty almost desolate and destitute of the better part of the citizens thereof, bringing with it both famine and fatal indigence. (sig. F1r)

The language of this passage associates urban plague with a city under military siege and suffering enemy despoliation. Elsewhere, for example in Dekker, plague is vividly personified as a merciless, cruel tyrant first laying siege to, then ravaging London. There was clearly a strong mental association between the devastating effects of war and pestilence, which were linked, at both an imaginary and a literal level, with shortage of food – famine. In Lodge's formulation, Orders are essential to prevent disorder, conceived as despoliation of that other 'mother citty' frequently likened to ancient Rome, London.

The range and diversity of Lodge's textual sources are remarkable, though not unusual for his time. In constructing his version of the bubonic plague of 1603, as well as a formula for its best management, this physician plunders Greek, Christian, Roman and Renaissance writings of the religious, mythical, medical, philosophical and historical generic types, apparently unperturbed by differences which might, to us, seem irreconcilable. The resultant text is full of inconsistencies, for example, with regard to whether humoral disposition predisposes some to infection. 'Complexion' and 'government in life' apparently make no difference (sig. B1v), yet Lodge details good regimen and concludes his text with: 'by which helps there wil be no humors capable of infection, and where there is no matter fit to receive the same, there can it not surprise any man' (sig. L3r). The confusion is apparent; Lodge's endeavour should, nevertheless, be respected as a genuine attempt to impose some sort of textual authority and order on what was essentially, a baffling medical problem.[33] To feel in control, and self-government is integral to this, is arguably healthier in such situations than to admit defeat and succumb to chaos.

Lodge's appropriation of Thucydides' account of the plague at Athens during the Peloponnesian war (430 BC) was, in fact, part of a long literary tradition: Ovid, in his mythical depiction of a plague at Aegina, drew on it, as did Lucretius in *De Rerum Natura* and Boccaccio in his *Decameron*. It may have been a source, too, for elements of Dekker's description of plague in London. Like Psalm 91, it occupies a particularly important place in the history of plague representation. Thucydides begins his professedly factual, eyewitness account ('I had the disease myself and saw others')[34] by remarking on the high mortality and virulence associated with this plague which was probably typhus fever, transmitted by the body lice which flourish in the insanitary conditions concomitant with war and siege. He proceeds to relate the futility of both medicine and prayers in the face of plague, declining to talk about 'causes . . . adequate to explain its powerful effect on nature', preferring instead: 'merely [to] describe what it was like, and set down the symptoms, knowledge of which will enable it to be recognized, if it should ever break out again' (pp. 123–4). He is thus signalling that, as an historian, objectivity, not speculation, is his domain. There is perhaps a sense of scepticism, too, regarding current explanations. He details the horrific signs and symptoms of the illness, clinically, without emotion, and then his tone changes, conveying a poignancy associated with the first-hand experience of disaster, which both Boccaccio and Dekker capture in later plague accounts. The narrative pauses as Thucydides reflects how inadequate words are to describe the cruel event, yet he manages vividly to convey the horrific flavour of it by focusing first on evocative visual detail – dead bodies strewing the streets; the

disappearance of birds of prey; plague-stricken dogs – and then on the emotional and social repercussions of the fear engendered by plague. Such problems preoccupy the writers of virtually all subsequent 'eyewitness' accounts. Thucydides depicts an Athens gradually demoralized by its sufferings: the dead are increasingly neglected, the temples are polluted by piles of bodies; funeral rites become sacrilegious and the sacred rites of kinship break down, yielding under the destructive emotion of fear. Lawlessness – secular and religious – eventually sets in as men perceive the uncertainty of life and riches and resolve to enjoy themselves while they can. The fabric of civilized society effectively disintegrates – disorder reigns.

Judging by Thomas Lodge's words quoted earlier, the collapse of order in society during pestilence which Thucydides and, later, Livy, depicted, functioned as a warning to the authorities in early modern London to act before they faced similar catastrophes. In fact there is no evidence that the situation in London did ever deteriorate to this extent, although accounts such as Dekker's (which will be detailed later) function provocatively to suggest a degree of chaos verging on the Thucydidean – designed, perhaps, to cause the city authorities embarrassment and even serve as a rebuke. Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus are the main chroniclers of the recurring outbreaks of plague in Rome during the fifth century BC. Like Thucydides, they depict the disintegration of social values and norms under the impact of major epidemics but, in contrast to him, they also record how greatly superstition shaped responses to plague. Comets, eclipses, portents and omens feature strongly in these histories. Early Christian accounts of plague in Rome similarly stress the natural and supernatural omens or 'signs' – often eclipses of the sun or moon – which characterize later Christian depictions.

There is no English medieval equivalent of the introduction to Boccaccio's *Decameron*, which details – Thucydidean style – the effect of the 1348 bubonic plague epidemic on Florentine society. It was not translated from Italian into English until 1620 but would have been intelligible to those early modern writers like Bullein, Lodge, Kellwaye and Dekker who had at least a reading knowledge of Latin. Like his Greek forerunner, Boccaccio represents himself as a first-hand observer depicting human responses and moral dilemmas in the face of the terrible fear engendered by plague: 'fathers and mothers refused to nurse and assist their own children'; 'wholesale desertion of the sick by neighbours, relatives and friends'.[35] Here it is Christian customs that are being flouted and Boccaccio emphasizes the burials being undertaken 'contrary to established tradition', partly due to the problem of 'insufficient consecrated ground'. The mass graves graphically depicted in later 'eyewitness' accounts (notably Dekker's, and Daniel Defoe's in *A Journal of the Plague Year*, 1722) are alluded to here, though

the Florentine 'pits' seem to have been much larger – 'huge trenches' (p. 57). Boccaccio, too, describes 'a kind of grave-digging fraternity' of 'sextons' who charged high fees for their services and he highlights the plight of the 'common people', which again becomes a feature of English accounts (p. 55). His sardonic wit, humour and irony are remarkably close to that achieved by the later Dekker:

> Gallant gentlemen, fair ladies, and sprightly youths, who would have been judged hale and hearty by Galen, Hippocrates and Aesculapius . . . having breakfasted in the morning with their kinsfolk . . . supped the same evening with their ancestors in the next world. (p. 58)

Here, too:

> [In plague time] even the most respectable of people saw nothing unseemly in wearing their breeches over their heads if they thought their lives might thereby be preserved. (p. 830)

In plague time normal social decorum is breached as people put personal survival before established custom; this is productive of the characteristic black humour of observer accounts. Dekker alludes, for example, to the 'foolery, infidelity, inhumanity . . . villany, irreligion, and distrust in God' which his stories 'lay open'.[36] Amusing such stories may be, but they also serve to illustrate the human failings which have earned God's pestilential punishment in the first place. Boccaccio's 'scandalous novelle',[37] which make up the bulk of his *Decameron*, are far longer and more irreverent than the extended moral anecdotes of Bullein, Dekker and Defoe, but their presence in the text is signalled by a similar marked and deliberate turning away from misery and sorrow to a lighter treatment of the subject: 'the more I reflect upon all this misery, the deeper my sense of personal sorrow, hence I shall refrain' (p. 58). Stories in such plague accounts serve as an antidote and relief to too much suffering: in Dekker's sardonic words advertising his first plague pamphlet, they 'shorten the lives of long winter nights, that lye watching in the darke for us' (title-page, *The Wonderfull yeare*).

This, by no means exhaustive, survey of plague representations bequeathed to the Renaissance, identifies two basic lines of development that usually coexist in early modern writings. The first is centred on a mythology – supernatural and/or natural – to explain the 'how' and 'why' of the affliction. The second is the eyewitness account that details signs, symptoms and

the effect of the epidemic on society in visual and moral terms. The supernatural mythology of the plague ties it into a seemingly unrelenting cycle of the fallen human condition: moral depravity and sin leading to God's anger, His punishment (plague), with the possibility of moral cleansing occurring through human repentance and large numbers of deaths prior to man's next phase of depravity. There was some space here for inventive writers such as Ovid to devise an intervening outcome – the unrelentingly industrious race of Myrmidons emerged out of the ashes of the plague at Aegina (*Metamorphoses*, Bk VII). Often the interpretive type of plague account is linked to the observation type so that the bodily signs endorse the mythology. Thus the skin 'tokens' of bubonic plague, also present in the biblical plague of Ashod ('they had emerods [swellings] in their secret parts', I Samuel 5: 9), 'prove' that it is a 'blow' or punishment meted out by an angry, vengeful God. Similarly man's self-seeking, callous behaviour under the stress of the plague confirms him in his sin and endorses the need for chastisement and moral cleansing.

Whatever its individual pathology, the outstanding feature of a pre-modern disease plague was its ability to kill vast numbers of people rapidly, painfully and indiscriminately. Indeed, it is not difficult to understand why plague was so frequently personified as a militaristic tyrant. In the absence of medical knowledge, metaphorical understanding such as this enables human beings at least to 'get a handle on the problem': analogical reasoning, involving endowing a mysterious disease entity with human characteristics and motivations, provides a way of thinking about and articulating the 'fight' against it, allowing individuals and societies to feel more in control.[38] Time and again the eyewitness accounts stress the vast numbers of bodies 'ravished' by the tyrant-plague lying unburied and 'pestering' the living. Such an outcome inevitably engenders fear. Fear for personal survival predominates, undermining normal social relations, values and practices. Plague thus comes to represent the ultimate horror, that of both individual and social disintegration: only those two competing scourges, famine and war, match its effects. Ideas about social decay, disorder and instability are thus encoded in the word 'plague'.

As described in the Introduction, Lucretius identified the anxiety generated by pestilential disease as the crux of its propaganda appeal to political self-seekers: 'You see, all mortal men are gripped by fear' (*De Rerum Natura*, I.151–4). Within the available interpretive frameworks reflecting and determining human responses to epidemics, this fear could be harnessed in two ways: first, by marking out a person, or more usually a readily identifiable group of people, whose sins or moral deficiencies had incurred the wrath of God on the multitude in the first place; and secondly, by

locating the source of the actual disease and its spread in a particular sector – usually a marginal one – of society. To be 'scapegoated' as both the moral and the physical polluters of a community was obviously highly unpropitious and dangerous. Following the Black Death the Jews in Europe were in this unhappy position; identified as the agents of the plague, they were caught up in a holocaust of human sacrifice. Lepers, too, were similarly persecuted for allegedly poisoning wells and causing the pestilence.[39] Lucretius had accurately anticipated (and possibly had observed for himself) the dire consequences of human fear manipulated and manifesting itself in reprehensible ways. His poem, however, testifies to the fact that catastrophes elicit different and coexisting responses within a shaping model of human and social understanding. It is possible that plague representations could function in more positive ways, highlighting actual areas of, and reasons for, social fragility and keeping the excesses of the unscrupulous in check. It is conceivable, for example, that the popular medieval poem 'A Warning to be ware' (on the earthquake of 1382) originated from a desire to alert the wealthy lords to the social repercussions which could ensue if they did not take the demands of the Commons seriously. It might, indeed, have functioned as a warning, or even as a threat. Alternatively, it might have played a mediating role, warning both factions – rich and poor – that social disharmony was unpleasing to God. This is the verse which explicitly connects the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 with fearful pestilence and the earthquake of 1382:

> The Rysing of the comuynes in Londe,
> The pestilens and the earthe-quake,
> Theose threo thinges, I understonde,
> Beo-tokenes the gret vengaunce and wrake
> That schulde falle for synnes sake,
> As this Clerkes conne de-clare,
> Nou may we chese to leve or take,
> Ffor warnyng have we to ben ware.[40]

The poem proceeds to elaborate on the prime sin, which is greed for money: for money, the verse declares, many would betray their own father and mother. It seems that a political debate is inevitably contained, but often partially concealed, within moralistic plague representations: plague writings inscribe social tensions.

In order to understand how plague discourse functioned in early modern England, it would seem wise, therefore, to listen attentively, and in the light of the cultural heritage, to the way the contending 'voices' (élite,

popular, medical, religious, political and poetical) constructed and articulated the plague experience for their times and their culture.

Reforming the 'plaguy body': *A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence*

Whilst plague was a real, fearful and recurring phenomenon in the early and middle years of the sixteenth century, it was also a metaphorical matter of some import, energizing the rhetoric of both the pro- and anti-Reformist camps. William Bullein's *A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence* (1564), ostensibly a medical pamphlet written by a physician during the plague epidemic of 1563, rewards analysis in the context of the Reformation debates. The *Dialogue* has to date been largely neglected or misunderstood by both medical historians and literary critics intent only to salvage from within its polymorphous body that which is pertinent and recognizable for their own, separate, disciplines. A major contention of this book is that it has been insufficiently grasped how a variety of bodies of knowledge, which we now more readily see separated into discrete disciplines, were operating in a far more interconnected way in the early modern period. Furthermore, this interconnection had real consequences for communities, not least for the way in which an epidemic disease like the plague was experienced. It is through this context that I intend to explore how some of the discourses of plague functioned within early modern England, beginning with the 'plague pamphlet' of William Bullein.

Historians have seen here a medical plague tract written by a physician that also satirizes the successful London alchemical practitioner (active in the 1570s), Burchard Kranich.[41] Doctor Tocrub of the *Dialogue* is accepted as an anagram for Dr Burcot or Burchard who was, as one commentator informs us, 'a German physician and metallurgist . . . well-known in London but whom Bullein disliked'.[42] Beyond the anagram – which only appears in the later editions – the text provides no evidence to support this conjecture. Neither Medicus of the 1564 version, nor Tocrub of the later editions, are represented as alchemical practitioners although they do display a greedy delight in rich stones and jewels which may have promoted the analogy. In 1943 the eminent medical historian Henry Sigerist did step outside his medical remit, characterizing Bullein's *Dialogue* as 'a didactic play' which, apart from its medical function, 'also showed how various people react in the proximity of death'.[43] This latter is a minor aspect of a complex work. As for medical information, it takes up just a fifth of this book (1564 edn) which, nevertheless, proved popular, undergoing further editions in 1564, 1573 and 1578.

The handful of twentieth-century literary critics who have considered this work have been equally piecemeal in their approach. Largely ignoring the medical content, and perplexed by the fact that it is an unwieldy and unusual piece of satire in the context of the literary canon, they have tried to tame and order it by fixing a recognizable genre label upon it. In fact Bullein's tract resists a neat 'pigeon-holing' approach: the *Dialogue* has elements of Complaint, morality play, medical regimen, didactic 'colloquy', death lyric, sermon, eyewitness plague account; as well as containing a recipe book of simples (medicines), a catalogue of emblems, a garden of the Muses and an anthology of English poetry, dream visions, allegory, a warning to be ware, beast fables, a consolation in time of death, a philosophical discourse on the nature of the soul, a dance of death and (in the two editions of 1573 and 1578) a utopia. It is also rich with precepts, proverbs and puns. Furthermore, rather like a piece of Continental Mannerist architecture of the same period, it appears to delight in aesthetic transgression, violating generic norms – classical and English – in a whimsical yet highly engaging 'manner' at every turn.[44] Indeed, it is a captivating and exhilarating *tour de force* which was much admired in its day, undergoing four editions and causing Thomas Nashe to inform his readers: 'I frame my Whole Booke [*Have With You to Saffron Walden*] in the nature of a Dialogue, much like Bullein and his Doctor Tocrub.'[45]

Given its preoccupation with variety and extravagance (qualities not now readily associated with either Lutheranism or Calvinism), it is rather enigmatic, but it is certainly the case that Bullein's pamphlet can be safely classified as a Protestant propagandist work voicing the grievances of the poor Commons. For the committed Protestant of the sixteenth century, politics, religion, economics, medicine, ethics and artistic (especially literary) expression were inextricably bound up with his faith – their separation would have seemed inconceivable and inappropriate. As David Norbrook deftly concludes on this latter point: 'If the reformers politicised aesthetics, the major Elizabethan poets would appear to have aestheticised politics.'[46] Before proceeding to an analysis of Bullein's *Dialogue* it is essential to re-establish the densely tropological, 'plaguy' environment within which this work was originally situated. Surprisingly, given its title, the *Dialogue* has not previously been approached from this contextualizing perspective, which helps to account for the cursory and unsatisfactory readings of this rich and fascinating work.

A tropological digression – the 'plaguy' commonweal

> An evil prince is like a plague to his country.
>
> Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), p. 157

Most of the significant plague and pestilence metaphors of the sixteenth century have biblical or classical roots. Humanist writers seem to have revived and revivified many of them: following the classical precedent they were particularly keen on using disease and medical analogies in their political tracts. Alongside the medical books of regimen for ordering the physical body, humanist educators produced books of regimen for princes, detailing the way to order and govern the body politic. In these books, bad rulers – 'tyrants' – were inevitably likened to plague, as in Erasmus's 'mirror'. It was the tyrant's association with war that made him such a dangerous, fearful 'scourge': Erasmus was extremely opposed to the Continental warlord-princes whom he saw tearing Europe apart through the 'disease' of political ambition.

For England in the early sixteenth century the threat of civil war probably loomed larger than that of foreign invasion and this is reflected in the deployment of the metaphors. In his *Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset* (*c*. 1529), the Tudor humanist Thomas Starkey analysed the problems of the body politic in terms of specific diseases. Lupset and several other members of Pole's household at Padua had worked on the Aldine edition of the text of Galen in the 1520s, making these medical correspondences particularly appropriate. 'Pestylence', Starkey declared, was discord among the 'partys of thys body': temporality against spirituality; commons against nobles; and subjects against ruler. Furthermore, extending his metaphor to give a graphic and fearful edge to his warning, he lamented:

> Lyke as a pestylens . . . thys dyscord & debate in a commynalty, where so ever hyt reynyth schortly destroyth al gud ordur & cyvylyte, & utterly takyth away al helth from thys polytyke body.[47]

Starkey's *Dialogue* is an extraordinary document, painting a picture of a nation in pathological crisis, at the point of collapse just prior to the wave of Reformation parliaments. Although Henry VIII is described as sincerely desiring 'the cure of hys commyn wele', Starkey's *Dialogue* indirectly undermines his authority by representing him presiding over a 'frenzy' of corruption at the head of the body politic. Furthermore into Pole's mouth is put a potentially treasonable demand for an alternative form of government after Henry's demise – an elected monarchy with a greater role for Parliament – because wilful princes 'wythout doute . . . hath byn the gretyst destructyon to thys reame' (p. 68). By implication England's monarchs had ever proven plagues to their country.

Because he opposed Henry's divorce and the break with Rome, Pole is usually construed as a conservative force in the Reformation debates; yet

Starkey's *Dialogue* suggests that it was probably Pole's opposition to increasing royal absolutism, rather than his opposition to the reform of England's other 'ills', including its idle and negligent bishops and prelates, which was the origin of his downfall. Indeed, if this dialogue contains any grains of truth, Pole and Lupset were in favour of a radical programme of renewal to regenerate the plaguy body of the nation. England's 'lake of commyn justyce and equyte', with an idle, greedy, ill-educated nobility and clergy presiding over a starving commonality brought to its knees by 'inclosurys of pasturys', 'inhaunsyng of rentys', a corrupt legal system, and a string of unworthy rulers, necessitated urgent medicine (pp. 104, 66, 116). Whilst for Pole the 'cure' certainly did not involve witnessing his cousin Henry becoming the most powerful king England had ever known, for the English Protestant reformers anxious to see a break with Rome, Henry's usurpation of the powers of the pope (frowned on by Luther, Melanchthon and Calvin) was at worst a disreputable means to a highly desirable end.[48]

The considerable rhetorical and polemical skills unleashed in the *Dialogue* did not go unnoticed: in spite of his allegiance to Pole, and his treatise's anti-absolutist sympathies, Starkey was shortly in the employ of Henry's chief image-maker, Thomas Cromwell, utilizing his humanist training in the service of reform. Probably because of the impact of Starkey's *Dialogue* on radical humanists of both persuasions (Protestants and committed Catholics such as More and Pole), the next decade witnessed an explosion of disease metaphors around the subject of church reform. Polemical diseases even became a theatrical phenomenon when the Protestant cleric-dramatist John Bale took his production of *Three Lawes* (1538) around the country, warning unreformed transgressors of God's Laws that they would be afflicted with 'deadly payne' from Popish diseases, notably 'pestylence and poxe'.[49]

Meanwhile, for the other side, Thomas More described heretics creeping around England with abominable books (Tyndale's unauthorized Bible) among good simple souls, corrupting like a canker.[50] Gatherings of people could spread the contagion like the plague; the biblical Word, 'conversacion' and meetings were dangerous – they bred sedition. Sir Thomas More was undoubtedly behind Henry VIII's castigation of Luther's attempt 'to enfect you [the English Commons] with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent errours'.[51] Words and books were becoming dangerous, spreading the moral pollution of Lutheran heretics and potential social discord by the minute (in England, Lutheranism was often associated with the peasants' rebellions which Luther himself strongly opposed).

Starkey's and More's uses of the pestilence metaphor in relation to Commons rebellions (or the fear of social upheaval associated with them) suggests the continuation of an English tradition, if we recall how the Middle English poem *A Warning to be ware* linked the threat of pestilence with

the revolt of the Commons in 1381. Indeed, by the 1540s the representatives of the poor Commons were deploying the pestilence metaphors for their own purposes. In 'A Supplycacion to our moste Soveraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght' (1544) the 'voice' of the Commons addressed the King using disease-energized rhetoric:

> I see two foule deformytes and grete lamentable myschefes annexed to the vocacyon and offyce of byshops, which, not refourmed, will poyson and utterly corrupte the godly vocacion and electyon of the sayd byshops. The one infection and pestylent poyson is there greate Lordships and domynions, with the yerely proventes of the same.[52]

Greedy clerical landlords and exorbitant rents constituted the metaphorical pestilence feared (and suffered) by the Commons. According to this Supplication, for the 'poor Commons' of England reform of the church represented far more than simply gaining access to the biblical Word and the moral cleansing of the clergy; it meant economic and social change, too. The closure of the monasteries had, in fact, caused greater hardships for the poor because wealthy 'extortioners' were buying up the old abbey lands and enclosing them for sheep at the expense of the ploughmen who were rendered homeless as well as penniless. A 1546 Supplication emphasizes how the closure of the monasteries had exacerbated the sufferings of the 'impotent' poor: 'Then had they hospitals, and almeshouse to be lodged in, but nowe they lye and storve in the stretes' (p. 79). In the 1540s there were uprisings associated with agricultural policy in the West and in Oxfordshire, culminating in Kett's rebellion in East Anglia in 1549. After the suppression of this rebellion, prophecies were spread around Norwich that pestilence would devastate the city as it had done in 1545, and this time kill the enemies of Robert Kett and the Commons.[53] Metaphorical and actual pestilences abounded in the 1540s, both reflecting and helping to produce profound social instability. Plague, famine and civil unrest coincided, and pro- and anti-Reformists claimed God was on their side, His anger directed against the enemy.

Reginald Pole had fled to the Continent in the early 1530s, where he became a focus for the hopes of English rebels opposed to Cromwellian policy. Interestingly, the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace spoke the same language of conciliar government and the common weal as Starkey's *Dialogue*.[54] Ironically, given the metaphors of that treatise, in 1538 Pole was accused of the ultimate heinous crime – that of being a plague to his country. Henry VIII's 'papist' kinsman retaliated with the following words: 'You say, I make many plagues, but lay little or no salve to heal them . . . In very dede I make never a plage, when I discover those that be made

already.'[55] Whose plague was it, indeed? In this letter to the Bishop of Durham, Pole was seeking to disassociate himself from, and to project onto his political adversaries, the dangerous label of plague or sedition-promulgator within the body politic. In the light of the metaphors of Erasmus's *The Education of a Christian Prince*, the Cardinal was probably associated with an even greater threat, that of foreign invasion: in the late 1540s he was known to have been abroad, urging Pope Paul III to launch a crusade against England.[56]

Given the way the figurative language of plague and contagion is operating in the politico-religious discourses of the Reformation years, it is possible to imagine that writers of popular vernacular medical books, such as the Catholic Thomas Phayre (later Queen Mary's legal adviser), had specific political agendas. In his treatise of the pestilence of 1545 Phayre warned his readers that: 'the venemous air itself is not half so vehement to infect, as is the conversacion or breath of them that are infected already, and that by the agreeing of natures'.[57] Ultimately this has a Galenic source, but is he perhaps thinking of the Lutherans here? He moves rapidly on to 'counsel every chrysten man that is in doute of thys dysease to cure first the fever pestylencial of hys soule'. There is certainly a generalized moral discourse in this plague tract but read from a historically specific viewpoint it is possible that there is a more covert political one too. Any literal face-value reading of contagion as presented in the English medical tracts of these years should definitely be undertaken with caution.

The closure of the monastic hospitals and the reduction of the order of friars from 1535 had increased the need for such medical self-help manuals. Henry VIII's humanist-inspired grammar school programme for literacy also meant that more men would eventually be able to read them, encouraging their production. Local bishops apparently gave Protestant ministers, who were concerned about the gap in the provision for the sick poor, strong encouragement to step into the breach and the cleric, William Bullein, responded to the call.[58]

Health for the 'common wealth'

On 5 November 1554 Bullein resigned from his position as Rector of Blaxhall in Suffolk, packed his bags and set off for the Continent, almost certainly to study medicine.[59] It is no coincidence, however, that he left England early in Mary Tudor's reign, for as a committed and outspoken Protestant and a kinsman of Anne Boleyn, he was probably wise to flee to escape persecution. Not for nothing, we can assume, was Bullein eventually buried in the same grave in St Giles Cripplegate as John Foxe, the famous author of *Actes and Monumentes of the Church* (1563), a voluminous work detailing the gruesome persecutions by 'papists' of the 'godly' martyrs. In fact,

like Foxe – and Foxe's notorious friend John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, who devised controversial anti-Catholic plays – Bullein wrote Protestant propaganda tracts, but his masqueraded as medical manuals, 'Reduced into the forme of a Dialogue, for the better understanding of th' unlearned' (*The Governement of Healthe*, title-page).

The middle years of the sixteenth century were particularly disease-ridden, with the 'sweat' (influenza) and then bubonic plague sweeping the country and claiming the lives of thousands. When, therefore, the Marian refugees returned to England in the late 1550s it would certainly have been a charitable enterprise (no doubt gratefully received) to spread the medical word which, rather like the biblical Word prior to the Reformation, had previously been available for purchase only by those with sufficient money to employ physicians. The analogy was an obvious but very meaningful one to exploit: the returning Protestant heroes were bringing 'health' to the commonwealth, for (as Bullein highlights) the 'common wealth'.

As the voice of 'Health' articulates in *Bullein's Bulwarke of defence againste all Sicknes* (1562), 'health' for the godly had important and interconnected moral, spiritual, social and bodily implications:

> (Now to conclude) for all infirmities of the bodie, let us seke the comfort of Gods meanes, whiche is the Phisision, and for the griefes of minde, imbrace the heavenly Phisicke, contained in Gods woorde, which is the principall regimente. And further, for a meane betwene theim bothe, that eche of us doe walke in suche callyng in this life, that wee maie bee necessarie members, one unto an other, in the common wealthe, to profite eche other, and hurt no bodie. To travell for the fruites of the yearth, or any other riches, gotten by honeste policie, and after to spend theim accordyngly. By providyng for our selves, against the tyme of adversitie: To obeie rulers, and pitie the poore, . . . that is the somme of Christen religion, of a honeste life, and of a happie ende. (f. lxxiij.v)

As the body must be subject to medical regimen both to maintain it, and to restore it to health, so the soul and the commonwealth must be put in order according to a regiment which is prescribed by God and accessible via the biblical Word. The bodily physician, the spiritual physician and the divine physician are thus the three key authorities and guides on the subject of the godly life and reformation. It is permissible to toil honestly for worldly gain but once affluent it is a Christian duty to be provident and charitable. This is the essence of Bullein's prescription for a healthy commonwealth which, as both spiritual and medical physician, he was dually qualified to give.

A woodcut portrait of Bullein accompanying the 1558 edition of *The Governement of Healthe* casts an interesting light on his self-fashioning (see Plate 2). It shows a distinguished man clad in a rich fur jacket topped with lace ruff over which flows a profusion of whiskers. His long beard aligns him with the wise prophets but the sculpting of his hair is most revealing for it cleverly suggests a laurel wreath, implying Bullein's fame and status as both poet and conqueror. This is a portrait of a Protestant triumphant dedicated to the good or 'health' of the 'common wealth'. The author's literary talents, including the vigour and daring virtuosity of his style, were undoubtedly seen as integral to his role and fitness as Protestant physician and 'voice' of the English reform movement. As the title of Bullein's *Bulwarke of defence* suggests, he, along with his former fellow Marian exiles, Foxe and Bale, recognized the seminal role of books and drama in the war against 'the Antichrist', construing players, printers and preachers 'as a triple bulwark against the triple crown of the pope, to bring him down'.[60]

Two years after the publication of the *Bulwarke* detailing the Protestant route to 'health', Bullein wrote his most popular book, *A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pietifull, wherein is a godlie regiment against the Fever Pestilence, with a consolation and comforte againste death* (1564) in which the pestilent body, soul and the body politic are exposed and diagnosed by the physician for the 'profit' of the commonwealth. In its analysis of the 'sickness' of the body politic, there is an obvious kinship with Starkey's *Dialogue*, and Elizabeth McCutcheon's description of this work as a very early English 'anatomy' akin to John Donne's *Anatomy of the World*, and deriving from Menippean and Lucianic satire,[61] is enticing and not inaccurate if we accept Northrop Frye's broad definition of this genre as a 'dissection or analysis' of human life in terms of 'a single intellectual pattern'.[62] However, too much concentration on establishing a single, recognizable, genre classification has led the few literary critics who have grappled with the *Dialogue* to neglect this text's thematic concerns, its plague literature relations, its political import and its refusal, beyond representing itself as a 'dialogue' with 'twelve interlocutours', to align itself completely with any model.

Although not a playtext, the script is certainly highly dramatic with racy dialogue steeped in wit, irony and humour. Furthermore a physician who has an uncanny resemblance to Chaucer's covetous and self-serving 'Doctour of Physick' voices its medical advice. There is lots of local colour and gentle mockery, too, as when the shrewish wife, Susan (Uxor), who has never before been to the country, reveals her 'wise cockney' (so the marginal note in Bullein's text informs the reader) ignorance as she travels

through 'Barnett' fleeing from plague-stricken London. Susan spies a fire in a forest clearing which, her husband explains, is charcoal being made; she exclaims:

> Why, is Charcole made? I had thought all thynges had been made at London, yet I did never see no Charcoles made there: by my trouthe, I had thought that thei had growen upon trees, and had not been made. (p. 87)

Bullein appears to have had a good ear for dialect, cliché and domestic humour, and to have been especially aware of what would appeal to, and entertain, his predominantly London readers.

The *Dialogue* does not, however, encourage complete relaxation: it demands an alert reader (and it trains the reader to be vigilant) to detect both rhetorical stratagems and false seemings – hypocrisy. Thus Civis, who appears to be the moral backbone of the community in the opening 'scenes', gradually exposes himself and is exposed by others, as yet another 'extortioner' whose actions are cloaked in godly language and deceit.[63] Similarly, just as the *Dialogue* seems to have moved into and established itself in one recognizable genre, it shifts its shape to another. Beware, the world is not what it seems, the *Dialogue* warns through its structure, its dramatic denouements, and its emblematic pictures.

In fact, Bullein's *Dialogue* is a truly humanist enterprise designed to correct vices and to 'profit' the reader in a highly engaging manner:

> If my Chamber, Haule, Gallerie, or any new decked house wer apparelled or hanged all in one mournyng darcke colour, it would rather move sorowe then gladnesse: but no pleasure to the beholders of the same. Therefore the diversitie or varietie of pleasaunt colours doe grace and beautifie the same through the settyng forthe of sonderie shapes: and as it were, to compell the commers in, to beholde the whole worke. (sig. A2r)

The *Dialogue*'s 'diversitie', 'varietie of pleasaunt colours' and 'sonderie shapes' are educative tools to 'compell' the reader to engage with the 'whole' – but what is he to learn (what is this suggestive 'whole'?) and what has the plague to do with it?

In this 'Dedication', to his 'singuler good frende' (sig. A2r), Edward Barret, Bullein elaborates on the 'sonderie thynges' dealt with in his book. He declares: 'I have shortlie described our poore nedie brother his povertie. Callyng upon the mercilesse riche, whose whole trust is in the vain riches of this worlde' (sig. A2v). His primary design is given, then, as a Complaint about the sufferings of the poor at the mercy of the greedy wealthy.

He has not forgotten, also, he adds, to expose that 'shamfull sinne . . . ingratitude' (sig. A2v). This sounds, so far, like the familiar material of sermons and homilies. But yet another purpose is to provide a medical regimen against the pestilence: 'Further, how many meanes may be used against the Pestilence, as good ayre, diet, medicines accordyngly' (sig. A2v). In his address 'To the Reader' he declares a further intention is to describe men's inadequate moral responses in the face of adversity: 'Good reader, when adversitie draweth nere to any citee or Towne, and the vengeaunce of God appereth, either by hunger, sicknes or the sworde then mans nature is moste fearfull' (sig. A3v). Pestilence is thus construed as a divinely inflicted punishment for sin and, like the two other scourges (famine and war), it both renders man full of fear and exposes his 'fearfull' (corrupt) nature. Whilst some fall into sudden devotion, others deny the existence of God altogether; Bullein will 'describe' all this in his 'plaine Dialogue' (sig. A4r). As in the 'eyewitness' plague accounts of Thucydides and Boccaccio, urban plague presents a special opportunity for the writer to observe and comment on the decay of moral and social values under the stress of human fear.

This all seems fairly predictable within the interpretive traditions outlined above: the familiar material of tracts like *Dives and Pauper* in the first instance, and of first-hand plague accounts in the second. Plague provides the preacher with the ideal opportunity to rail against sin, especially the moral depravity associated with greed and riches. The only unusual thing is Bullein's intention to combine it with a medical regimen. Next in the *Dialogue* appears a picture of a skeleton (anatomy and 'memento mori'), his arm resting on a shovel and the words of Sophocles explaining that death is glorious when life is sick, reminding the reader, too, that death is the great social leveller (*The Daunce and Song of Death* enshrines the same message – see Plate 1). The *Dialogue* proceeds with a list of 'interlocutours': a needy beggar (Mendicus); a 'model' citizen and his shrewish cockney wife (Civis and Uxor/Susan); a greedy physician (Medicus); a wealthy Italian merchant/usurer (Antonius); Civis's poor servant (Roger); a cheating apothecary (Crispinus); two 'Pettifoggers in the law', one with a 'goggle-eye' (Ambodexter and Avarus); a traveller and teller of tall tales (Mendax); Death on his steed (Mors) and honest Theologus. Again these are recognizable 'types' from late medieval Complaint and morality plays like *Everyman:* both themes and characters appear traditional.[64] What Bullein does not give his readers any indication of, in the preamble to his text, are the more precise ideological and anti-Catholic designs of the work: these he weaves skilfully into the more conventional material of the body of his 'plague pamphlet'. Inevitably, these meanings have become obscured with time, and only a detailed reading of the *Dialogue* from within its

own densely tropological textual and cultural environment will serve to uncover its layers of rich significance and its impressive literary dexterity.

The devastating London plague outbreak of 1563 provides the story which gives birth to the moral and political themes. A 'paker' from the North knocks on Civis's door bringing news from the countryside. Civis directs him to the rich merchant's house to beg for alms. The merchant, Antonius, is dying from plague but this does not stop the greedy physician and his apothecary from exploiting him. Medicus discourses on the nature of the pestilence and its management. Meanwhile the two shifty lawyers plot to acquire the merchant's riches using devious practices. Antonius dies, Civis and his wife grow extremely fearful and decide to flee with their servant Roger to the country. This turns into a pilgrimage-like journey throughout which Roger recounts fables and Mendax tells tall tales. During a thunderstorm Mors descends with his arrows of death. Having just been exposed as an 'extortioner' by Roger, Civis is struck down, his wife runs away and Civis is cared for in the end by the good Theologus (a spiritual physician). Roger wonders what will happen to him now, poor and masterless – should he beg, steal, turn pimp or starve? The signs and symptoms of bubonic plague and recipes for 'simples' against it are at the centre of the text, while on either side metaphorical plagues and their associated metonyms abound, weaving the diverse generic forms and plague-related themes into a web of significance. Plague thus structures and unifies the *Dialogue*, giving coherence and shape to a potentially unwieldy project.

Foremost in Bullein's stated design was the desire to describe 'our poore nedie brother his povertie' (sig. A2v). The dramatic dialogue form enables him to do this very effectively, putting the arguments of the poor Commons in the words, first of all, of a worthy beggar, Mendicus. The *Dialogue* opens with Mendicus begging for alms at Civis's door and his revealing to Civis and Uxor (in a broad northern dialect which Uxor mistakes for Scots) that he has been driven out of Northumberland by marauding Scots. His family have been murdered by them and he has lost all his belongings; through no fault of his own he has been driven south, to London, to beg for sustenance and look for work. This history, establishing him as an English countryman who has suffered miserably at the hands of 'foreigners' and who is not wilfully idle, is important given the anxiety about vagabonds – especially immigrant ones – in England at this time. The 1560s and early 1570s formed a peak in alien immigration, exacerbating unemployment and social tensions and creating convenient scapegoats for England's ills.[65]

On his journey south, Mendicus has seen much to open Londoners' eyes (and it is these eyes this text is aimed at). In the country he has observed, 'Nene, but aude maners, faire saiynges, safe hartes, and ne de-

votion' (p. 5). Old manners and no devotion are probably allusions to the tardy state of Protestant Reform in many places outside the capital. He proceeds:

> God amende the Marketh, miccle tule for the purse, deceivyng of eche other: in the contrie, strief, debate, runnyng for every trifle to the Lawiers, having nethyng but the nutshelles, the Lawiers eate the carnels, ause muche reisyng of rentes and gressomyng [? walking] of men, causyng greate dearth, muche povertie, god helpe, God helpe, the warlde is sare chaunged: extorcioners, covetous men and hypocrites dooe muche prevaile, God cutte theim shorter, for thei doe make a blacke warlde, even hell upon yearth . . . I did se mucle providence made in the countrie for you in the citee, which doe feare the Pestilence. I met with wagons, Cartes, and horses, full loden with younge barnes, for feare of the blacke Pestilence. (p. 6)

In the light of the pestilence metaphors circulating in England at this time, several might have been detectable in this extract to the alert mid-sixteenth-century reader. The 'blacke Pestilence', the bubonic plague, is the punishment for a sinful 'blacke' world where the prime moral pestilence is that of the 'extorcioners' who, in the rhetoric of the Supplications, were 'The one infection and pestylent poyson' of the realm. However, another pestilence lurks here 'for you in the citee, whiche doe feare the Pestilence', and that is the threat of an uprising caused by great hardship ('dearth' and 'povertie') in the countryside. Employing a sermon-type anecdote to push his point home, Mendicus proceeds to elaborate how covetous usurers are like 'great stinkyng mucle . . . hilles' (p. 7) which do not benefit the 'lande' until 'their heapes are caste abroade to the profites of many' (p. 7). By implication, the sin or moral pestilence of the usurers stinks (a common motif in medieval and early modern sermons).[66]

The *Dialogue* provides the reader with many opportunities to hear and see such greedy usurers' practices. The prime example of the species is the sick Italian merchant, Antonius, who confides to Medicus:

> I have wares of most auncient service, whiche owe me nothyng, bothe in packes, vesselles and chestes . . . whiche are not fitte for the retailers. Them do I kepe for shiftes [fraudulent stratagems], when any gentlemen, or longe suter in the Lawe, are behind hande, and knowe not what to doe: then by good sureties, ar assured landes by Statute merchaunt . . . I doe sometyme make thirtie, or fowertie in the hundred by yere. . . . Further, I have extended upon aunciente landes in the countrie. (p. 11)

The word-play here is on 'auncient(e)': the old banckrupt landowners are being conned out of their assets and lands by foreign merchants with their new (as opposed to ancient) money and their shoddy 'aunciente' goods. Antonius ironically declares that he has diverse such 'honeste waies to live uppon' (p. 11). He tells Medicus how he has 'factours' at Antwarpe, 'By whom I doe understand the state, and what commoditie is beste' (p. 11). 'Commoditie', with its material and spiritual meanings, alerts the reader to the merchant's exclusively worldly, avaricious designs.

Medicus is equally greedy: he declares that in Antonius' 'last greate Fever' (the moral implication is obvious if Thomas Phayre's 'fever pestylencial of hys soule' is recalled) the merchant gave him rich rewards, including one hundred 'angelles' for his services (p. 12).[67] Heavenly and earthly values are again contrasted through the play on angels. It is significant that both protagonists are self-professed atheists: as Medicus confides (having ensured there are no 'blabbes' present to alert the Protestants), 'I am a Nulla fidian, and there are many of our secte, marke our doynges' (p. 15). There is rich dramatic irony here, of course: Protestants reading this dialogue are 'listening' to this shocking confession. Interestingly, Bullein's views, implicit in his satirical portrait of Medicus, about what a physician should definitely not be – neither atheist, covetous hypocrite, nor Epicure – seem to mirror those advanced by the University of Wittenberg physicians and anatomists whose spiritual and scholarly leader was Luther's friend, Phillip Melanchthon (1497–1560).[68] Indeed, in the absence of firmer knowledge, it is tempting to speculate that Bullein may have trained as a physician in Protestant Wittenberg.

A little further on in the *Dialogue* an emblematic picture reinforces the political message that greedy extortioners are buying up old lands and exploiting their poor tenants by imposing high rents or turning them off the land altogether (the same message that was contained in the Commons Supplications of the 1540s and 1550s). The emblem appears to Crispinus, the apothecary, in a dream-like vision which takes place in his herb (and therefore health-giving) garden. On a tall golden pillar in the middle of a fountain, he sees a tiger with a young child in its clutches. The child has a gold crown on his head and in his left hand he holds a globe called MICROCOSMOS about which is written GLOBUS CONVERSUS EST. The tiger is about to kill the child. In a fashion typical of this *Dialogue* the emblem is initially misinterpreted in purely worldly terms. Thus Medicus explains that this is the crest of arms of a gentleman from a great house: 'descended of the most auncient Romains I warrant you, he is no upstarte' (p. 17). A play on 'Romains' suggests Italian or Catholic possibilities, rendered meaningful in the light of Crispinus' reading of the emblem. He suggests:

> I had thought it had rather signified, the conditions of a cruell tyraunt, or some bloodie conquerour: whiche by usurpation, gettyng thy victorie of any common wealth, as landes, countrees, or citees, eftsones do spoile the true heires, and owners of the lande, whiche doe weare the croune, chaunge the state of the Commons to the worser part, spoiling theim with the sworde, and bondage, whiche appered by these wordes: Globus conversus est: the worlde is chaunged, or tourned in suche a common weale. (p. 17)

A cruel tyrant wielding a sword calls to mind the personified plague/death representations of late medieval homilies (plague deaths led to altered social relations as wealthy merchants bought up the vacated lands) but another plague is hinted at here and that is war, in the form of a 'Romain' Catholic crusade. Rome (symbolizing the False Church / Antichrist in Protestant rhetoric) threatens to overturn the 'True' (Reformed) Church symbolized by the child wearing the golden crown.

There was nothing new in the representation of the Roman Church and its leaders as a 'fever pestilence'. Early in the struggle for reform, Protestant propagandists on the Continent – especially German Lutherans – used medical metaphors in mock medical dialogues to drive home their message about papal corruption. Erasmus's friend, Ulrich Von Hutten, for example, wrote two dialogues between himself and 'The Fever' (1519 and 1520) in which he attacked the Papal Legate, Cardinal Cajetan, as well as his courtiers, the secular nobility and the merchant princes, for their luxurious way of life.[69] It is very possible that Bullein read this, or something similar, during his time spent in Protestant enclaves abroad.

In the garden of (satiric) Muses that follows, dead English poets like Skelton, Chaucer and Gower rail poetically against greed generally and the excesses and corruption of the Roman Church in particular. In the 1564 editions, the Scottish poet 'Sir Davie Linse' is portrayed sitting on a 'mounte . . . breakyng a sonder the counterfeite crosse kaies of Rome, forged by Antichriste' (f. 12v). The *Dialogue*'s catalogue of Muses is reminiscent of John Bale's literary history, *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum catalogus*, in which English poets of the pre-Protestant era who spoke out against the abuses of the church (including Chaucer and Langland) are appropriated as religious prophets whose literary talents assisted the triumph of the True Church. For Bale, as for Bullein and Foxe, intellectual vigour evidenced in energetic rhetoric was construed as the opposite of the intellectual stagnation associated with scholasticism, monks and papist priests and the unreformed faith.[70]

The anti-Rome propaganda does not cease here – far from it – for shortly the reader is introduced to a pair of lawyer-extortioners, Avarus and

Ambodexter, who reveal themselves to be bloodthirsty papists. Railing (ironically, since they identify railing as a Protestant activity) against Protestant preachers (like Bullein) who promote the interests of the poor Commons, they lament the end of Protestant persecutions figured in the person of the notorious 'bishop Boner'. Ambodexter declares:

> Oh I doe remember that reverent mortified father, that holie man bishop Boner, that blessed catholike confessour of Rome, if he were againe at libertie, he would not dallie to mocke theim, but trimelie would roste these felowes, and after burne them, you knowe his workmanship verie well, a godlie man. (p. 30)

Another tableau serves graphically to intensify this dialogue's charge that the Roman Church is like a bloodthirsty tyrant and suggests, furthermore, that it is a rapist and plunderer of foreign lands. Medicus describes some pictures he has 'shortned the time with' (p. 33) while waiting for Crispinus:

> This pitifull picture of Lucrecia, and this fearfull siege of Pavie: But this Mappe of the description of Terra Florida in America, hath rejoysed me, there the golde and precious stones, and Balmes are so plentifull . . . (p. 33)

Rape or ravishment, in Protestant rhetoric, symbolized the refusal of the True Church to enter into non-confessional alliances. Julia Gasper has convincingly argued how this metaphor was 'so automatic' in Reformation thinking that the German Lutheran city of Magdeburg, which held out so long in the 1540s against the Catholic forces of the Emperor, came to regard its name as meaning Virgin-City and so changed the spelling (from the original Magataburg).[71] There is a connection here, too, with the Von Hutten-type representation of exploitative merchant adventurers. Rape (encompassing physical and psychological torture – abuse of conscience – of individuals and states), exploitation and covetousness are all associated metonymically in Protestant rhetoric of this period with Catholicism. Presented with a series of disjointed, apparently enigmatic, images, the reader is set to work to make the important connections: an active reader is obviously deriving more 'profit' from the text than a passive one.

With all the metaphorical pestilences of the *Dialogue* well established, God's punishment for them – bubonic plague – takes up its central position in the book. Medicus provides a gruesome list of the 'signs' of the 1563 killer-plague which had (in actuality) swept away up to 20 per cent

of the population: among them are 'stinking sweate' (p. 53) – evidence, though not for this physician, of its origin in sin if Medicus' description of the 'stink' of usurers is recalled; and 'pestilent sores [which] do come in the clensing places, as arm holes, flanckes, &c.' (p. 65) (recalling the signs of the biblical plague of Ashod).[72] For the godly reader, there can be no mistaking the signs and cause of this plague; only Medicus, through his lack of faith and spiritual insight ('nulla fidian'), remains 'in the dark'.

Medicus' advice derives mostly from Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle and Avicenna, and when he is not discoursing on the soul in purely Aristotelian terms, or engaging in what the marginal note alerts the reader to as 'Epicures talk' ('life is the beste jewell, whiche brynges delices to the hart, pleasures to the eye and eare', p. 74), it is basically conventional and sound medical advice for its time. He advises fleeing 'evill ayre', avoiding: 'Priveis, filthie houses, gutter chanilles, uncleane kept; also the people sicke, goyng abrode with the plague sore running, stinkyng, and infectyng the whole' (p. 62). Extremes of emotion, especially anger and fear, should be guarded against and, alongside recommending medicines and 'a regiment of diet', he advocates music and pleasant tales for their therapeutic effects. Notably, he does not advise prayers and repentance, sin playing no part in his construction of the plague.

Medicus is, in fact, a natural philosopher, modelled along the lines of Chaucer's physician, and another of the *Dialogue*'s extortioners. Devoid of conscience, he misrepresents the Apocryphal biblical text concerning the physician (Ecclesiasticus 38: 1), in order to procure gifts from his patients. Omitting the phrase 'of the most higheste cometh learning', Medicus' text arrogantly proclaims: 'Honour the Phisician, with the honor that is due unto him because of necessitie, for the lorde hath created hym, and he shall receive giftes of the Kyng, yea, and of all men' (p. 12). Here is no godly, charitable physician. He asks the dying Antonius: 'How like you this maner of talke, yet here is no scripture, but Aristotle, I assure you' (p. 44). When he should be providing spiritual comfort, Medicus dwells entirely on, and extols, earthly values. It is significant that Medicus is characterized as an Aristotelian, a label that was to become anathema to later Protestant, Paracelsan physicians, who prided themselves on their charitable practices and who identified both Aristotle and Galen as heathens proffering corrupt wisdom.[73] Charles Webster has demonstrated the important role of Paracelsanism (which stood for extending the physician's skills to the care of the poor) in the English civil war;[74] Bullein's texts suggest that this idea was central to earlier Protestant designs prior to Paracelsus' influence in England: the godly physician – and there is no place for the physician without faith in the Protestant commonwealth – must be charitable.

After its medical interlude centring on the rich merchant's demise, the *Dialogue* proceeds, rather predictably, to show the greedy papist lawyers making away with his money. Meanwhile Civis and Uxor grow increasingly fearful of the might of the pestilence. Civis puts forward his argument for fleeing, which ingeniously incorporates more anti-Rome propaganda. He has heard that:

> The Pestilence was like a monsterous hungrie beast, devouryng and eatyng not a fewe, but sometymes whole cities, that by respiration . . . take the poisoned ayre. He lauded HYPOCRATES, whiche saieth . . . to remove from the infected ayre into a cleaner . . . swete flowers and spices, perfumes, . . . to purge the ayre. And wife feare of death enforced many holie men to flie: as Jacob from his cruell brother Esau, David from Saule: . . . the christian men from feare of death, did flie the tyrannie of the Papistes: and although these men did not flie the pestilence, yet thei fled all from feare of death, and so will we by God's grace observe such wholesome meanes, and obeie his divine providence. (p. 84)

Civis's reasoning is unsound and reveals his inflated view of his own 'godliness' which is later exposed as a sham. He likens his own situation to that of the Marian refugees who, like Bullein, were forced to 'flie' from Mary Tudor's regime. This passage is, in fact, an allegory of the plight of the godly under Catholicism. John Bale's autobiographical revelations are illuminating here: he claimed that he was 'induced to leave the monstrous Corruption of Popery, and to embrace the Purity of the Gospel'; soon after, 'so that [he] might never serve so exacrable a beast [the papal church]', he took a wife, apparently in obedience to that 'divine command, let him that cannot contain, marry' (Bale's plays represent papists as Pox-ridden sodomites).[75] Clearly, Bullein's 'monsterous hungrie beast' is that upon which the Whore of Babylon rides in the Book of Revelation. Charges about the sexual corruption of the papacy were implicit, then, in Bullein's allusions: the 'beast' and 'monster' images are linked with Rome as rapist (sexual extortioner) representations and 'poisoned air' is air tainted by papists.

Apparently oblivious to the implications of his speech, Civis is resolved to flee to the country taking Uxor, his servant Roger, and 'the keyes of my chestes' (p. 84). Civis clearly has no intention of providing charitable alms for the poor before he departs. The group's progress through the countryside amounts to a parody of a pilgrimage, throughout which railing Roger tells fables which are far from the 'merrie' sort that Civis desires to hear (p. 92). Tales about mice and lions and land and waterfowl are actually allegories serving to highlight the ingratitude and greed of wealthy

human beings. The fables are punctuated by Roger's explanations that detail the plight of the poor in specific terms. He describes the increasing professional monopolies:

> When one manne have anie good profitable trade to live uppon they [the greedy] will covette or use the same, although their poore neighbours do perishe, and that is the cause of much trouble . . . now adaies, that everie callying doe pinche and poule eche other, and where the hedge is lowest that commonlie is sonest cast to grounde, but the strong stakes will stande in the storme. (p. 96)

The smaller tradesman is driven out of business by the larger with more assets. This was a common event in the sixteenth century and appears to have been assisted by a moral rhetoric of professionalization backed up in the end by statutes and penal sanctions which favoured the more 'profitable' concerns.[76]

Roger's railing against extortioners of the poor steadily gathers momentum, culminating in angry outbursts against the 'oppressor of poore men' (p. 103), identified as 'gentleman degenerate, yet sprong of good blood'. He exclaims: 'Oh that the Usurers gooddes were confiscated after their deathes to the common poore, as in case they had slaine themselves' (p. 104). Given that peasants' uprisings of the early sixteenth century sometimes took the form of secular pilgrimages,[77] these speeches could contain the threat of another pestilence, that of civil rebellion caused by the unfair treatment of the poor by the wealthy. It is particularly noteworthy, in the light of Medicus' earlier detailing of the particular hardships of the poor in Northumberland, that the 1536 rising in Lincolnshire and the North was known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Northern Rebellion, which was to take place in 1569–70 (five years after Bullein's tract was first published), again reflected the dissatisfaction of the North, of which large parts were still predominantly Catholic, with policies that were put into place by a Protestant elite based in London. Quite possibly, then, a timely 'warning to be ware' directed at that elite as well as at the extortioners, is partially camouflaged in the *Dialogue*.

The new Protestant Establishment under Elizabeth I had taken several measures in the early 1560s to try to deal with inflation and to avoid a Commons rebellion. In 1560–1 coinage was revalued and in 1563 Parliament passed a series of important statutes, including a Poor Law, a tillage act (to regulate enclosures), and the Statute of Artificers which attempted to regulate labour, wage rates and apprenticeship.[78] It is significant that these steps were taken in a major plague year: plague tended to accentuate economic difficulties and push those already living at subsistence level

below the breadline. Bullein's *Dialogue* suggests that these measures were considered insufficient to deal with the increasing hardships of the poor and the threat of rebellion this posed (particularly in the North). In Roger's opinion, and probably Bullein's, too, the only way to eradicate all this pestilence is 'a better reformation'. This is underlined in an apocalyptic speech:

> Light and darckenes can not agree, neither the lawiers, and the divines, untill a better reformation be had. All this I heard a wise man saie, and an honest man to. He said also now adaies, how mens Fermes are taken over their hedde ten yeres, or their leases are expired: and how iiij servyng mens wages for one yere will not paie for one paire of their hose: . . . I thinke the daie of Dome is at hande. (p. 116)

Bullein's marginal note instructs the reader 'Note this well': the medical and social physician is endorsing Roger's warning – attend to the just grievances of the poor or there will be trouble! The plight of the poor is construed as inseparable from the ideals of the Protestant Reformation and this is constant throughout Bullein's writing. In keeping with this Catholics are, rather predictably, consistently represented as the worst extortioners of the poor of England and of the natives of the New World ('Terra Florida').[79]

A stop-over at an 'inn' produces another opportunity for emblematic pictures to reinforce the words of the *Dialogue* but also, rather ingeniously, for Bullein's work to participate in the early Elizabethan Protestant debate surrounding iconoclasm. On entering the parlour Civis declares:

> This is a comely parlour, very netly and trimely apparelled, London like, the windowes are well glased, and faire clothes with pleasaunte border aboute the same, with many wise saiynges painted upon them. (p. 119)

Civis and his companions are initially attracted to the pleasantness of the room ('comely parlour'); its decoration ('faire clothes', 'pleasaunte border'); then to its 'wise saiynges' which accompany strange and 'goodly' pictures on the parlour walls (p. 85). Referring back to Bullein's words introducing and justifying the form of his *Dialogue* (p. 1): the colour and beauty of the room appear to 'compell the commers in to beholde the whole worke' (sig. A2r). The strange images and the golden letters arouse Uxor's curiosity; she repeatedly asks her husband to explain their significance. Civis proceeds with the help of the inscriptions to decode the murals and correctly construe them as various depictions of godly and evil living and representations of the True Church oppressed by the False Church –

'the malignaunte Sinagoge of Antichrist' (p. 129). Civis's spiritual re-education (for, as is later confirmed, he too had become subject to 'belly-god' degeneration) is apparently assisted by pictorial images (accompanied by words), just as colour and variety of shape in literary expression are construed by Bullein as aiding the reader's engagement with, and thereby maximizing the 'profit' to be had from, the 'whole work'.

Again, this lengthy episode (12 pages) aligns Bullein's work with the earlier endeavours of Bale and Foxe. The title page woodcut of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* had followed Bale (in the *Image of Both Churches*) in setting 'The Image of the persecuted Church' against 'The Image of the persecutying Church'. Bale, Foxe and Bullein were certainly among those who considered themselves agents of the True Church, bringing to light the history of the persecuted which, as Foxe put it, had long been 'trodden under foot' by oppressors. 'Showing' this history in print was conceived – in line with Luther's teaching – as a valuable adjunct to 'telling' it in words. As Ernest Gilman describes in *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation*, Luther (unlike Calvin) approved of images for 'memorial and witness', for the sake of better remembrance and understanding. At one point Luther even exclaimed:

> Yes, would to God that I could persuade the rich and mighty that they would permit the whole Bible to be painted on houses, on the outside and inside, so that all can see it. That would be a Christian work.[80]

In the early 1560s Protestants in England were divided over the issue of images. Whilst John Jewel followed Calvin in *The Institution of Christian Religion*, enlisting the testimony of the prophets against the use of images for the better education of the unlettered, Thomas Harding spearheaded the pamphlet campaign of the opposing camp, arguing – with Foxe and Bullein – that 'pictures have great force to move men's hearts'.[81]

Colour, variety and humour are, as has been witnessed in abundance, essential ingredients of Bullein's didactic method, and the stay at the inn provides the ideal opportunity for an encounter with a strikingly motley type: Mendax 'in a greene Kendall coate, with yellowe hose . . . a russet hatte' (p. 141), whose tall tales of 'Terra Florida' (p. 142) bring a great deal of light relief after the doom and gloom of Roger's preaching and the bleak emblematic depictions of the oppression of the True Church and its followers. Mendax describes, for instance, how 'Our men gather up Carbuncles and Diamondes with rakes, under the spice trees' (p. 150). The reader, now well primed to be alert and critical, will notice the pun on 'Carbuncles': it is this greed for riches which inflicts pestilent carbuncles (plague sores) onto the world.

Furthermore, into the unreliable Mendax's mouth is put the description of a Protestant utopia, undoubtedly so that the reader will approach it with the degree of scepticism it warrants. In *Taerg Natrib* (an anagram which suggests and rejects Great Britain simultaneously), Mendax boasts:

> There is no mingled doctrine, no tromperie of Papistrie, but the naked, true, and perfite worde of God. No flattering in the preacher, neither railing, but teaching truly every manne his duetie to GOD, their prince, and one to another: . . . with collections of mony for the poore . . . the idle are sette to woorke, or sore punished for slothe . . . there the women are verie huswifly, the men homely, great labor, little silke is worne, no jewels, no light colours . . . no cockscombe fethers, no double ruffes. . . . Plaine, plaine, plain, both in word & dede, much hospitalitie, speciallie among the Cleargie, no pride among them, but mercie, mercie, and pitie, pitie. (pp. 162–8)

This utopia, added in the 1570s and covering several pages, is deeply ironic. Indeed this passage was probably designed to foreground how far Britain had strayed from the ideal Protestant commonwealth envisaged by the early Reformers.

Literary utopias are notoriously difficult to construe but a contemporaneous satirical work which aligns itself with its Protestant plague literature relations, both through its 'plaguy' setting and its extraordinary generic mixing, helps throw light on this one. Edmund Spenser's *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* was published in a volume of Complaints in 1591 but was likely first drafted in the late 1570s. Ostensibly a beast fable featuring a wily Fox and Ape, *Prosopopoia*, recounted in a time of 'plague, pestilence and death' (l. 8) to lift 'diseased' spirits, has been read (correctly I feel) as a political allegory satirizing the fallen state of the Protestant commonweal.[82] The roguish beasts display a degree of social mobility and propensity for injustice and flagrant abuse of the Commons reminiscent of, though more extreme than, Bullein's worst extortioners. Succeeding without difficulty in aping an illiterate minister preaching 'the plaine worde' (l. 390) the Ape assumes the garb of a Protestant cleric and thus takes the first step on his upward climb from vagabond to monarch. Reliance on the plain word was – as *Prosopopoia* renders clear – a dubious clerical trait in the 1570s. Indeed, *Prosopopoia*'s satire of the state of the clergy and the excesses of the elite, especially their dress, pretensions and greed, is most illuminating in relation to the *Dialogue*'s utopia. As a peer the Ape dresses '"Alla Turchesa" [and is], much the more admyr'd' (l. 677): quaint and strange fashions are all the rage in *Prosopopoia's* gaudy, self-serving and ungodly world of accomplished hypocrites. If this allegory relates closely,

though obliquely, to Spenser's view of the state of the nation in the late 1570s, the picture it paints is far from the godly harmonious haven boasted of by Mendax. Ape's sentiment neatly sums up the feeling of the elite for the Commons as represented by this Complaint: 'As for the rascall Commons least he cared; / For not so common was his bountie shared' (ll. 1193–4).

Indeed, a Protestant Interlude by William Wager (published in London a year after the *Dialogu*e in 1565) had given dramatic expression – though in far less sophisticated form – to many of the same points. *Inough is as Good as a Feast* features an arrogant, covetous Worldly Man who flaunts 'the rules of a godly life', accruing riches at the expense of his poor underlings. Tenant, Hireling and Servant all make stage appearances, detailing Worldly Man's greed and injustices and highlighting how the exploitation of the poor Commons is underpinned by a corrupt legal system.[83] They are united in the firm belief that 'God's plague' will be the just wages of the rich extortioners ('this canker pestilent', sig. B1v) 'Corrupting our Realme' (sig. B1v). Theirs is a world, too, in which 'ghostly ignorance' (clerical stupidity) 'Hath almoste brought all the Parishes in England out of trade' (sig. C2v).

Significantly, all three of these texts encode deep misgivings about the activities of England's wealthy and its 'jumped-up' Protestant elite, particularly their lack of regard for the poor. This may in part reflect unease about a new generation of extremists (Puritans) perceived as too intolerant towards the unemployed: as we have seen in relation to William Clowes, harsher Poor Laws began to be called for in the late 1560s and 1570s. Certainly, Bullein's old friends Foxe and Lawrence Humphrey are known to have harboured such misgivings, and *Taerg Natrib* definitely treats the poor more harshly than they appear to deserve, given the positive representations of them in the *Dialogue*.[84] Clearly Bullein felt the situation dire enough to warrant a substantial, hard-hitting addition to his *Dialogue* – only a 'better reformation' could cure Britain's 'pestilential' decline in the 1570s.

The climax of the *Dialogue* is undoubtedly the exposure of Civis as yet another extortioner. Roger unwittingly points out his master's lands (as the group passes) on which he acts as bailiff and about which Uxor knows nothing. In his shame, Civis has kept his shady deals hidden. Oblivious, Roger recounts what a good bargain they were and how the old tenants have now forfeited their leases 'and are gone on beggyng like villaines, and many of them are dedde for honger' (p. 170). The text forcefully instructs its reader that this is how beggars are made, and by ungrateful Protestants, too, who have had their origins, like Civis, in poverty. The passage also casts doubts on Roger's character since he has assisted Civis's manoeuvres as his bailiff: Roger's railing, then, might have concealed more

selfish designs not unlinked to his dangerous seditious speeches. There is certainly nothing in this tract to indicate that Bullein advocated rebellion as a corrective to social injustices. His role was more that of a mediator, 'voicing' the plight of the poor to a new Elizabethan Protestant establishment with whom he undoubtedly identified. Certainly Bullein (himself descended from 'auncient' stock) appears to have been sceptical and uneasy about upstarts like Civis: Cardinal Wolsey had earlier been presented disparagingly as a 'jumped-up' man as well as a papist. Indeed, 'the world is changed' conveys a certain unease about social relations where the new wealth replaces the 'auncient' and old social values, supposedly characterized by interdependency and reciprocity, are lost. At any rate, Civis's sin of ingratitude and his presumption catch up with him – another 'warning to be ware' – and death from plague is the appropriate punishment. Mors descends on his 'foule jade', armed with his darts to mete out justice (p. 172). Civis ends his life in the company of Theologus who, unlike Medicus, proffers appropriate – spiritual as opposed to 'Epicurean' – instruction to a dying man. Theologus' sermonic text particularly stresses 'the hurte of richesse' which makes man 'high minded, and forgetfull of hym self' (p. 105).

William Wager's Interlude, *Inough is as Good as a Feast*, concludes on the same warning note, but, interestingly, it has an even more spectacular 'plaguy' finale. Here, a personified 'God's Plague' actually sweeps onto the stage, sword in hand, blowing on his victim, warning against covetousness and proclaiming: 'I am the plague of God properly called, / Which commeth on the wicked sudainly' (sig. F1v).[85] The spectators witness the prayers of the oppressed poor being answered as Worldly Man subsequently suffers a protracted, painful death from plague 'before their very eyes', and then have the satisfaction of seeing him carted off to hell on Satan's back (sig. G1v).

In the *Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence* the self-styled Protestant prophet William Bullein – spiritual, medical and social physician – both diagnosed his nation's ills, and prescribed cures for them. Pestilence, for Bullein and his fellow Protestants, was always a consequence of sin – predominantly the collective sin of a sector of the community, although those lacking moral and religious fortitude (who did not practise proper regimen of body and soul) were particularly susceptible to infection of the physical and moral kinds. In the *Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence*, the sinners who bring down the wrath of God on England in the form of plague are Catholics, 'non fidians', and dishonest, hypocritical Protestants who taint the True Church. They, like the Roman Church (which poses a global

threat), are all extortioners of the poor whose greed threatens the nation (and the world) with social and political instability as well as *the* plague.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century the social construction of the plague changes considerably: its actual location alters and its metaphors shift from people like Bullein's Catholics and rich extortioners to London's unemployed, its theatres, Puritans, whorehouses and criminals. As we shall see, however, a radical Protestant current of plague writing continues, and an impassioned 'struggle for rhetorical ownership' of plague ensues.[86]

3
The Plaguy Body: Part II

Shifting plagues

Whilst Bullein's socially aspiring and reprehensible Medicus located the worst focus of the 1563 London plague in the 'sluttishe, beastly people, that keepe their houses and lodynges uncleane . . . their laboure and travaile immoderate' (p. 51), the complete *Dialogue* conveys the opposite impression. A rich merchant and an affluent citizen fall victims to the pestilence, their sins as extortioners increasing their susceptibility to infection. Interestingly, no poor people catch the disease in the *Dialogue*, though they do suffer when their rich masters succumb to plague. Significantly, though, Medicus' negative, judgemental account of the living conditions and habits of the 'beastly people' appears to anticipate dominant constructions of the 'base sort' in later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century élite discourses – particularly those of the Protestant establishment (in church, medicine and state). By putting such words into the mouth of a greedy, unpleasant, extortioner/physician, Bullein was undoubtedly highlighting, and expressing timely disapproval of, his society's increasing tendency to identify the growing numbers of 'have nots' (the unemployed, immigrants, disbanded soldiers, who were flocking to the capital) as the disease polluters and criminals of the metropolis – the burgeoning 'plaguy body' of early modern London.

A rhetoric of social division expressing anxiety about the 'unruly poor' was clearly gaining ground in this period, and by the early seventeenth century it was heavily impregnated with pestilence language and associations. King James's Proclamations are particularly noteworthy in this respect. The 'Proclamation for the due and speedy execution of the Statute against Rogues, Vagabonds, Idle, and dissolute persons' (17 September 1603), for example, describes how the realm had been 'much infected' with these idle types in Elizabeth's reign: its desired solution was to banish these

'incorrigible and dangerous Rogues' to 'some place beyond the Seas'.[1] 'Dangerous' marginal types were becoming intimately linked to the spread of physical, moral and social 'infection', and in the King's view they needed urgently to be expelled from the body of his kingdom. James and his Privy Council took a particular interest in the quest to move the 'idle' poor out of overcrowded tenements inside the City walls, claiming in further Proclamations that these 'dangerous persons' living in 'small and strait Roomes' spread the plague to other persons of a 'principall' quality; and issuing orders that any new houses within the walls must 'not be inhabited but by persons of some abilitie'.[2]

Spatial-relations concepts are 'embodied' in various ways and contagious disease is often integrally involved in the definition of cultural boundaries, and the ordering of social spaces.[3] Indeed, medical, topographical and social issues can sometimes be so tightly intermeshed that they are impossible to tease apart. As the locutions of the Proclamations reveal, early modern plague was deeply implicated in the process of distinguishing between the worthy 'insiders', and the contaminating 'others' requiring forcible extraction from the City and the nation: epidemics provide an excellent excuse and a good rationale for the re-ordering of 'bodies'.[4] The first section of 'The Plaguy Body, Part II' will examine the geographic, demographic and social transformations, and the facilitating metonymic chains of contagion, which, in the second half of the sixteenth century, pinpointed the liberties and suburbs of the capital as the focus of moral and physical pollution, posing a threat to the City and its respectable inhabitants and warranting urgent 'ordering'. As I shall proceed to argue, it is from within this socially polarized cultural location that the plague pamphlets of Thomas Dekker should be viewed and interpreted. Far from being 'consoling' artistic creations that rise above the material chaos of human existence, or straightforward 'news reports', these are politically committed works which, like Bullein's *Dialogue*, William Wager's Interlude, and Spenser's *Prosopopoia*, expound radical Protestant ideology.[5]

The topography and ordering of London's plagues

> He is unclean: he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be.
>
> Leviticus 13: 46

The surviving statistics from parish registers reveal that the 1563 plague caused far greater mortality in the wealthy inner-city parishes than in the suburbs. Indeed, the ten worst affected parishes were all well within the

City walls.[6] This meant, of course, that unless the affluent City families had fled to the country during the plague they would have been considerably affected by the epidemic. It is probable that the statistics reflected the existence of pockets of slums and poverty among the wealthier City residences. Given, however, that the 'sweating sickness' of the early 1550s may have had a curious special predilection for the male social élite, and the 'burning' or 'general' fever of the late 1550s affected all classes,[7] it might well have appeared to Londoners in the early 1560s that wealth was no protection against disease – perhaps even the opposite (especially in the light of the age-old homiletic association of riches and pride with pestilence). The social crisis of the 1560s certainly appears to have been exacerbated by large numbers of servants losing their masters (and thus their livelihoods) to disease and death in the particularly epidemic-ridden years of the mid-sixteenth century. Bullein's representation of the plague's well-to-do victims might not, in this context, have appeared socially biased to his contemporaries.

In the 1625 plague the distribution of mortality was very different, with the poorer parishes beyond the City walls suffering most casualties.[8] Effectively between 1564 and 1625 the plague appears to have changed its prime location. Immigration, overcrowded dwellings and poor sanitary conditions – all, it seems, became more extreme and prevalent in the liberties and suburbs. Even more important, the grain stores were located outside the City walls and these, together with the increase in slums and debris, would have attracted the rat population that spread the plague.[9] As John Stow's *Survey of London* reveals of the 1590s, a significant proportion of the land previously occupied by monasteries, almshouses, nunneries and hospitals, had been bought up by 'merchants' for property speculation. Of Tower Hill Stow declares:

> The plain there is likewise greatly diminished by merchants for building of small tenements. . . . Also without the bars both the sides of the street be pestered with cottages and alleys, even up to Whitechapel church . . . all which ought to be open and free to all men. But this common field . . . is so encroached upon by building of filthy cottages . . . and laystalls (notwithstanding all proclamations and acts of parliament made to the contrary).[10]

The link between pestilence and overcrowding is acknowledged here in the depiction of the street, 'pestered with cottages and alleys'. As Stow indicates, numerous ineffective acts were passed in the late sixteenth century to try to halt the development of slum areas and the diseases they were felt to encourage.

London was growing rapidly in spite of its poor hygiene arrangements and its recurring epidemics: in 1560 its total population was 110,000; in 1600, 185,000; and in 1640, 355,000.[11] Most of the expansion took place in the suburbs, to which the unemployed and homeless flocked looking for work, sustenance and shelter. Enclosures and bad harvests (particularly 1562, 1586, 1594–7, 1622) in the English countryside,[12] an influx of Protestant refugees from the religious wars on the Continent, and the disbandment of soldiers, all encouraged an explosion of people in the capital who were, under these circumstances, disproportionately poor and needy. Inevitably, they constituted a burden and a source of anxiety to London's freemen from whom its governors were drawn.

In the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods other things situated in the liberties and suburbs were causing some sections of London's Protestant authorities considerable concern. The 'infection' associated with plays and playhouses had long been the subject of extreme Protestant rhetoric. On 22 February 1563, Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, had warned the statesman William Cecil in a letter about the hazard of 'contagion' which he associated with 'common players'.[13] He advised that a Proclamation was needed to ban 'playes for one whole yeare . . . within the cittie, or three myles compasse'. He wanted to stop the popular religious drama of the medieval cycles (associated with unreformed Catholicism) and maintained such heretical gatherings spread the plague, moral disease and social unrest too: a triple evil which through the course of the century informed a powerful linkage and conflation of plagues with playhouses, especially in Puritan discourse.[14]

Before long, Puritan extremists were themselves being targeted as contagious 'pestes' by the Protestant establishment in the church and city and, in the early seventeenth century, by King James himself.[15] Large unorthodox religious meetings, and their strange bedfellow of popular plays, were thought by some to give rise to the spirit of enthusiasm that bred social unrest as well as disease. Indeed, the traditional equating of political sedition and plague was most pronounced in the fears expressed about such meetings and assemblies. In the plague epidemic of 1592–3, for example, Bishop Aylmer declared his unease about the opportunities which the long services associated with plague-fasts gave for Puritan enthusiasm and, he maintained, for the spread of the infection through 'thick and close assemblies of the multitudes'.[16]

The city fathers' anxieties about gatherings were not, perhaps, misplaced. Roger Manning's research suggests that between 1581 and 1602 the City was disturbed by no fewer than 35 outbreaks of disorder associated mainly with economic disasters, protests against the administration of justice, or the influx of alien workers.[17] On 29 June 1595, a crowd of London

apprentices (and possibly some of the capital's discontented soldiery) approximately 1000 strong, marched on Tower Hill; their exact grievances and intentions are unclear but the subsequent legal proceedings claimed they sought:

> To robbe, steale, pill and spoile the welthy and well disposed inhabitaunts of the saide cytye, and to take the sworde of authorytye from the magistrats and governours lawfully authorised.[18]

This rhetoric articulates the fears of the 'welthy and well disposed' about their 'authorytye' being subverted and their possessions stolen. The food riots of the 1590s, and the many public libels threatening action against aliens, suggest that competition for scarce resources, including food and jobs, may have lain at the heart of the apprentices' grievances.[19] Poor harvests and the plague of 1592–3, which further depressed trade at home and overseas, no doubt fuelled the massive price inflation of this period. Ian Archer has estimated that the harvest failures of the mid-1590s meant that the poor had to increase their incomes by 33 per cent if they were to maintain their standards of the early 1580s.[20] This, together with large-scale unemployment, undoubtedly meant that those who were not wealthy were experiencing hardships, even hunger, serving to provoke political action of the above type. Whether the riot of 1595 represented a negotiating strategy or more radical subversion is the subject of a continuing debate – what is clear is that there was, at least, a perceived social crisis in the capital in the 1590s.

At the end of the century, then, disorder, like the plague, was felt by many to be endemic in the metropolis, and, like the plague, the playhouses and the whorehouses, it was now closely associated in élite rhetoric with the liberties and suburbs of London and with the increasing body of 'vagrants' or masterless men and women who dwelt there, allegedly threatening the City and its 'well disposed' persons with crime and violence, as well as physical and moral disease. Apart from hanging the ringleaders, the response of the authorities to the 1595 riot was to declare martial law in the capital and then to set about 'clensing' the City of vagrants.[21] The logic connecting vagrants with the apprentices is not obvious but the incursions of the former into the City were clearly felt to pose a considerable threat, which could be targeted for ordering. Perhaps they were more readily identifiable and easier to manage than the apprentices, providing a focus on which to project fears and exact punishment. The rioters who were caught were publicly whipped as vagrant rogues. Vagrants were certainly linked to the robberies which the 'welthy' worried about but perhaps 'vagrant', like 'vagabond', was just a rather vague disparaging term

which could be used conveniently to encompass a multitude of types considered undesirable by the freemen of the city. It has been proposed that after the Northern Rebellion of 1569 vagabonds were mythically but powerfully linked to rebellion.[22] Whatever the origin of the connection, following the 1595 riot a special commission was set up to deal with the problem of vagrancy in the metropolis. Whipping-posts appeared all over London in line with the legislation of 1598 which, adding to that of 1593, replaced ear-boring and death with the milder punishment – which could be, and was, better enforced – of whipping. Provost marshals were appointed in 1596 to oversee the work of the constables, who were constantly admonished to 'travayle to clense the stretes of the greate numbres of beggers that noye the citie dayly'.[23]

The crux of the City's front-line strategy for dealing with social unrest and crime was, it appears, quite simply to attempt to keep the threat outside the City walls – to sweep it beyond its boundaries and thereby restore inner metropolitan cleanliness. Undesirables who were unlucky enough to be caught inside the City limits were whipped and banished or carted off to Bridewell. How far this boundary enforcement was a response to actual criminal activities in the City, and how far it reflected a psychological need for separation based on fear, is impossible to know, but a growing obsessional anxiety concerning what lurked in the liberties is evident in the city fathers' impassioned hygiene-ridden rhetoric. Increasingly the liberties and suburbs of London are construed as the preserves of idleness, poverty, disorder, dirt, infection, contagion, unruliness, stench, rogues, vagabonds, vice and plague. In such discourse metonymic associations elide readily into metaphors, and the marginal poor tend to become synonymous with stench, filth and plague. Medicus' 'Slutishe, beastly', infection-prone sort were, in fact, the rhetorical precursors of the liberty dwellers. Conversely, inside the City walls dwelt the wealthy, provident, godly, clean, healthy and 'well-disposed', whose well-being was continuously threatened by the transgressions of the baser sort. Thus in 1601 Sir Stephen Soame, City girdler and grocer, complained to Parliament that the liberties were:

> The very sink of sin, the nurcery of naughty and lewd people, the harbour of rogues, theeves, and beggars, and maintainers of idle persons; for when our shops and houses be robbed, thither they fly for relief and sanctuary.[24]

Geographical location, then – inside and outside the City walls – articulated and reflected a growing social polarization and widespread fear about disorder and subversion in early modern London. The boundaries of the

City body, like the boundaries of individual bodies *c*. 1600, were felt to be vulnerable sites, requiring especial policing to protect the inner body from pollution. Associating the poor with the pestilence became increasingly common as the seventeenth century proceeded. John Ivie was among the magistrates of the 1630s, for example, who felt themselves threatened during an epidemic by 'unprofitable and wasteful . . . idle and naughty . . . unruly, base sort of people': the 'great unjust rude rabble'.[25] In the 1590s and 1600s bubonic plague was, it seems, both an integral element, and a key expression of, fear and disorder. Once again it is evident that plague discourse is a very good indicator of a period's particular social tensions.

From the city governors' perspective all this personal and urban disorder had to be brought under control if England's mercantile capital was to remain in business supplying the nation (and itself) with wealth. As we saw in Chapter 1, the medical plague tracts of the 1590s and early 1600s voice this growing civic imperative in relation to the control of plague, and demonstrate an increasing preoccupation with 'order'. Simon Kellwaye's *A Defensative against the Plague* (1593), for example, provides a regimen for cleaning up the individual body and home and then deals with ways to make the city more hygienic. His text is infused with a spirit of duty and a desire to order and clean things, and to replace bad smells with good by strewing flowers and herbs and burning sweet woods. Each item of regimen should be carried out habitually, in a particular way, at a specific time of day. It is as if he is seeking to counter the bodily and social derangement and turmoil threatened by the plague through a strictly regimented approach to life – order pitted against potential chaos. For Kellwaye, as for Lodge a decade later, urban stench, dirt and infected people and their clothing are most closely associated with the spread of the infection.

In some medical regimens, as we have seen, the 'evil' associated with the plague occasionally shifts onto the people infected with it, and discussions about evil angels and spirits, sick souls, moral contagion and the power of the imagination to infect, intensify and increase as the sixteenth century draws to a close.[26] All this occult speculation can only have served to intensify people's fears about contagion and anything to do with it – like dirt and the people who lived in it. Shutting infection out (isolating it from you or you from it), trying not to think about it and running away, were the prime defences against plague and, for some, against moral and social 'infection' too.

The city rulers did, however, recognize the urgent need for more practical, long-term policies and an increasing barrage of Acts from the 1580s on, reveals just how closely interwoven ideas about bodily, moral and social diseases had become. Plague Orders were put together by physicians

under the instructions of the Privy Council and the London regulations of 1583 were endorsed, very tellingly, as 'Orders set down by the Lord Mayor for repressing of disorders'. Among the Orders were that: houses should be shut up with their inmates – sick and well – for six weeks; bedding and clothing of the sick was to be aired; funerals carefully regulated; streets cleaned and vagrants expelled. However, and very unfortunately, there was no consensus on how the sick should be looked after and how their care and control should be financed. The City corporation vehemently resisted the 'general taxation' suggested for this purpose in the Privy Council's 1578 draft of the Orders, maintaining that church collections and charitable donations were adequate. Indeed London seems to have lagged behind many other English towns in this respect: it was not until 1608 that the London Orders tackled the problem by imposing a weekly tax in infected parishes but this was accompanied by the dropping of a clause which had enabled one member of each isolated household to be at liberty. 'Shut up' households were now far more dependent on outside help for sustenance and if the system failed them they could starve. There is also some evidence that 'shutting up' was selective, targeting the homes of 'the poorer sort'.[27] Playhouses, gambling and whorehouses were also targeted for shutting up in plague time.

In 1603 Robert Cecil had been warned about London's 'unruly' infected whom some felt needed sharper punishment to control them. This came about in a rather harsh way in 1604 when the policy of isolating the infected was backed up by penal sanctions. Anyone with a plague sore found wandering outside could be whipped as a vagrant rogue and if in company with others he could be hanged. Vagabonds plagued the City and, like evil smells and 'plaguy' bodies, they needed to be kept out: vagrants were to be rounded up by searchers and sent to Bridewell. Poor Law measures, Plague Orders and sanctions against criminals suddenly converged in the 1604 Act, which maintained its aims were: 'the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the Plague'.[28] Plague had become a penal matter associated closely with the unclean, 'unruly' poor, especially the unemployed living outside the City walls – the place of the plague, 'the sinfully-polluted Suburbes'.[29]

But were the boundaries of London literally the place of the 'plagues' – of biological, social and moral disorder from the 1590s? Historians have called into question whether the liberties and suburbs were as disordered, unpoliced and packed with criminals as contemporary élite accounts maintained.[30] Jeremy Boulton's detailed study of St Saviours, Southwark, presents a surprisingly rosy, harmonious picture of the south bank of the Thames in this period; and Archer has gone so far as to suggest that the fears many of the governors expressed about disorder were exaggerated, unjustified

and possibly even part of a rhetorical strategy to win the support of the 'middling sort' for punitive legislation against the poor.[31] Certainly Stow's *Survey* does not convey a picture of an ungoverned and corrupt marginal territory in the 1590s, and as well as the 'small tenements' there are gardens and 'fair summer-houses'. If anything, he is critical of the way new wealth is being spent in the suburbs, as in this passage where he is discoursing on 'inclosures for gardens':

> wherin are built many fair summer-houses; and, as in other places of the suburbs, some of them like Midsummer pageants . . . not so much for use of profit as for show and pleasure, betraying the vanity of men's minds, much unlike to the disposition of the antient citizens, who delighted in the building of hospitals and alms-houses for the poor . . . and spent their wealths in preferment of the common commodity of this our city. (p. 382)

Stow was suspected of being a Catholic sympathizer; and he certainly appears nostalgic for a pre-Reformation London when charitable religious houses, not fanciful palaces for the wealthy, were – in his construction – housed in the suburbs. What becomes clear reading this passage is that the topography of London in the 1590s is highly politicized: whether you emphasized the 'plagues' of the suburbs or its summer-houses depended on your perspective and the point you wanted to make.

It would be easy for a modern reader to be carried away by the sway of the dominant élite rhetoric relentlessly detailing the suburbs' pollution, but a strong note of caution is provided by the fact that in 1593 half the reported plague burials still occurred within the City proper.[32] This is a surprisingly high proportion, given the accounts of the mass exodus of the City's wealthy inhabitants – especially the children who would have been most susceptible to plague – during the worst outbreaks. A further note of caution is sounded for me by the seminal work of the anthropologist Mary Douglas. In *Purity and Danger*, Douglas argues a convincing and justifiably frequently quoted thesis that:

> Ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience. It is only by exaggerating the difference between within and without, above and below . . . with and against etc. that a semblance of order is created.[33]

Reflection on dirt in Douglas's scheme 'involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder'.[34] Like bodily margins, geographical and social margins

constitute dangerous, vulnerable and powerful locations which threaten the body with instability – which challenge the established order. In essence, the rhetoric of dirt, pollution, contagion and exclusion, in Douglas's view, inevitably has more to do with ordering society – not necessarily repressively – than with controlling disease.

The situation in early modern London suggests a very complex picture in which biomedical, geographical and social issues are inextricably linked and impossible to tease apart. As the seventeenth century progressed, the densely populated tenements of the suburbs *did* become the greater focus of the plague, as the statistics testify: poverty, associated with overcrowded living, less frequent changes of clothing and insufficient resources by which to 'flee' during epidemics inevitably did render their population more susceptible to infection. It also, no doubt, rendered people more inclined to revolt against London's governors, the wealthy, and their inadequate, unfair and increasingly punitive answers to the problems posed by the plague. We know that right from the earliest attempts to control epidemics there was popular opposition to the Orders: in 1518, Wolsey was told about the many Londoners who 'murmured and grudged and also had seditious words whereby a commotion or rebellion might arise'.[35] Ironically, Plague Orders themselves promoted – or were thought to promote – disorders.

Given the extremely complex nature of the variables involved, and the dense symbolic weighting of 'plague' in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, any analysis of plague discourse must clearly be approached with caution, taking adequate account of the political issues involved and the likely vested interests of the speaker. As Archer reminds us in *The Pursuit of Stability*, the state's self-representations were just one component of a complex social discourse among the various political 'voices' in early modern England. I have suggested that Stow's rendering of the topography of London – particularly its margins where he locates money ill-spent as a moral problem, rather than dirty, poor people – posits his as one alternative voice. Another was that of Thomas Dekker, the prolific playwright and pamphleteer who lived in the suburbs – possibly plague-prone Whitechapel – and who from time to time was a very marginal person himself as an impoverished (and sometimes imprisoned) debtor.

As the remainder of the chapter will demonstrate, in the early decades of the seventeenth century Dekker's is a corresponding 'voice' in the plague debate, articulating the interests of the poor Commons, and probably a large proportion of the 'middling sort', to a powerful and increasingly homogeneous metropolitan élite – the successful entrepreneurs of early modern London.[36]

Metropolis as social battlefield: Thomas Dekker's plague pamphlets

> God helpe the Poore, The rich can shift.
>
> Thomas Dekker, *Worke For Armorours*, title-page (1609)

Published in 1609, when the plague had been smouldering in London for six years, Dekker's *Worke For Armorours: Or, The Peace is Broken* contains on its title-page the most succinct expression of the enabling power of money in the face of the plague.[37] Money represented the ability to 'shift': to 'shift' out of the metropolis to the country; to 'shift' within the City proper (and not be turned out or 'shut up'); and to 'shift' for oneself in the provision of victuals (which became exorbitantly expensive in the worst outbreaks). In the first decade of the seventeenth century the plague and the plague Orders served to intensify, highlight and express an increasing polarization of social conditions based on wealth, or lack of it, in early modern London.[38]

According to the 'fiction' of this pamphlet (in fact a penetrating allegory of the current English – particularly the London – situation) the battlelines of social warfare in 1609 are clearly drawn up. The followers of 'the Queene of Gold and Silver' – Money – set up their defences inside city walls, using cruel measures to banish the subjects of Poverty to 'their own liberties':

> Hereupon strict proclamation went thundring, up and downe her dominions, charging her [Money's] wealthy subjects, not to negotiate any longer with those beggers, that flocke dayly to her kingdome, strong guards were planted at every gate, to barre their entrance into Cities, whipping-postes and other terrible engines, were advanced in every street to send them home bleeding new, if they were taken wandring (like sheep broken out of leane pastures into fat) out of their owne liberties, Constables were chosen of purpose that had Marble in their hearts. (sig. C1r)

The beggar here is *persona non grata*, to be kept out of the 'fat pastures' – the wealthier parts of towns – by cruel constables and inhumane measures. The whipping-post is a recurring motif in this tract – an inappropriate and cruel punishment for 'wandring . . . sheep', let alone for destitute human beings who should (by the commonplace associations of Christian charity contained in the sheep analogy) be tended, not punished. The enclosures – which served to create many wandering beggars – are hinted at here. This discourse works powerfully to deconstruct Jacobean 'ordering' poli-

cies and stratagems which, according to its main satiric thrust, served to protect wealth and to maintain social inequality rather than to deal effectively and compassionately with social hardships (as the moralistic and paternalistic rhetoric accompanying the legislation claimed).

Worke For Armorours was the culmination of a sequence of impassioned works by Dekker which, like Bullein's *Dialogue*, articulated the plight of the poor in the face of the alleged greed and exploitation of the rich. With their roots deep in the English morality tradition and steeped, too, in the conventions of Menippean satire, Dekker's pamphlets are accomplished literary productions which make politically specific points and mark him out as an able and committed spokesman against the worst excesses and inadequacies of London's emergent capitalist system. Julia Gasper's important study of Dekker's drama, *The Dragon and the Dove* (1990), constituted a refreshing reassessment of his work. Providing a corrective to the dominant critical view of his plays as conservative and inconsistent, Gasper repositioned Dekker as a highly principled 'militant Protestant' whose works 'are fundamentally consistent with each other, and with what is known about his life'.[39] The discussion of the plague pamphlets that follows supports this assessment.

Little is known about Dekker's life, but his name suggests he was of Dutch extraction, probably the offspring of Protestant refugees from Catholic persecution in the Netherlands. Plays like *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1600) and his contribution to *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604) point to his sympathies with the Dutch 'strangers' in London. He wrote over 60 plays in his lifetime, mostly in collaboration with others. In 1601 he was at odds with Ben Jonson in the war of the theatres – it appears their politico-religious views clashed.[40] In terms of literary affiliation he announces in various of his tracts his admiration for Chaucer, Spenser and Nashe; and in *A Knights Conjuring* he places Spenser beside Chaucer in his Elysian Grove of poets. Given John Bale's adoption of Chaucer as an honorary reformer, Dekker would seem to situating his own work firmly within a Protestant tradition of writing.[41]

The majority of the hard facts about Dekker's life relate to his arrests and prison experiences.[42] In 1598 Henslowe apparently lent him 40 shillings to discharge him from one of the sheriff's prisons; in 1599 he was again in debt, this time to the Lord Chamberlain's Men. On May 1608 he caused a 'breach of the peace' against one Agnes Preston, spinster of Whitechapel, the district in which he was then living. Finally, in 1612, Dekker was arrested for debt and soon after committed to the King's Bench Prison where he remained for seven years. Clearly, being a successful dramatist and pamphleteer in early modern London was no way to guarantee oneself a respectable living. Intriguingly, in 1625 Dekker was again in

trouble but this time he was summoned to the Star Chamber on a charge of conspiracy and libel. Whatever he had been up to, he was allowed to remain at large, writing well into the 1630s. Poverty, prison and a prolific writing career were the hallmarks, then, of Dekker's life.

His identification with the international Protestant cause was another. Successive plays and pamphlets testify to this – *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (pre-1607), *The Whore of Babylon* (1606), *The Virgin Martyr* (1620) and his pamphlet *The Double P.P.* (1606) (a vitriolic anti-Catholic tract) are the most pronounced expressions of this militant Protestant's creed. Dekker's commitment to the Reformed Church, his intense hatred of its adversary, Rome, and his advocacy of arms (which accrue 'heavenly' as opposed to 'earthly crowns') in the struggle against 'the Antichrist', mark him out as a Protestant of the militant cast.[43] Productions such as the above align him with earlier Protestant propagandist writers, including Foxe, Bale and Bullein. *The Virgin Martyr*, for example, is basically a dramatized allegory of the True Church (figured in the person of Dorothea), undergoing oppression and continuously threatened with 'rape' by the False Church/Antichrist. She is portrayed, importantly, as an unstinting and lavish almsgiver to the poor but the self-serving servants she entrusts with the duty of distributing them considerably undermine her Christian, charitable aims. The two servants (ostensibly of Dorothea's creed but in reality worshipping none but Mammon) participate unmercifully in her torture and her earthly demise. This is undoubtedly a comment (dramatized for popular consumption) on the perceived hypocrisy, covetousness and cruelty of some of Dekker's Protestant contemporaries – Bullein's Civis transposed to the 1620s. As this indicates, and as the plague pamphlets also suggest, Dekker was prepared to take political risks in his writing and it is perhaps pertinent to question at this juncture if his trouble with the authorities always related to the alleged debts.

It is certainly worth noting that the text that provoked Thomas Nashe's 'persecution' by the aldermen of the City of London had emerged from the context of the 1592–3 plague.[44] *In Christes Teares over Jerusalem, whereunto is annexed, a comparative admonition to London* (1594) the aldermen detected harmful insinuations about their management of plague funds. The inflammatory sparks were certainly there:

> No defrauder of the poore, or covetous perverter of foundations, but is put in the devils blacke booke. Cursed be they that give almes with the one hand, and take bribes with the other, that sell bequests for good turnes, and are not ashamed to prostitute charitie like a strumpet for readie money. I speake not this for I know any such, but if there be anie such, to forewarne and reforme them.[45]

Nashe immediately proceeded to retract the last sentence, claiming that although there were many honest 'godly and wise' magistrates in the City, there were certainly other 'wicked livers' and 'Very good it were, when they are revealed, they had plague bills set upon their doores, to make them more noted and detestable (f. 83r)'. The social bias and stigmatization associated with 'shutting up' were foregrounded here.

In Nashe's, as in William Bullein's plague tract, 'extortioners' of the poor were construed as the prime category of sinners responsible both for inciting God's wrath and spreading the contagion, but a new (late sixteenth-century) breed of extortioner – the 'engrosser of corne' – was particularly blameworthy:

> You Usurers and Engrossers of Corne, by your hoording up of golde and graine, tyll it is mould, rusty, moath eaten, and almost infects the ayre with the stinche, you have taught God to hoord up your iniquities and transgressions . . . and being opened they so poyson the ayre with theyr ill savour, that from them proceedeth thys perrilsome contagion. The land is full of adulterers. . . . Extortioners . . . proude men . . . hypocrites . . . this is the cause why the Sword devoureth abroade, and the Pestilence at home. (f. 82v)

Despite his rhetorical attempts to placate the authorities, Nashe's tract caused offence and he was summoned to appear before the magistrates.[46]

This was not, however, Nashe's first confrontation with the City authorities. *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) addressed – among other issues – the problem of London's vagabonds, hinting that the scandals of vagrancy and slums arose from the wealthy City dwellers' greediness and desire for exclusivity which had pushed the poor out of their proximity into the crowded suburbs. The text cleverly challenged another type of exclusivity: the suburbs being the sole province of sin, according to elite rhetoric. Pierce declares to Signior Beelzebub: 'These are but the suburbs of the sin we have in hand: I must describe to you a large city, wholly inhabited with this damnable enormity.'[47] Offering witty alternatives to the usual assumptions in moralistic discourse, and thereby exposing the smug hypocrisy it masked, Nashe's pamphlets were designed not to let the City's wealthy inhabitants and its governors rest easily. Furthermore, exposing his radical Protestant sympathies, Nashe implied that lack of charity and poor management of London by its wealthy rulers were productive of a Catholic renewal at home, and of the threat of a Popish invasion.

Dekker's satirical pamphlets were clearly informed by these earlier models which had, as Nashe's summons reveals, served to establish the plague and its management as a particularly sensitive discursive area. Six tracts

are traditionally cited as Dekker's 'plague pamphlets'. *The Wonderfull yeare* (1603), *Newes from Graves-end* (1604) and *The Meeting of Gallants* (1604) share as their immediate context the 1603 bubonic plague epidemic. *A Rod for Run-awayes* emerged from the 1625 outbreak, whilst *London Looke Backe* (1630) and *The Blacke Rod and the White Rod* (1630) function as lengthy and sophisticated 'Warnings to be ware', drawing on the experiences and horrors of previous plagues to encourage London's sinners into a timely repentance. I shall focus on the first two of these tracts, and on the much neglected but fascinating *Worke For Armorours* (1609), set in the context of the 1609 'plagues'.

The title-page of the first edition of *The Wonderfull yeare* enticingly, sardonically and slightly menacingly conveys the mingled tone and substance of:

THE WON-derfull yeare.

The year certainly transpires to be more 'derfull' (recalling direful, doleful and dirge) than 'wonderfull'. The page proceeds to announce that the pamphlet will show 'the picture of London, lying sicke of the Plague', suggesting, in its personification of London, a not entirely straightforward news report of the town in the grip of sickness. It promises variety and merriment tinged by fear:

> At the ende of all (like a mery Epilogue to a dull Play) cer-
> taine Tales are cut out in sundry fashions, of purpose
> to shorten the lives of long winters nights,
> that lye watching in the darke for us.

Personified Plague with his arrows of death also, as in Psalm 91, traditionally stalked his victims in the darkness. Death then, like long winter nights, threatens 'us' (not least because he peers menacingly from the pages of this text) but the pamphlet purports to offer 'mery' tales as medicinal laughter in the face of the plague. The tales form the tail-end of the book, mirrored in the tail-shaped form of the announcement. The title-page thus advertises the shape of things to come: it promises wit and bravado, and the type of Menippean cleverness and protean approach to form, structure and tone, combined with a cherished disrespect for convention and authority that Thomas Nashe had mastered a decade earlier, and which had, as we have seen, got him into considerable trouble. Significantly, this pamphlet, like *Newes from Graves-end*, was published anonymously, 'without Aucthoritie or entrance', and in December 1603 all copies were called in, presumably for burning.[48]

Having signalled its colours on the title-page, *The Wonderfull yeare* proceeds as it promises, to muddy and unsettle conventional waters. Parodying the usual fashion in medical plague pamphlets of dedicating one's book to a worthy City governor who stayed behind to carry out his duties instead of fleeing the epidemic, Dekker addresses his 'scribled papers' to a probably non-existent 'Water Bailiffe of London' (sig. A2r). To his (note the pun on 'wel') 'WEL-respected good friend, M. Cuthbert Thuresby', Dekker declares:

> If you read, you may happilie laugh; tis my desire you should, because mirth is both Phisicall, and wholesome against the Plague, with which sicknes, (to tell truth) this booke is, (though not sorely) yet somewhat infected. I pray, drive it not out of your companie for all that; for (assure your soule) I am so jealous of your health, that if you did but once imagine, there were gall in mine Incke, I would cast away the Standish, and forsweare medling with anie more Muses. (sig. A2v)

Dekker's pamphlet is personified and dramatized as a plague victim threatening to thrust himself into the water bailiff's company. The phrasing 'drive it not out of your companie' conveys the presumed unwelcome nature of this confrontation and hints at the harsh treatment meted out to plague sufferers by the authorities. *The Wonderfull yeare* thus threatens to be controversial (to contain 'gall') though, perhaps, 'not sorely'. It is as if the writer is revelling in the power of his pen to make mischief (to embarrass the City authorities), if he cares to do so.

Following a cheerful picture of London in springtime with its notably 'sweete Odours' and 'excellent aires . . . Streetes . . . full of people . . . people full of joy' (sigs. B1r, B1v), Dekker presents an account of the Queen's sudden sickness and death, with Death attired like a courtier, entering her 'Privie Chamber' and summoning her to the 'Star-chamber of heaven' (sig. B1v). 'Oh what an Earth-quake is the alteration of a State' (sig. B2v), he declares, and proceeds to paint a vivid picture of the kingdom in the grip of fear of civil unrest and foreign invasion. These are the first plagues to threaten 1603, then – civil turmoil and war – and even the mere imagined threat of them is productive of chaos.

Launching from prose into verse, the author elaborates his theme – 'The Map of a Countrey so pittifullie distracted by the horror of a change' (sig. B2v) – recounting versified and moralized examples of peoples' behaviour under the stress of this 'earthquake'. It is noteworthy, here, that the popular medieval poem *A Warning to be ware* had linked civil unrest with an earthquake, pestilence, and greed for riches. Although the intermixing of verse with prose was characteristic of Menippean satire, it was also, and very

significantly for understanding Dekker's work, a feature of late medieval sermons in which a lyric would often reiterate in rhyme the substance of the preacher's message (a method also employed in later seventeenth-century emblem books). As described earlier, moralized anecdotes in the form of comic tales (the extended exempla) sometimes followed, to illustrate even further the moral point. W. Ross describes how although much of the medieval sermon material which remains extant is highly conventional, there often 'appears flashes of criticism which goes beyond this conventionalized complaint and deals in a realistic fashion with the contemporary world'.[49] It is this politicized strand of the English homiletic tradition, married to elements of the legacy of classical satire (particularly the Menippea and the Lucianic dialogue)[50] which remains alive and so successfully developed in Dekker's pamphlet outpourings, especially *The Wonderfull yeare*.

It comes as no surprise then, that the verse images which colour the prose outline of Dekker's 'earthquake' are highly predictable yet particularized, too, for the 1603 context. Above all, they illustrate the sins of covetousness and pride embodied in early seventeenth-century types and exhibit their folly which is heightened and exposed by fear. Fear of civil unrest, like fear of plague, is represented as eliciting amoral yet ludicrous and therefore potentially comical responses from human beings. 'At such a time', the poet declares:

> . . . villaines their hopes do honey,
> And rich men looke as pale as their white money.
> Now they remove, and make their silver sweate,
> Casting themselves into a covetous heate,
> And then (unseene) in the confederate darke,
> Bury their gold without or Priest or Clarke.
>
> (sig. B3r)

This is a familiar depiction of a covetous rich man in a moral 'fever pestilence' burying his money to protect it from 'villaines', but it simultaneously comments on a much more invidious and reprehensible alleged contemporary practice which Dekker alludes to several times in his pamphlets: that of wealthy masters who, through fear, bury their plague-dead servants in secret 'without or Priest or Clarke' in order to avoid the detection, and thus the 'shutting up', of their plague-infested houses.[51]

There follow images of quaking, frightened and unpleasant-sounding 'wise-acred Landlords', 'tongue-travelling lawyers' and 'Usurers' who usurp the 'nasty' and usually shunned abodes of the poor in order to hide themselves and their earthly goods from 'ruffians' who threaten to turn the

material world upside down in the absence of authority in such transitional times (sigs. B3r–B4r). These depictions hint at the way in which the reviled 'usurer' perpetually subverts Christian values to satisfy his greed. As this extract reveals, Dekker's sympathy is with the underdog 'ruffians', whom he ingeniously manages to represent being exploited by rich, hypocritical 'Cubs' even as they engage in attempted burglary:

> In unsought Allies and unholesome places,
> Back-wayes and by-lanes, where appear fewe faces,
> In shamble-smelling roomes, loathsome prospects,
> And penny-lattice windowes, which rejects
> All popularitie: there the rich Cubs lurke,
> When in great houses ruffians are at worke,
> Not dreaming that such glorious booties lye
> Under those nasty roofes: such they passe by
> Without a search, crying there's nought for us,
> And wealthy men deceive poore villaines thus.
>
> (sig. B3v–B4r)

This inverted cony-catching story in which the rich 'lurke' and hide in the 'shambles' and the 'ruffians' invade 'great houses' only to find them emptied of their treasures, develops the twin motifs of social levelling and inversion (of place and values) which dominate Dekker's plague pamphlets. Time and again Dekker depicts wealthy misers unable to find willing social underlings, at any price, to bury their plague-dead loved ones; and graves in which the corpses of rich folk rot ignominiously beneath stinking poor ones.[52] The chaos linked to plagues and 'earthquakes' (both associated rhetorically with hell on earth) provides an opportunity for the writer with a moral agenda to confuse social categories and warn of an existence after death ('Then Bacchus drinkes not in gilt-bowles, but sculls', sig. B3v) in which rewards are predicated on spiritual and moral, rather than material assets: in fact, plague/death is serving the same homiletic purpose here as it did in *Dives and Pauper*, in the medieval morality plays and, indeed, in the Lucianic dialogue. In Lucian's *The Descent into Hades*, Menippus' journey to Hades and back provides the opportunity for his detailed relation to a 'friend' of afterlife social levelling, and of just punishments meted out to 'those rich men with great fortunes who keep their gold locked up as closely as Danae', and who 'in life . . . plunder and oppress and in every way humiliate the poor'.[53] This emphasis on social levelling is very reminiscent, too, of the Protestant 'Dance of Death' tradition of popular illustration – see, for example, Plate 1.

Dekker's tract develops the links between the three dire scourges construed as threatening England with disaster in 1603: whilst England is shooting 'arrowes at her owne breast' (sig. C1r) – an allusion to plague arrows and the threat of civil war – Catholic countries wait their chance to aim theirs. But, Dekker declares triumphantly:

> Pro Troia stabat Apollo, God stuck valiantlie to us, For behold, up rises a comfortable Sun out of the North, whose glorious beames (like a fan) dispersed all thick and contagious clowdes. The losse of a Queene, was paid with the double interest of a King and Queene. The Cedar of her government which stoode alone and bare no fruit, is changed now to an Olive, upon whose spreading branches grow both Kings and Queenes. (sig. C1r–v)

Suddenly the tract has metamorphosed into a panegyric with Protestant propaganda connotations. James VI of Scotland, a Protestant who is furthermore a male with a spouse and heirs ('fruit'), is proclaimed King. Appropriately, as a poet, he is invoked as England's Apollo – the new physician of the kingdom hailing from the healthy North (plagues, in humoral medicine, were associated with airs from the South), a 'Sun' dispersing the pestilent airs of civil and international war. The former Queen's reign is obliquely criticized in this passage – the implication is that Elizabeth's failure to marry and produce an heir was conducive to the formation of pestilent airs threatening civil unrest and Catholic invasion. After the Earl of Essex's execution, James VI had become the best hope for the militant Protestant cause which Dekker supported.[54] James's accession had finally, after months of anxiety, confirmed a Protestant future for England and symbolized, once again, the triumph of the True Church – 'God stuck valiantlie to us' – over the False (James I did not, however, go on to fulfil militant Protestant expectations, and, by 1609 when *Worke For Armorours* was published, Dekker was clearly disillusioned with the monarch and openly critical of his style of government).

Dekker repeated his construction of James I as Apollo and healing physician in the City pageant he was commissioned to write to celebrate the accession – *The Magnificent Entertainment*. In this tract James's northern 'rays' dispell the miasmic clouds of bubonic plague and the concomitant economic stagnation; a new Golden Age of industry is prophesied:

> Hee that should have compared the emptie and untroden walkes of LONDON, which were to be seen in that late mortally destroying Deluge, with the thronged streetes now, might have believed, that upon this day, began a new CREATION, and that the citie was the onely Workhouse wherin sundry Nations were made.[55]

Ovid's race of industrious ant-like Myrmidons ('The Plague at Aegina', *Metamorphoses*, Bk VII) is evoked here. In fact, the pageant had been forestalled by the epidemic and it was a matter of some embarrassment to the Protestant establishment that the new King's arrival in England had coincided with the outbreak of plague.[56]

Tinged with a heavy note of irony, *The Wonderfull yeare* describes the actual plague following hot on the heels of the short-lived celebrations welcoming the new king to London, and ravaging London in many guises. From a scene of joy and triumph emerges one of a 'vast silent Charnell-house' (sig. C3v): a horrific underworld of 'desolate hand-wringing widdowes . . . out-cast and downe-troden Orphanes', empty homes and misery (sig. C3r–v). Like his predecessors writing eyewitness accounts, the author cannot 'endure the transportation of soules in this dolefull manner' – because there is 'no remedie' (sig. D1r). An alternative 'lustier winde' is desired, and found: the tract rapidly shifts the point 'of our Compass' to engage with humour again (sig. D1r). In Dekker's pamphlets the plague is inevitably conflated with death and personified. 'He' is above all a militaristic tyrant besieging the City and deflowering its maidens; a rapist; a thief; a hunter; a dragon or a 'Tamburlaine' who has set up his camp – pitched his tents of 'winding sheets' – in (Dekker's heavily ironic words here) 'the sinfully-polluted Suburbes' (sig. D1r). The allusion is, of course, to Christopher Marlowe's play *Tamburlaine*, about a tyrant scourge, which was performed in those other 'plagues' of the town, the playhouses, situated in the places of the plague (according to the city fathers' rhetoric), the liberties and suburbs. Dekker appropriates the old plague personifications and metaphors and, through his exaggeration and witty exploitation of their full figurative potential, he makes his readers laugh, helping to tame the fear inherent in the ghastly images, undermining their deployments in the City governors' rhetoric, and perhaps even reducing the horror of the plague itself through this process. Sander Gilman's important work on the function of disease representations in art is very relevant to this analysis: stressing that the covers of a book serve to put a comforting boundary between the reader and the disease, he suggests that in some cases the fearful is made harmless through being made comic; whilst in other cases it looms as a threat, controlled only by being made visible. These two modes of representation certainly coexist in Dekker's plague pamphlets.[57]

But their tone is by no means always playful – there are very dark passages, particularly when he is describing man's callous behaviour. The miseries of 'poore wretches' elicit his profoundest sympathy, whilst he is extremely critical of the uncharitable practices of cruel 'maisters', 'runaways' and the hard-hearted 'lobs' or 'hobbinalls' of the countryside who exercise no pity for fleeing and stricken Londoners (sig. D3v). Here, again, is *Dives and Pauper* in 1603 guise. Dekker himself highlights this homiletic debt:

> Lazarus laie groning at every mans doore, mary no Dives was within to send him a crum, (for all your Gold-finches were fled to the woods) nor a dogge left to licke up his sores. (sig. D2r)

The implication is that because the rich have fled to the country, nobody is providing alms for the sick poor who are simply abandoned. In a much later pamphlet, *A Rod for Run-awayes* (1625), the writer cynically suggests a remedy for this continuing problem, which turns out to be an ironic counter to the London plague policy barring vagrants from the City: the runaways should be forcibly kept in their homes, in the City, by 'our Constables and Officers' until they have contributed a sum of money for the upkeep of the poor (sig. B3r). Dekker's persistent message is that charity will be rewarded by the cessation of plague: sin and not contagion causes the disease and uncharitable behaviour linked with greed and selfishness is the root of God's displeasure. These were, in fact, brave points to argue in print: viewed as a dangerous religious extremist, the pamphleteer Henoch Clapham was imprisoned for saying much the same thing in a far less humorous way in 1603.

Having nothing to do with the Kentish town, Gravesend, *Newes from Graves-end* (1604) ostensibly deals in news from grave-filled London sent to 'Syr Nicholas Nemo, alias Nobody' (sig. A3r). The Epistle Dedicatory is addressed to this Nobody, the clear implication being that because all the city worthies have deserted the 'pestiferous' sinking ship of plague-ridden London, there is 'no-body' left to dedicate the pamphlet to:

> In this pestiferous ship-wrack of Londoners, when the Pilot, Boteswaines, Maister and Maisters-mates, with all the chiefe Mariners that had charge in this goodly Argozy of government, leapt from the sterne . . . never lookt to the Compasse, never sownded in places of danger . . . but suffred all to sinke or swim, crying out onely, Put your trust in God my Bullies, & not in us, whilst they either hid themselves under hatches, or else scrambled to shoare in Cock-boats: yet thou (undaunted Nobody) then, even then, didst stand stoutly to the tackling. (sigs. B1v–B2r)

Dereliction of duty and cowardice are the accusations contained here, with the phrase 'this goodly Argozy [large merchant ship] of government' hinting at the mercantile and profit-accruing preoccupations of London's worthy governors.

The Epistle proceeds, in this ingenious manner, to list specific areas in which the authorities have failed to fulfil their responsibilities as 'chiefe Mariners' of England's plague-prone mercantile flag-ship. Eulogies to Nobody and positive expressions cloak the negative charges:

> Another lifted thee up above the third Heaven, for playing the Constables part so rarely: And (not as your common Constables, charging poore sick wretches, that had neither meate nor mony, in the kings name to keepe their houses, thats to say, to famish & die: But discharging whole baskets full of victualls (like vollies of shot) in at their windowes: thou, onely thou (most charitable Nobody) madest them as fat as butter, & preservedst their lives. (sig. B2r)

The key reprimand centres on the failure of the governors to organize satisfactory care for the sick poor who have been charged to 'keepe their houses': whilst Constables diligently ensure the confinement of the sick poor, Nobody 'preservedst their lives' by supplying them with 'victualls'. Insufficient surgeons, apothecaries and suitable burial plots to meet the needs of London's citizens are other criticisms. Indeed, throughout this pamphlet the 'Rulers of this walled State' are repeatedly and pointedly upbraided for their negligence, selfishness and cowardice in the face of the plague: 'So you kill those, y'are bound to cherish' (sig. E4v).

That the plague was afflicting the poor and the young inordinately in these years is emphasized in this tract:

> 'Tis now the Beggars plague, for none
> Are in this Battaile overthrowne
> But Babes and poore: The lesser fly
> Now in this Spiders web doth lie.
> But if that great, and goodly swarme [the runaways]
> (That has broke through, and felt no harme,)
> In his invenom'd snares should fall,
> O pittie! twere most tragicall.
>
> (sig. F1r)

The wealthy have 'broke through', according to this pamphlet, simply by fleeing, but, it menacingly warns, when the runaways return they will get their share of the poison. The sarcastic exclamation, 'O pittie! twere most tragical' underlines a real bitterness and sense of social tension that runs through this work.

Furthermore, appropriating familiar organizing categories from medical plague treatises – for example, *The cause of the Plague* (sig. C3v) – the pamphlet strives to subvert medical authority and particularly to undermine and ridicule the theories of miasma and contagion on which the plague Orders were based:

Nor drops this venome, from that faire And christall bosome of the Aire.

(sig. C3v)

Can we believe that one mans breath Infected, and being blowne from him,
His poyson should to others swim:
For then who breath'd upon the first?

(sig. C4v)

But, most daringly, in a section headed *The Cure of the Plague*, the author declines to speak of any medical cures for the plague in spite of King James's command for writers to do so:

These speckled Plagues (which our sinnes levy)
Are as needfull as th'are heavy;
Whose cures to cite our Muse forbeares,
Tho he the Daphnean wreath that weares
(Being both Poesies Soveraigne King,
And God of medicine) bids us sing
As boldly of those pollicies . . .

(sig. F3r)

As a poet in 'this civill warre of Pestilence' (sig. F3v), he declares, he cannot be so confined ('For Poets soules should be confinde / Within no bownds', sig. F3v) and anyway he does not believe that the medical cures of either the Galenists or the Paracelsans are efficacious. The plague is not contagious in his construction, and in later tracts he warns the runaways that God's smiting angel will get them wherever they are, so fleeing is useless. Avoidance and cure lie rather in repentance and spiritual reform, since all the disease emanates from 'plaguy sick' souls in a sick society in which the greedy accruing of wealth, as opposed to Christian, charitable alms-giving, is the pivotal force (sig. D1v). Employing mercantile and marketplace language and allusions throughout his satire, and redeploying the homiletic commonplace associating greed and usury with God's wrath and plague, Dekker sets up this moral dichotomy.

In the absence of any real knowledge about the cause of plague, the best way to survive an epidemic was definitely to get as far away from the infected place as possible or to set up barriers to exclude anything associated with it from your vicinity. It is clear from the surviving discourses

that the City elite understood this: magistrates, physicians, merchants and lawyers appear to have fled in droves to the countryside; their money and their means enabled them to do so. The wealthy who had to stay seem to have been in favour of the plague Orders which attempted to keep the baser sort out of the richer quarters of the City proper. In spite of being a successful dramatist around 1603, Dekker probably lacked sufficient capital either to flee or to reside within the City walls: he, along with the bulk of the metropolis, was forced to observe both the full horrors of the sickness and the dysfunctioning of the capital city when trade had ceased. Food prices were high and people who survived the illness but were unfit for employment could starve; work was, of course, scarcer anyway in plague time. In a sermon 'preached in Paules Churche' in 1603, Christoper Hooke highlighted a special category of deserving poor created by the plague:

> The poore man of occupation, who in this time wanteth woorke, and therefore wanteth foode for him and his familie . . . for the sicknesse thus still continuing, and the winter is hard approaching, and none or little worke, as they say stirring, the number of the poore and their necessity, do encrease daily.[58]

In the absence of effective alleviating measures, the middling sort, like Dekker, were clearly desperate, along with the poor, for the runaways to return so that the trade and business on which their livelihoods depended could resume.

Dekker might have believed that fleeing was not efficacious because God's smiting angel would get you anyway; but contradictions in his rhetoric (the runaways in *Newes from Graves-end* do seem to have benefited from their removal, which appears to irk the writer) lead me to suspect that in formulating his construction of the plague he was motivated as much by pragmatic concerns as religious ones. His pamphlets were meant to be read by the runaways, no doubt the same people who bought the medical tracts like Lodge's and Manning's which justified in medical, religious and ethical terms (a powerful trinity) the efficacy of fleeing. Dekker's opposing construction of the causes of the plague – sin and smiting angels – suited his underlying political argument: that the management of the plague in 1603 was socially divisive, blatantly unfair to the poor, and devastating to trade as well as to the people left to fend for themselves in the capital. Equally, the underlying political strategies of the metropolitan elite were bolstered by constructions of the plague which emphasized contagion and natural causes and associated sin and moral misdemeanours with the dirty poor living in the liberties. Policies like shutting people

up in infected houses and whipping those with plague sores found wandering in the streets required a powerful justifying rhetoric. The fear generated by the plague inevitably stimulated the instinct for survival on both sides of a social-commodity divide characterized by the ability, or not, 'to shift' for oneself and one's family outside or inside the metropolis during the trade-dead plague summers. It is precisely the socially divisive economic issues associated with, and accentuated by, the sporadic plague outbreaks of the first decade of the seventeenth century, that *Worke For Armorours* takes up.

> WORKE FOR
> Armorours:
> OR,
> The Peace is Broken
> Open warres likely to happin
> this yeare 1609:
> God helpe The Poore, The rich
> can shift
> (title-page, 1609)

One of the most powerful images in *The Wonderfull yeare* is undoubtedly that of Death (Plague) pitching his tents of 'winding sheetes tackt together' in the 'sinfully-polluted Suburbes', effectively laying siege to the City (sig. D1v). In *Worke For Armorours* the central controlling image of the inner dream narrative is ironically and deliberately that of Poverty and her followers pitching *their* tents in the suburbs and, similarly, enforcing siege conditions on London 'within the walls' where 'the golden IDOLL' has been deposited (sig. E3r). Before long Poverty is joined in this 'terrible Siege against the City' by Dearth, Famine and the Plague, whilst Money's camp succumbs to 'strange and incurable diseases' (sig. G2v) consequent upon 'Ryot' that 'gnaw . . . consciences' like the French disease (syphilis) – clearly alluded to here – which 'gnaws' bones (sig. G2v). The poor are the plague of the suburbs in 1609, then, but (this tract retaliates), the rich are not without their own diseases; among them, Bullein's and Phayre's 'fever pestilence' of the soul – troubled conscience.

Dekker's pamphlet acknowledges, indeed stresses through its rhetoric, that poverty, physical diseases and hunger are, indeed, all prevalent in the suburbs in 1609; but (subverting the arguments of self-righteous moralistic discourse of the period) the greed of the wealthy, not the lack of industry and moral depravity of the poor, has created them. The tract provides a detailed account of the 'shifts' (fraudulent stratagems) of the rich which, it argues rather shockingly, created and maintained through

'pollicy' a debilitated 'army' of indigence in early seventeenth-century England. An unsatisfactory confrontation between Poverty and Money merely produces diseases and stagnation of trade which affect both camps adversely. The pamphlet ends with a rather depressing 'peace' between the two social factions; nothing has been resolved, the cycle of peace and war recommences (sig. G3v).

In fact this truce represents a smouldering peace, like London's smouldering plague in the first decade of the seventeenth century, which threatened to create havoc if ignited. The 'savage and desperate' poor:

> rush headlong together, like torrents running into the sea, full of fury in shew, but loosing the effect of doing violence, because they know not how to do it, their rage and madnesse burning in them like fire in wet straw, it made a great stinking smoake, but had no flame. (sig. B3r)

The biblical echo 'they know not what they do' ('they know not how to do it') suggests a desperate directionless flock urgently warranting paternalistic care but not finding it in early Stuart England.[59] A secondary implication is that if they do not get it, a less desirable leadership ('Jack-strawes . . . Cades', sig. C1v) might, indeed, show them 'how to do it'. The potential for ignition of this smothered 'rage' exists, the tract argues; and the catalyst, it warns, might just be the harsh economic circumstances of 1609 kindled by a trade-dead plague summer.

The narrator prophesies a bloody confrontation worse than the 'late' Low Countries' wars unless Money and Poverty negotiate; timely intervention is essential:

> No, nor all those late acts of warre and death, commenced by Hispaniolized Netherlands, able to make up a Chronicle to hold all the world reading: did ever give rumour cause to speake so much as the battailes of these two mighty enemies (so mortally falling out) will force her to proclaime abroade, unlesse they grow to a reconcilement . . . (sig. B4r)

The widespread food shortages in this year were serious enough to cause the postponement of Parliament in spite of a financial crisis with the government deeply in debt.[60] The King and the Privy Council were ruling – 'ineffectively, some, including Dekker, hinted – in Parliament's stead by a series of Royal Proclamations. Dekker seems to be predicting in *Worke For Armorours* that the recently concluded Dutch–Spanish peace would further depress the British economy, increasing hardships and fuelling unrest. He was not alone in this opinion: Sir John Popham, for example, complained

unsympathetically about the idle poor and cashiered soldiers ‘whose Encrease threateneth the state’.[61] The ‘customer’/economist, Thomas Milles, argued a similar line in the Protestant propaganda tract *The Mistery of Iniquity* (1609), declaring that money is analogous to blood in the body: ‘so the people . . . grow troubled and unquiet within themselves, according to the state of the Coyne’.[62] This latter work opens with a list of ANTITHETA contrasting ‘Heaven, or spirituall Jerusalem’ and its ‘Money for Equality’; ‘Altars for Unity and truth’ and ‘staple Citties fit for open Commerce’ with ‘Hell the spirituall Babilon: Rome’; ‘Fraud upon Advantage’ and ‘Temples and Chappels for private dirges and Jugling Masses’ and ‘Obscure Places for privy shifts’. If we are to believe *Work For Armorours*’ rhetoric, Britain was tending to the Romish camp in 1609, its trade characterized by fraud and ‘privy shifts’.

Worke For Armorours represents a rather more menacing ‘warning to be ware’ to the authorities than its predecessors. The rather half-hearted and oblique attempt to appeal to the paternal consciences of England’s governors described earlier (‘they know not how to do it’) is not accompanied by the usual deference. Furthermore, the author of the pamphlet represents himself as one of the army of Poverty – unlike Bullein he is one of ‘them’ not one of ‘us’ (the better sort) desiring to exhibit ‘our poor needie brother his povertie’ from a convenient distance (*A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence*, sig. A2v). His allegations are charged with a sufferer’s bitterness: the phrase ‘The rich can shift’ of the title-page definitely has a confrontational edge, virtually bullying the rich to ‘shift’. Dekker signs the prefacing addresses, indicating that this is the authorial perspective; but the ‘I’ of the ensuing satirical narrative is captivatingly elusive, and the ‘warre’ takes place in the persona’s dream, providing some refuge for the author from any charges of sedition that could very conceivably have arisen from the publication of this pamphlet. This is, after all, a work which dangerously parodies Royal Proclamations, and bravely exposes the lesser governors’ ‘shifts’.

Worke For Armorours contains a short outer narrative as well as the inner dream vision outlined above – a structure highly reminiscent of that other more famous politico-literary work, William Langland’s *Piers Plowman*, in which pestilence served as a warning to men to amend their proud, sinful lives. The bleak and ominous setting of the outer narrative of *Worke For Armorours* is unmistakably London caught in the grip of the economic, social and psychological depression concomitant on an outbreak of bubonic plague:

> The purple whip of vengeance, (the Plague) having beaten many thousands of men, women, & children to death, and still marking the people of this Cittie, (every weeke) by hundreds for the grave, is the onely

> cause that al her Inhabitance walke up and downe like mourners at some great solome funeral. . . . (sig. B1r)

The title-page of the pamphlet has already indicated that plague is not the 'onely cause' of London's melancholy and mourning: it advertised imminent armed conflict ('Open warres likely to happin this yeare 1609' and employment for 'Armorours'). This implies that another plague-cloud (civil unrest) hangs threateningly over the city in 1609, as it had done following Elizabeth's death in 1603.

The narrator proceeds to describe the depressing effects of the anti-plague measures:

> All merry meetings are cut off. All frolick assemblyes dissolved, and in their circles are raised up, the Blacke, Sullen and Dogged spirits of Sadnesse, of Melancholy, and so (consequently) of Mischiefe. . . . Pleasure it selfe finds now no pleasure, but in Seghing, and Bewailing the Miseries of the Time. . . . Play-houses stand . . . the dores locked up. (sig. B1r)

Meetings are forbidden and the theatres are closed. Which plague, this tract encourages the reader to ask, were the authorities seeking to prevent – bubonic or rebellion or both? The narrator wittily predicts 'mischiefe' as the outcome of this denial of bread and circuses to the populace. It was, of course, in Dekker's interest to seek to persuade the authorities that shutting up the playhouses was not a good preventive strategy against either plague. This line of thought is encouraged, ironically, by the narrator himself falling prey to mischief (if only in his imagination) when his boredom eventually gives way to sleep and dreams of civil war.

Like the apothecary, Crispinus, in Bullein's *Dialogue*, the persona of *Worke* has a very vivid imagination and a mind hungry for 'profit' which readily perceives emblematic tableaux illustrative of social iniquities in the world about him. Not of the cast to be attracted to drinking or whoring, and deploring to be idle and 'wearisome' (sig. B1v), he crosses 'the Hellespont' (the Thames) and – ironically – seeks entertainment in the hellish domain of a beargarden. This visit to the underworld (recalling Menippus' descent) furnishes his eager yet cynical mind with unsettling, depressing images: the bear fighting with dogs reminds him of the poor (dogs) contending with rich men (bears). The substance of homilies (*Dives and Pauper*) is further evoked through a verbal echo:

> The Beares . . . fighting with the dogs, was a lively representation (me thought) of poore men going to lawe with the rich and mightie. The dogs (in whom I figured the poore creatures) and fitly may I doe so,

> because they stand at the dore of Dives, they have nothing (if they have then but bare bones throwne unto them, might now & then pinch the great ones, & perhaps vex them a little by drawing a few drops of blood from them: but in the end, they commonly were crushed. (sig. B2r)

Apart from being vaguely reminiscent of Crispinus' tyrannical tiger destroying the child in its clutches, this emblem also condenses the matter and moral of the ensuing allegory (as Crispinus' emblem did) and indicates its literary precursors. Dekker's tract is, indeed, a story of Dives and Pauper and its kinship with previous plague pamphlets, through its setting, concerns and devices, is apparent.

The emblem of the bear proves unstable in the eye of the beholder; before long a blind bear tied to a stake and being whipped represents 'poore starved wretches' (sig. B2r) who ought to be pitied but instead are laughed at as they are scourged at London's whipping-posts. This whipping-post image recurs in the dream vision, enabling its meaning and import to be developed: in the allegory it is Money who by 'strict proclamation' ensures her exclusivity and privileges by Draconian punishments meted out to 'beggars' who infringe her cities' bounds. The cruelty and injustice of a system which treats 'poore Christians' like pagan Romans did Christ (at the Flagellation), needs no further explication – the animal emblems are highly effective in urging the pamphlet's point home. Dekker's writing confirms that some early modern Londoners (in common with many modern commentators on the period, including Ian Archer) had strong misgivings about the sincerity of moralistic élite discourses justifying unpleasant controlling and ordering punishments of the poor, which, in reality, served to protect and maintain the élite's own privileges.

Worke for Armorours functions as a re-educating programme, appropriating the cherished ideas, prominent motifs and dubious claims of élite rhetoric, distorting, exaggerating and ridiculing them, in order to undermine and throw new, enlightening, perspectives on them. The tired ideals of English humanism are challenged (in Nashian fashion), for example through the narrator's encounter with history books. Bored, and rendered even more melancholy than previously by his trip to the beargarden, he returns home to seek profit ('larger interest') from his 'Histories'. The moral profit he imbibes, however, is highly dubious, even dangerous: 'Hast thou an ambition to be equall to Princes! Read such bookes' (sig. B3r); and culminates in his falling asleep and dreaming subversive thoughts. The vision of civil war ensues.

The reader immediately encounters, with the narrator, the ragged troops of Poverty – 'a people savage and desperate, a nation patchd up (like a

begger's cloake . . .' (sig. B3v). Now, as the dreamer describes the rout, the important issue can be addressed of just who these unruly beggars are in 1609. The much-abused category of vagrants/vagabonds is dissected and reconstituted. These are not the wily rogues so humorously described in *The Belman of London* (1608) and *Lanthorne and Candle-Light* (1609); these are primarily Dekker's deserving poor who reappear constantly and persistently throughout his writings. The main strength of Poverty's army comprises soldiers 'casheard and cast, upon the late league in the low Countries' (sig. C3v). As a militant Protestant, Dekker would not have looked favourably upon the Dutch truce with Spain: 'peace' overseas would mean trouble at home, his tract implies, seeking to tarnish peace's attractions. But aside from this, Dekker felt strongly that English soldiers had been abused by their paymasters:

> They bitterly cryed out upon the proud and tyranous governement of Money . . . because for her sake, and upon her golden promises they had ventured their lives, spent their blood, lost legs and armes. . . . Money . . . not rewarding them to their merit. (sig. C4r)

Interestingly, Nashe's *Christes Teares over Jerusalem* had argued an almost identical line, proceeding to link parsimony with the threat of foreign invasion and Catholic renewal at home:

> No thanks-worthy exhibitions, or reasonable pensions, will you contribute to maymd Souldiours, or poore Schollers, as other Nations doe, but suffer other Nations with your discontented poore, to Arme themselves against you. Not halfe the Priestes that have been sent from them into ENGLAND, had hither beene sent, or ever fledde hence, if the Crampe had not helde close your purse strings. (f. 84v)

Worke For Armorours argues that, along with the cashiered soldiers, younger brothers of gentlemen, old servingmen and poor scholars, have been particularly abused and neglected by Money, whose prime followers are shady entrepreneurs, covetousness, parsimony and monopoly. Poverty is represented as desiring to dwell at amity with Money, whose pride (swollen up by her successes in the 'west and east Indies') and ambition lead her to divorce herself entirely (in spatial and responsibility terms) from Poverty:

> to drive the subjects of Poverty from having commerce in any of her rich & so populous Cities . . . even to banish all her people to wander into desarts, & to perish, she cared not how or where. (sig. C1r)

King James's 1603 Proclamations calling for the eviction of 'idle, indigent persons' from City dwellings and then from England altogether (to 'some place beyond the seas') are evoked here. In *Worke* the poor are forced out of cities by Money and kept out by an exaggerated system of 'Porcullises' gates and 'double lockes' (sig. E3v). In the City areas previously occupied by 'Poverty's company', 'Money entertaines rich strangers of al nations' (sig. E3r). Meanwhile England's poor are compelled to 'cling onely to the Suburbs', in case 'they should revolt in time of most neede' (sig. E3r). Whips enforce the spatial separation, monopolies prevent the poorer tradesman operating in the City, whilst enclosures force poor labourers out of the countryside into a wandering penury. Enclosed, shut out, shut in, driven to 'shift', to wander 'in desarts', to despair: this is a terrifying discourse of separation, alienation, exclusion and exclusivity. Indeed, its horrific edge and penetrating satire, redolent with man's inhumanity to man, anticipate Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal*. In *Worke For Armorours* Dekker displays a particularly masterly use of the satirist's techniques of distortion, exaggeration and parody.

Dekker's parody of a Royal Proclamation 'By the Queene of Gold and Silver' (sig. E4v), at a time when James I was managing the country in the absence of Parliament largely through a series of Royal Proclamations, was perhaps his most daring satiric gambit. The subject matter had an obvious bearing on the actual circumstances that had led to the food shortages of 1609. Money, fed up with the ranklings of 'this [Poverty's] starveling scallion-eaters, whose breath is stinking in my nosthrils, and able to infect a quarter of the world' (sig. F2r), decides to starve the suburb dwellers into submission and relative harmlessness. The alleged contempt of London's 'Hard-hearted' (sig. E4v) wealthy for the poor is underlined by Money's exaggerated, disease-impregnated invective. This technique functions effectively throughout *Worke* to expose the use of such stigmatizing rhetoric as an unpleasant political stratagem.

The 'Queene's' Proclamation addresses 'rich Farmers, Land-lords, Engrossers, Graziers, Forestallers, Hucksters, Haglers' and, ironically, 'all the residue of our industrious, hearty, and loving people' (sig. E4v). These are the hypocritical extortioners of the poor in the first decade of the seventeenth century, this tract argues; and it proceeds, through the device of the Proclamation and reinforced by the marginal notes, to list their 'shifts'. Rich farmers who hoard grain and manage to raise its price artificially are particularly implicated in the current (1609) food shortages, as they were in *Christes Teares* in 1592–3. Money decrees:

> Let the times be deere, though the grounds be fruitfull, and the markets kept empty though your barnes (like Cormorants bellies) breake their

> butten-holes, and rather then any of Poverties soldiers, who now range up and downe the kingdome, besieging our Cities and threatning the confusion, spoile and dishonour both of you and us, should have bread to relieve them. I charge you all upon your allegiance to hoord up your corne till it be musty, and then bring it forth to infect these needy Barbarians, that the rot, scurvy, or some other infectious pestilent disease, may run through the most part of their enfeebled army. (sig. F1r)

The effect of the Proclamation is to suggest that corrupt manipulation of the markets has royal approval, or, at the very least, the tacit consent of the authorities because an 'enfeebled' underclass is more manageable than a robust one.

All this evokes a political and economic climate recognizable from another nearly contemporaneous literary work, Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, whose plot similarly turns on food shortages, sieges and social stand-offs. Coriolanus is particularly fond of hurling volleys of disease-punctuated abuse at the Roman citizens who have taken to rebelling against the 'belly' (the senators). The imagery in *Coriolanus*, as in *Worke For Armorours*, revolves around which social group or its representative is most implicated in infecting the state with the disease of dissension: Coriolanus views the 'common file' as 'a plague' (I.vii.42); whilst the tribunes regard him as 'a disease that must be cut away' (III.i.96). Animal emblems also feature – is Coriolanus a tyrannical 'bear' or a 'lamb' (II.i.11–12)? Coriolanus, meanwhile, alludes to Rome's hungry citizens as 'dogs' (I.i.203). Interestingly, in Dekker's tract Money is advocating exactly the stratagems which that other representative of wealth and privilege, Menenius, denies are being used in grain-depleted Rome. Shakespeare's citizens accuse their rulers of unfair play: 'They ne'er cared for us yet: suffer us to famish, and their store-houses crammed with grain' (I.i.76–7). Dekker's Money urges her devotees:

> Hire ware-houses, Vaults under ground, and cellars in the City, and in them imprison all necessary provision for the belly, till the long nailes of famine breake open the dores, but suffer not you those treasured victuals, to have their free liberties till you may make what prey you please of the buyers and cheapners. (sig. F2r)

Here, (leaving no room for speculation as there is in *Coriolanus*) the élite 'belly' is undeniably 'cupboarding the viand'.

In *Worke For Armorours* enclosures and rack-renting are a major cause of penury and misery, as they were in the mid-sixteenth-century Commons' Supplications, and in Bullein's *Dialogue*. Money orders her followers to 'stretch . . . the heart strings' of their tenants:

> Racke your poore neighbours, call in old leases, and turne out old tenants, those which your forefathers have suffered quietly to enjoy their livings, and thereby to raise fat commodities to themselves, and begger families. (sig. F1r–F1v)

This is the way beggars are made, this tract urges, again and again deflecting the charges of idleness and of being disease polluters onto the extortioners of the poor, whom it establishes as the real sources of moral corruption and the catalysts of dangerous dissension in society. 'Poore men fall not first out with the rich, but the rich with them', *Worke For Armorours* asserts authoritatively in a (Bullein-like) marginal note (sig. C1r).

Worke For Armorours is, on the surface, a remarkably secular plague tract from which God and the spiritual domain are starkly and deliberately absent. Money is unquestionably the only 'deitie' in *Worke*: 'Some ran out of the Church to see her, with greater devotion following her all the way that she went, then the former deitie they worshipped' (sig. E2v). A marginal gloss – 'Some for money will sell religion' (sig. E2v) – harshly underlines the author's view that it is not religious concerns but selfish financial ones which are shaping and determining political and economic policies in 1609. The inevitable social hostilities this generates breed 'plagues' of one sort or another – but most particularly the 'plague' of economic stagnation – for everyone. With its emphasis on the association between Commons unrest, plagues and the greed of the wealthy, this pamphlet is certainly in the 'Warning to be ware' tradition. However, *Worke For Armorours* warns, not of God's wrath, but of the poor Commons' smothered rage; of their just thirst for revenge on the 'plague' of money's followers which has forced them to 'shift', and to live debilitated by hunger and disease, as the much-berated 'plagues' who have 'pitched their tents' (for want of any better place) in the suburbs of Jacobean London.

The ultimate message, though, is a politico-economic one: this is simply not a healthy or effective basis on which to run a country and to nurture trade. Perhaps Dekker felt that the economic warning was, in the end, the only one that England's zealous devotees of money would respond to in 1609: an appeal to financial sense might just prevail in a situation where what E. P. Thompson has termed the 'moral economy of the poor' was patently not (or was not felt to be) functioning.[63] Money in this tract does not listen to the just grievances of the poor. She does, however, alter her policies towards them (she opens her gates) following the Supplication from the Vintners and Innkeepers, who are worried about their dwindling material profits. A fledgling capitalist society in the absence of a paternalistic moral economy is represented here, and there are signs that Dekker – a shrewd political pamphleteer – was moving with the times

in 1609, couching his arguments in increasingly pragmatic terms even if his own sights were still focused securely on the promise of that 'heavenly crown'.

'The Plaguy Body' section of this book has argued that early modern 'literary' plague pamphlets, with their pestilential settings and their articulation of the Commons' grievances, were sophisticated successors to the medieval 'Warning to be ware' tradition which forged homiletic and aesthetic links between Commons uprisings, plagues and greed for riches. For Bullein, in 1564, the worst extortioners of the poor (causing England's 'plagues') had been Catholics and 'non fidians', though wealthy hypocritical Protestants were highly culpable. In 1592 Nashe implicated lack of charity at home in the Catholic threat from abroad and in a Catholic renewal at home; and in 1609 Dekker construed 'parsimony' among England's Protestant citizens as contributing to a threat of civil war, a threat enhanced by a truce with Catholicism. Lack of charity is inevitably wedded to disaster and intermeshed with the iniquities of Catholicism in these polemical tracts. The sin of parsimony not only foments civil discontent; it is also allied in the later pamphlets with unwillingness to pay for the military defence of Protestantism, in turn promoting tolerance of, and even friendship with, the Catholic enemy – hence God's anger and pestilential punishment.

Significantly, in all these writings it is actually perceived inner corruption (mirroring the corruption of original sin) enshrined in hypocritical Protestants, rather than the Catholic enemy, which incites most satirical indignation. Indeed, the model of social disease which emerges *c*. 1600 corresponds closely to the dominant model of physical disease outlined in Chapter 1: endogeneous corruption is responsible for the plague of social dissension (humoral imbalance), rendering the English body vulnerable to invasion by hostile external forces (exopathic disease). Given the dynamic nature of embodied thinking, we might ask which shaped which – whether the medical model conditioned the social model or vice versa, or was it, as I suspect most likely, a complex process of negotiation?

The plague pamphlets are accomplished literary–political works which deconstruct the stratagems of England's new entrepreneurs and governors, subverting the 'self' and 'other', 'inner' and 'outer' binaries constructed through disease-impregnated rhetoric, deploying a somatic idiom to offer an alternative vision of the nation's poor and unemployed. We have seen how the socio-spatial ordering policies of the metropolitan élite were bolstered by medical constructions of the plague which emphasized naturalistic causes, especially contagion, and which associated moral depravity with the dirty poor living at London's margins. Conversely, oppositional rhetoric,

such as that deployed by Nashe and Dekker *c*. 1600, stressed a supernatural construction in which sin was the primary cause of plague, and this resided in London's uncharitable hegemony who were ultimately responsible for God's scourges. As we have seen, too, medical plague tracts such as Lodge's in 1603, often inscribed a wide range of competing and complementary explanations of this mysterious affliction, which informed the cultural imaginary, and which could be drawn upon selectively by writers wanting to shape particular accounts of the disease for persuasive purposes. In other words, 'how' and 'why' explanations could depend on the political point you wanted to make: fictions of the plague in early modern England – including those in medical writings – were shaped by a range of interconnected bodily factors (physical, social, religious). The struggle for rhetorical ownership of plague witnessed in these chapters lays bare considerable social tension in early modern England: plague and its discourses served both to intensify social antagonisms, and to articulate them. Perhaps more than anything else, the 'literary' plague pamphlets explored in this book convey a pressing need for internal bodily reform to alleviate the suffering of the poor and to create a more equitable, more harmonious, socio-religious body.

Epidemics of bubonic plague, with their swift and deadly bodily consequences, and their tendency to impose siege-like conditions on a community, were, as we have seen, commonly aligned imaginatively with the social effects of civil strife and war. The materialities of a new Renaissance disease – the Pox – encouraged a rather different cultural imaginary. As 'The Pocky Body' will reveal, its social meanings, mirroring its bodily consequences, were to prove curiously attractive to the early modern English stage.

4
The Pocky Body: Part I

A 'huge' new 'plague'

> But it's amazing that princes, whose duty it is to look out for the commonwealth, at least in matters pertaining to the person – and in this regard nothing is more important than sound health – don't devise some remedy for this situation. So huge a plague has filled a large part of the globe – and yet they go on snoring as if it made no difference at all.
>
> Erasmus, *The Unequal Match* (1529)[1]

As Petronius, one of the protagonists in Erasmus of Rotterdam's colloquy, indicates, a new world-wide epidemic sufficiently horrifying to be termed 'a plague' was, by the 1520s, giving rise to urgent demands for public health measures to control it. Erasmus – arguably the most widely read humanist writer of the Renaissance – was horrified and alarmed by the disease and appears to have spearheaded a health-education campaign against it. The concerns and motifs of his dramatic dialogues about 'the Spanish pox' inform literary productions from the early modern period to the twentieth century. Until the advent of a new sexually transmitted 'plague' in recent years (AIDS), syphilis was the disease that had 'caused the most . . . ink to flow':[2] it had a greater affinity with aesthetic creations, and in particular with the dramatic, musical and visual arts of the Renaissance, than had bubonic plague. The next two chapters will attempt to understand why the new sickness led artists and writers as diverse as Dürer, Holbein, Bronzino, Rabelais, Jonson, Dekker, Webster and Shakespeare (to name but a few) to represent images of the syphilitic within the context of their art whilst, paradoxically, the majority of English physicians shunned even to write about, let alone treat, its victims.[3]

This novel Renaissance infection attracted an astonishingly wide range of unstable significations (was it the Spanish/French/Italian/Neopolitan Pox/pockes/disease, 'il morbo gallico', or syphilis?) but when, as in the above extract, the Pox went under the vague guise of 'a plague' it could potentially carry with it the varieties of meanings inherent in the metaphors of early modern bubonic plague explored in the previous two chapters. The new epidemic disease did, however, generate a complex web of meanings specific to its own signs, symptoms and routes of transmission, which are best understood through an examination of its stereotypes. Tracing the dominant constructions of syphilis's 'victims' and 'polluters' through the course of its first 100 years of existence – and the multiple namings of the disease are, as I shall show, related to these – opens a revealing window onto how representations of syphilis functioned in the literary genre in which they were most prevalent in the early modern period – the drama.

Throughout the first decade of the seventeenth century, for example, the French Pox appeared in a sustained way (rather than brief allusion or mere expletive) in many English plays which are in other ways very diverse. The curious attraction of this painful and disfiguring disease to playwrights and the consumers of their work warrants exploration and does, I believe, shed an interesting light on the aesthetic appeal of AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s. It can also provide new insights into old plays, like Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and *Pericles,* which have been the focus of centuries of intensive critical attention. There have been several intriguing studies of syphilis and Shakespeare in recent years, but none have approached the Pox as a medico-social construction; as I shall demonstrate, this adds another important dimension to the debates. Furthermore, representations of disease in Tudor literature have received no sustained attention; yet, as I argue here, these are crucially important for understanding later stage deployments.

Having first established the medical and social contexts of the Pox and the literary heritage, which together shaped the cultural imaginary, my discussion will proceed to an analysis of the 'pocky' body's fictional and ideological exploitations. Whereas early modern English discourses of bubonic plague have a characteristically local, London, focus and feel to them, those of the Pox often exhibit a much wider geographical character, functioning to articulate national boundary tensions and ethnic 'otherness', and participating in Continental humanistic debates and belletristic fashions. They are, therefore, appropriately located and viewed within a wider, European discursive field.

'This pestiferos evyll': early modern syphilis

The terrifying and novel character of the 'french pockes' was eloquently described by Ulrich Von Hutten, personal friend of Erasmus:

> It hathe pleased god, that in our tyme sicknesses shuld aryse, which were to our forefathers (as it maye be wel conjectured) unknowen. In the yere of 1493 or there about this pestiferos evyll creped amongest the people, not only in Fraunce, But fyrst appered at Naples, in the frenche-mennes hoste (wherof it toke his name) whiche kept warre under the frenche kyng Charles, before hyt appered in any other place.[4]

The 'pockes' first appeared in Europe as an epidemic of dangerous proportions when the French king invaded Italy in 1494. Charles VIII's largely mercenary army of Flemish, Gascons, Swiss, Italians and Spaniards were, according to all Renaissance accounts, responsible for spreading the disease so rapidly and with devastating effect around Europe and eventually the world.[5] Von Hutten undoubtedly shared Erasmus's desire to increase public awareness about the disease, encouraging prevention by raising anxiety levels (the 'shock-horror' tactics now discouraged by health educators). His account makes gruesome reading:

> For whan it fyrst began, it was of suche fylthynes that a man wold scarcely thynke this syckenesse, that nowe rayneth to be that kynde. They were byles, sharpe, and stondynge out, havynge the similitude and quantite of acornes, from which came so foule humours, and so gret stynche, that who so ever ones smelled it, thought hym selfe to be enfect. The colour of thes pustules was derke greene and the syght ther of was more grevous unto the pacient than the peyne it selfe: and yet their peynes were as thoughe they hadde lyen in the fyre. (f. 2v)

The disease constituted an assault on all the senses and was so loathed, according to Von Hutten, that physicians refused dealings with it (f. 2r); hence the less squeamish barber-surgeon trade cornered this market for its own. Furthermore the tortures the 'pockes' inflicted on the sufferer were like having 'lyen in the fyre', evoking a sense of hell on earth, or alternatively of religious persecution, of martyrdom.

As Von Hutten indicates, through the course of its first 20 or so years the disease changed its character, becoming less rapidly and assuredly mortal and producing three stages of chronic symptoms in its victims which appear to correspond fairly closely to modern, untreated syphilis. A brief recourse to the pathology of modern syphilis is helpful because the proliferation

of myths and value-laden description in these early accounts make the 'realities' difficult to tease out.[6] It is possible, too, that some of the manifestations of syphilis, particularly the tertiary stage and most notably syphilitic madness, were not identified as belonging to this illness, although their existence undoubtedly coloured the social climate surrounding disease and disorder.

Syphilis is a contagious disease usually spread by sexual intercourse. It can be transmitted by kissing but rarely in other ways because the *Treponema pallidum* bacterium that causes it is delicate and cannot survive for long outside the human body.[7] Erasmus's anxieties about sheets, cups and baths passing on the disease and William Clowes's additional one about 'close-stool' seats – however understandable – were probably unwarranted.[8] Syphilis is associated with decreased fertility but where pregnancy does occur it can be transmitted from an infected mother to a foetus *in utero* and via breast milk to a nursing infant.[9] Congenital syphilis leads either to spontaneous abortion or to the birth of a deformed and/or mentally disabled, 'sickly' infant. Early modern writers were certainly aware of the primacy of the sexual route of transmission and the horrors of its hereditary manifestation.[10] In Dekker's *The Honest Whore, Part 1* (1604) the reformed harlot, Bellafront, declares of prostitutes:

> Th'are seldome blest with fruit; for ere it blossoms,
> Many a worme confounds it.
> They have no issue but foul ugly ones,
> That run along with them, e'ene to their graves:
> For, stead of children, they breed ranke diseases,
> And all you Gallants, can bestow on them,
> Is that French Infant.
>
> (III.iii.53–9)[11]

Sex, sin and disease are implicitly connected here. That 'French infant' – the Pox – makes it clear that this disease, in particular, is being targeted in relation to sterility and deformed births.

The three stages associated with syphilitic infection encouraged sufferers to believe – erroneously – that they had been cured because symptoms abated or disappeared in the intervals between them. This characteristic, and its initial manifestation on the 'privy parts', undoubtedly promoted notions of the French disease as 'hidden', 'secret' and a 'masquerader'.[12] The 'chancre', or primary lesion, of the modern illness appears two to four weeks after infection, usually on a genital organ. Six to ten weeks later the secondary stage develops with generalized infection: fever, rash,

pain in the bones, headache (worst at night), inflammation of the eyes and alopecia. Early modern writers describe all these symptoms in relation to Pox, frequently emphasizing the bone 'aches' and the nocturnal headaches.[13] The surgeon Peter Lowe (1596), for example, highlighted the 'aboundance of externall ulcers and pustls, falling of haire, both of head, browes, and beard: griefe in the joynts, head, leggs, and armes . . . chiefly in the night' (sig. B1v).

As much as 5 to 45 years later tertiary syphilis reveals its presence by one or several of the following non-contagious manifestations: by a 'gumma' or chronic ulcer on the skin, frequently the face; by heart disease; by a progressive dementia; or by tabes dorsalis (terrible leg and spinal pain, producing deformity, arthritis and a peculiar wide, rising gait). The Tudor Interlude *Nice Wanton* (p. 1560) contains a particularly graphic account of some of the disfiguring manifestations of early modern 'pocks' in its mature form. Dalila, the fallen woman of the play, now in terminal decline through her disease, limps across the stage complaining:

> My senowes be shronken, my flesh eaten with pocks,
> My bones ful of ache and great payne,
> My head is bald, that bare yelowe lockes,
> Croked I crepe to the earth agayne,
> Mine eie-sight is dimme, my hands tremble and shake
> . . .
> Where I was fayre and amiable of face,
> Now am I foule and horrible to se.[14]

Indeed, the spectacular, gruesome signs of the advanced infection appear to have made it a particularly good vehicle for theatrical exploitation.

Syphilitic brain dementia was not identified as such by the medical profession until the nineteenth century, but it is noteworthy that one of Erasmus's protagonists in *The Unequal Match* alludes to the intellectual impairment which the unfit bridegroom will inevitably suffer as a consequence of his disease.[15] It is fair to speculate – but impossible to prove in the absence of reliable statistics – that a rise in what in the sixteenth century were termed 'monstrous births' (birth deformities), in infant mortality, and in idiocy and brain degeneration (associated with bizarre behaviour) in the population, might have fuelled the witch-hunt craze and been a significant factor in the growth of institutions for the insane.[16] In relation to witches, Richard Palmer has pointed out how in northern Italy in the sixteenth century, witches were thought to cause disease, especially where babies slowly declined and doctors could not locate a cause.[17] Whilst learned sixteenth-century physicians seem to have understood the

natural agency and manifestations of congenital syphilis, less competent practitioners practising in country areas would undoubtedly have been more ready to attribute any sharp rise in abnormal births and infant deaths in their vicinity to supernatural causes. Blaming witches might also have been deemed preferable to implicating fee-paying patients in the transmission of a hereditary disease associated with sinful transgressions.

Whether syphilis came to the British Isles directly from Spain, or followed the disbandment of mercenaries after the siege of Naples in 1495, spreading along with the followers of Perkin Warbeck from France to Scotland, is a matter for conjecture. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, it had made its appearance in Britain. Leighton's *The Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury, 1372–1603*, records how in 1493–4 the town of Shrewsbury was infected – 'and about thys tyme began the fowle scabbe and horryble sychness called the freanche pocks'.[18] For 21 April 1497, the council register of the borough of Aberdeen records:

> The said day, it was statut and ordanit be the alderman and consale for the eschevin of the infirmitey cumm out of Franche and strange partis, that all licht weman be chargit and ordaint to decist fra thar vicis and syne of venerie, and all thair buthis and houssis skalit, and thai to pas and wirk for thar sustentacioun, under the payne of ane key of het yrne one thar chekis, and banysene of the towne.[19]

As this extract reveals, the new infection was imagined to be intimately connected with foreign places and prostitutes, and this is the first recorded British attempt to close brothels to prevent the spread of syphilis. Under the guidance of James IV, Edinburgh went a step further with its containment measures, ordering the infected to be banished to the island of Inch Keith in the Firth of Forth.[20] There is no evidence that this actually took place: indeed, it would have been a difficult ruling to enforce, not least because the disease was rapidly perceived to favour the wealthy as well as the ill-clad and undernourished poor. Sufferers, who included the powerful and the well-to-do, could not be isolated and forgotten to the world as were, for all intents and purposes, the lepers of medieval Europe. Civic gestures to contain the disease for the most part amounted to repeated, unsuccessful attempts to close the brothels, which tended simply to relocate or reopen after a brief interval; and the establishment of treatment centres for the poor.[21] In London, St Bartholomew's and St Thomas's created 'sweat' wards for this purpose – two of the latter's significantly named Job and Lazarus.[22] Clowes claimed that between one half and three-quarters of general admissions to Bart's in the last quarter of the sixteenth century had the 'pocks' (sig. B2v).

Treatments for syphilis were particularly barbaric, consisting of evacuation (blood-letting and purging); being smothered with mercurial ointments and confined in a hot tub for days on end to sweat out the contagion; a strict and minimal diet to complement the purge; and, for the wealthy, the use of a preparation of the West Indian wood, guaiacum, in a fumigation regime. Margaret Pelling has described the flourishing of the barber-surgeon trade in London in the later Tudor period: barbers offered a variety of questionable treatments for the afflicted and crafted the wigs which became popular at this time, offering a fashionable means of concealing the baldness caused by secondary syphilis.[23] Brothels, too, became self-appointed treatment places for syphilis, as Ben Jonson's epigram 'On the New Hot-House' proclaimed:

> Where lately harboured many a famous whore,
> A purging bill now fixed upon the door
> Tells you it is a hot-house, so it ma',
> And still be a whore-house: they're synonima.[24]

The disastrous effects of the painful yet ineffective 'cures' in unskilful hands were graphically proclaimed by the famous physician Ambrose Paré:

> Yea many while they have beene thus handled [by fumigation treatment], have beene taken hold of by a convulsion, and trembling of their heads, hands and legges, with a deafnesse, apoplexie, and lastly miserable death.[25]

Sweating treatments, he maintained, could lead to brain and lung disease, 'stinking breaths', and even death. They commonly left a tellingly over-florid facial complexion; damaged the vocal chords, producing the characteristic 'cracked' voice; and caused the teeth to fall out. In a remarkably poignant and witty poem for such an inauspicious subject, Sir William Davenant, syphilis victim and Poet Laureate, gave thanks to his physician for curing the effects of his earlier treatments (*c*. 1633) – 'For setting now my condemn'd body free / From that no God, but Devill MERCURIE' (ll. 9–10).[26]

Disfigurement, disability and the much dwelt-on bad smells (it is noteworthy that the 'stench' of sin was a common motif in late medieval and early modern sermons) were the companions of the cures, then, as well as the disease. They met with crude answers such as the heavy make-up, strong perfumes, copper noses and velvet patches satirized in Jacobean literature. Masks, too, became fashionable and worn by both sexes from the mid-sixteenth century. It is worth recalling what a potent symbol of duplicity and vice these became, especially in the moralizing emblem books

of the seventeenth century.[27] The very real and sometimes horrific external bodily manifestations of the infection were intimately associated, then, with disguise: the signs of the disease, its chronic nature, and the clearly understood sexual route of its transmission, were integral elements of, and shaping factors in, its social construction.

Ordering the new disorder: the functions of names and myths

In the early seventeenth century, a dominant fictional construction of the (bubonic) Plague was of Death: a tyrant stalking the suburbs of London, killing swiftly in large numbers. The Pox had a rather different persona, it was the 'living Death': a perfumed foreigner (usually French, Spanish or Italian) being slowly consumed by his disease, crouching in the 'hams' (a submissive, pleading posture), given to lechery, and succumbing to the deceitful Venuses of the bawdy houses. In his exhaustive exploration of the Pox, *The Hunting of the Pox* (1619), J. T. Westminster claimed, for example, that his leading character, Morbus Gallicus, was an Italian gentleman born in Rome, who had contracted the disease in France from the Neapolitan courtesan, Veneris.[28] Such extraordinary and vivid personifications tell us much about how the disease was popularly understood in England, and its stereotypes at this time – the lecherous, foppish male, the Roman Catholic (often, as above, these two types are conflated) and the harlot. Proceeding through an investigation of some Renaissance physicians' accounts of the puzzling new illness, I shall attempt to make sense of how and why these two embodiments of the Pox, so attractive for exploitation by the early modern stage, came into being.

The university-educated physician Andrew Boord tackled the problem in a popular book that is probably the closest sixteenth-century antecedent we have to modern ABC home-doctor manuals.[29] The most striking thing about *The Breviary of Helthe* is its preoccupation with naming diseases. The 'French pockes' warranted a particularly lengthy exploration of etymology which (rather inexplicably) it undergoes twice (differently) in the first edition of 1547. The initial entry begins, 'Malafrantizoz is the araby worde'; progresses to 'variole maiores', 'french pockes' and 'Morbus gallicus' (f. xxxvii.r); and proceeds: 'The grecions can nat tell what this sicknes doth meane wherfore they do set no name for this disease for it dyd come but lately into Spayne and Fraunce', before petering out. It is as if, because Hippocrates had nothing to say on the matter, neither has Boord – his usual authorities were, in this case, unhelpful (f. lxxxxvi.r). He does mention that the new disease is 'lyke to leprosyte' (leprosy) because of the skin 'skabbes and pimples'. The second entry is more helpful: after

recounting the previous names, it adds more to the list (Mentagra and 'spanyshe pockes'); focuses again on the external signs of the disease (festering and 'cankerus' scabs, ulcers, boils and 'knobbes'); suggests how it is caught ('specially it is taken whan one pocky person doth synne in lechery the one with an other', f. lxxxxvi.v); and briefly offers 'A remedy'. Foreign names, sin, sex, skin manifestations and leprosy are the linked elements in Boord's medical construction of the new disease.

Boord was not alone in his preoccupation with names, or, indeed, in his comparison of this infection with leprosy: in its early years the disease was almost always defined and understood in relation to the earlier, but by this time very rare, skin disease. Naming and categorizing were clearly extremely important to this early modern physician and presumably to the public who purchased his book; the text itself indirectly offers one explanation for this. In a rare passage in this usually cursory ABC, Boord digresses about self-killing:

> Also we do kyll our bodyes . . . as many dayly dothe (contrary to goddes wyll) . . . whan a man doth abreviate his lyfe by surfetynge, by dronkennesse, by pencifulnesse . . . by takyng the pockes with women, and leprousnesse and many other infectiouse sickenesses, beside robbynge, fyghtynge. (f. viir)

Pox, here intimately connected with surfeiting, lechery and criminal activities, emerges as a product of disordered, intemperate living: bodily and social disorder converge. Later, Boord exclaims: 'Intemperance is a greate vice for it doth set everything out of order, and where there is no order there is horror' (f. xxxvi.r). The new disease represented a supreme manifestation of disorder, producing 'horror' which needed to be controlled. As in the case of bubonic plague, the physician could offer no effective cure, but Boord, like Lodge in relation to plague, could attempt to impose meaning and method on the phenomenon – thereby reducing the fear of chaos it evoked – through his pen. I am suggesting that defining and categorizing were ordering and taming mechanisms like the related myths that grew up around the disease.[30]

In Boord's tract, Pox, closely associated with lechery, is a direct manifestation of a social transgression involving a bodily orifice. Mary Douglas has argued that violations of taboos involving bodily orifices – marginal territory – are experienced by societies as particularly dangerous and threatening to order.[31] Perhaps this accounts for the extreme horror that both Boord and Von Hutten (above) express. Douglas associates isolating and cleansing rituals, such as those prescribed in Leviticus, with attempts to restore order: cleansing is thus primarily a symbolic rather than a hygienic

activity, which serves to reinforce the body of the Law and unite society in a common programme of restoring order.[32] Syphilis, as we have seen, met with particularly rigorous and torturous attempts to cleanse the body of its pollution; these 'cures' persisted through to the nineteenth century in spite of the fact that they commonly exacerbated rather than relieved suffering. Were they, perhaps, experienced as healing to the spiritual body, or were they simply manifestations of the rather painful penance society exacted for the sin of sexual laxity? Medicine might not have been able to eradicate the disease but it could attempt – with society's permission – to control it.

Associated with vice, the disease was heavily stigmatized, and this provides another clue as to why it lacked a stable signification. Von Hutten, and later Francis Bacon, commented on how the French 'put off the Name of the French Disease, unto the Name of the Disease of Naples' (Bacon) in order to avoid 'rebuke' (Hutten, f. 1r).[33] Nations as well as individuals could be tarred with the infection's stigmatizing brush: this became the disease *par excellence* of someone else, some other nation. Undoubtedly, the disease's actual spread – outward from Naples with the French, Spanish and others returning from the wars – encouraged its 'foreign' guises. It is significant that it was an Italian physician, Fracastoro of Verona, who invented a myth whose central character, the shepherd Syphilus (*sic*), eventually endowed the disease with a name which enabled it to shed its favourite French and Italian national identities.[34] In Fracastoro's extended poem – an imitation of Virgil's *Georgics* – Syphilus is afflicted with the disease as a punishment for setting up altars to the earthly king, Alcithous, instead of to the jealous Sun God. It would seem that this medical poem functioned to tame the sinful implications of the disease, deflecting blame and pleasing its wealthy readers at the same time as informing them about its medical management.

The disease's social guises were commented on by Barnaby Rich in *The Honestie of this Age* (1614):

> It is like the disease MORBUS GALLICUS, which in poore men we use plaine dealing, and call it the Poxe, but in great personages, a little to gilde over the loathsomenesse, we must call it the Gowt, or the Sciatica.[35]

Similarly, he described how poor prostitutes were termed 'Harlots', whereas those with well-to-do 'friends' avoided incurring this damaging label. John Graunt lamented in 1662 how it was impossible to tell from bills of mortality (the subject of his study) who died of the French Pox because only the 'vilest' persons from 'the most miserable houses of uncleanness' were reported to die from 'this too frequent malady'.[36] The Pox had social as

well as national faces, then, and was strongly linked to hypocrisy – a feature eagerly seized on by early modern satirists and dramatists. The reality seems to have been that this infection, unlike bubonic plague by the early seventeenth century, was fairly evenly distributed across social, geographic and national boundaries.

Myths about the disease's origins abound in serious medical, as well as more light-hearted, entertaining, tracts, and like the related namings and attempts at categorizing they open an illuminating window onto the early modern cultural imaginary of syphilis. A few topoi are particularly persistent and noteworthy: lepers, prostitutes, foreign others, poison and cannibalism reoccur in fascinating combinations. In 1525 Pietro Mainardi wrote, for example, that the disease's origins could be traced to the union of a Spanish prostitute with a leper; the prostitute then went on to consort with, and infect, vast numbers of Charles VIII's soldiers.[37] Syphilis appears in this construction as a symbolic monstrous birth (all the more poignant because it did sometimes manifest itself in deformed infants) consequent upon an act of coitus perceived as unnatural and dangerous. G. Fallopio, in his *De morbo gallico tractus* (1560), advanced the theory that syphilis originated from poison put down wells by Spanish soldiers during the War of Naples.[38] Poison and pollution, in all these theories, emanate from foreigners.[39]

In his quasi-scientific tome *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627), Francis Bacon hypothesized, under the sub-heading 'Experiment Solitary touching the "Venemous Quality of Man's Flesh"':

> At the Siege of Naples, ther were certaine wicked Merchants, that Barrelled upp Mans flesh, (of some that had been, lately slaine in Barbary) and sold it for Tunny; And that upon that foule and high Nourishment, was the Originall of that Disease. Which may well be; for that it is certaine, that the Caniballs of the West Indies, eate Mans flesh; and the West Indies were full of the Pockes when they were first discovered . . . (Century 1, note 26)

Evil deeds ('wicked Merchants') and unnatural acts (eating human flesh) resulted in the 'French Disease' (which was often represented as 'consuming' of human flesh) and the evidence for this was that 'caniballs' of the West Indies were 'full of the Pockes'. There is a relation here with the Columbian transaction theory – that Europeans contracted the new disease from the New World Indians – which remains current and plausible today, though much disputed.[40] Citing the New World and its natives as the polluting source (an idea which gained currency decades after syphilis first appeared in Europe) certainly enabled the Europeans (particularly the Spanish, French and Italians) to disentangle themselves a little further from the stigma

and blame of it being 'their' infection or poison – they could 'put off' the disease, or deflect its origins from them, onto an 'other' world.

Sander Gilman has proposed a plausible psychological model for interpreting such disease and contagion 'projections' and myths. He maintains that it is the fear of collapse, the sense of dissolution, which 'contaminates the western image of all diseases';[41] in order to manage this fear we project it onto the world, creating myths and fictions in which we find comfort. Such myths involve locating an easily identifiable infected other, mentally and materially outside our own social group, so that the danger to ourselves is perceived as less threatening; indeed, these fictions are sometimes so powerful that people will vehemently deny the real danger presented to them by a disease. An example of this from our own culture is the belief, strongly held by many and particularly by the young and sexually active, that AIDS is a disease confined to homosexual men, prostitutes and drug addicts. These are the fictions that health-educators must dispel before they can begin to gain co-operation with preventive measures. Gilman describes how, because of the stigma attached to venereal disease, related myths circulate in order to account for the disease's appearance in people from our 'own' social group. In early modern Europe, miasma theory, astrological speculations, and the implicating of unwashed sheets and cups in the transmission of infection would fall into this category. Extending his thesis, Gilman asserts that the fear of self-collapse presented by disease is always mirrored by a fear of chaos in society. As I shall explore in Part II, a skilful dramatist can manipulate the consoling fictions, harnessing these fears for aesthetic effect.

Anxieties about social disorder certainly penetrate and ramify through all these accounts of early modern disease, but the characteristics specific to each disease do focus and channel these anxieties in different directions. Materialities shape the fictions, and consequently, the artistic potential of diseases, too, will differ. Whilst epidemics of bubonic plague were commonly aligned imaginatively in the early modern period with the social effects of war and civil strife, syphilis's social meanings, mirroring its bodily signs, centred on chronic corruption and degeneration. The latter were construed as manifestations of man's fallen condition and crucially, as we shall see, of ungoverned 'appetites'.

The literary and artistic heritage: sinners, martyrs, and the 'femme fatal'

Evidence that syphilis, at least in its most virulent manifestation, was unknown prior to the 1490s, has been drawn from literature itself. Having scoured the Bible, ancient Greek and Roman literature and medieval texts,

J. D. Rolleston found no reference to a disease which could be safely identified as syphilis.[42] Among the seven deadly sins of medieval writers such as Langland and Gower, and in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, there is no reference to syphilis; by contrast, gonorrhoea or 'glet', with its characteristic burning pains, is frequently alluded to. It was, however, the Bible and the brothel literature, along with the popular medical tracts, that furnished the new disease with its earliest guises.

The first representation of syphilis appears to have occurred in an edict issued by the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian, on 7 August 1495, which construed the new affliction as 'a punishment sent by god for blasphemy'. In its initial virulent and rapidly mortal form, it was perceived as a scourge, like 'hunger, earthquakes, pestilence and other plagues . . . of earlier times'.[43] However, as soon as it ceased to kill large numbers of people rapidly, it was relegated to an inferior position relative to bubonic plague, which persisted as '<u>the</u> plague, <u>the</u> pestilence' of the Renaissance. In Erasmus's colloquy *Inns* (1523), for example, one of the protagonists, who is anxious about catching diseases through the unsavoury conditions and clientele in some inns, constructs what amounts to a league table of infectious diseases: plague is considered most dangerous and contagious; then leprosy, which by the 1520s was a rare illness; and finally the disease perceived as common to many countries and many men, the Pox (p. 150).

The Pox in its chronic form continued to be regarded as an affliction sent by God, but biblical representations of leprosy-type illnesses with skin manifestations enabled the meaning of the visitation to be construed in a number of ways.[44] It could be a punishment for sin, for example, as leprosy had been for Miriam, the sister of Moses, because she had spoken falsely against her brother (Numbers 12). Alternatively, there were the examples of Lazarus and Job who were spiritually improved by their afflictions. Lazarus' sufferings, in common with those of the Christian martyrs, were compensated for in the next world (Luke 16: 19–25). In the Bible, Job's sickness had been sent primarily to confound the Devil, but it should be recalled how John Calvin in *The Institution of Christian Religion* represented Job's skin infection as an outward sign of his inner corruption consequent on the Fall. For Calvin, such external signs served as a reminder of inner disease, to bring men to repentance.[45]

All these ways of making sense of the new affliction found visual expression in contemporary paintings and woodcuts.[46] An illustration accompanying an early German tract on the French disease (1496) depicts a group of penitent sufferers covered in blotchy skin blemishes, having been infected by 'flagellum Dei' emanating from the infant Christ. Meanwhile his Virgin Mother is rewarding the Holy Roman Emperor and his righteous followers with a crown (see Plate 3). This 'plague' is clearly a scourge of God, and

the position of the isolated male victim's left hand indicates the sexual nature of his transgressions. In Albrecht Dürer's representation of the same year, a foppish man sporting a large feathered hat and fashionable wide-toed, slashed shoes, is displaying his sores as though they are stigmata (see Plate 4). Dürer has captured a number of ways of 'seeing' the Pox: his isolated victim is a martyr-type but he is also a dandy and the astrological sign above his head – five planets in the sign of the scorpion (ruling the genitalia) – implicates the stars in his pitiful fate. Other Pox victims were depicted in a melancholic pose, head in hand, elbow on knee, bending forwards in an attitude of despair, being scourged by the Devil: spiritual purification is captured here (see Plate 5). These early depictions are all, notably, of the disease's victims. Some years later, and more persistently from about 1530, a different visual representation emerged which was important for later Renaissance drama: the polluting female, the harlot – Venus, Pandora and Eve.

'Venereal disease' was an unknown term before the arrival of the Pox. The physician Jacques de Bethencourt coined the term 'morbus venereus' in 1527:[47] 'the disease of Venus' has an obvious metonymic relationship with 'the act of Venus', which was the euphemistic term favoured by the medical regimens of the time for talking about sexual intercourse. Leprosy had always been linked with aberrant coitus (such as copulating with a menstruating woman), with high sexual libido levels, and with prostitutes; prostitutes were identified with genital disease. The new infection was associated with all these and male fears about contracting it became enshrined in the 'femme fatale'.

In fact, late medieval literature had yielded a potential model for this wanton-female stereotype in Robert Henryson's *The Testament of Cresseid*.[48] Henryson's Cresseid functioned as a warning to 'worthie Wemen' against 'wantones' (stanza 77.l.549): her 'Incurabill' sickness, leprosy, was depicted as a fitting punishment both for her blasphemy against Venus, and more importantly, for her 'leving unclene and Lecherous' (st. 41.285). This outwardly pretty, 'Fayre', woman's inner corruption – her sin – became emblazoned on her body as shameful proof of her infidelity to 'worthie Troylus': 'With byles blak ovirspred in hir visage / And hir fair colour faidit and alterait' (st. 57.395–6). This revised, unambiguous ending to Chaucer's poem met with market approval in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, being published a number of times in several editions, both with Chaucer's text (as in William Thynne's edition of 1532) and separately (notably Sir Francis Kinaston's Latin translation of 1639).[49] Kinaston's gloss on Henryson's poem is important for understanding how the poem was understood in the context of the early seventeenth century: 'he [Henryson] learnedly takes uppon him in a fine poeticall way to expres

the punishment & end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery'. Kinaston proceeded to record how Henryson died prematurely from 'dirrhea or fluxe' under the curse of an 'old woman . . . who was held a witch'.[50] Cresseid, here, is abusively termed a whore and female malevolence asserts itself in the form of a witch. Cresseid is no longer just a danger to herself: Kinaston rather curiously implicates Henryson's depiction of her disease in the poet's own painful demise. Henryson's leprous Cresseid has effectively been stamped over with the dangerous 'harlot' brand associated in the early modern period with syphilis.

The harlot in medical literature had already achieved a high level of clarification in relation to another sexually transmitted infection, 'burnynge' (probably gonorrhoea); this, for example, was Boord's colourful depiction:

> This impedyment dothe come whan a harlot doth holde in her breth and clapse her handes hard togyther and toes in lyke maner. And some harlotte doth stande over a chafynge dyshe of coles into the whiche she doth put brymstone and there she doth parfume herselfe. . . . If a man be burnt . . . let them washe theyr secrets . . . with white wine. (f. xv.v)

This variation on 'getting one's fingers burned', is redolent with anxiety about beguiling women, their malevolence and potential to harm, and with male guilt, too, for this is effectively a depiction of the agent of male punishment for the sin of lechery. Von Hutten had succumbed to the temptation and got more than a 'burnynge'; his fear and loathing manifested itself in the type of misogynous outburst that seems to have gained passion and currency in some male-authored writing as the century progressed. He declared:

> This thing as touching women resteth in their secret places, having in those places litle prety sores ful of venom poison, being very danger-ous, for those that unknowingly medle with them. The which sicknes gotten by such infected women, is so moche the more vehement and grevous, how moch they be inwardly poluted and corrupted. (f. 5v)

Moral and physical pollution are conflated in Hutten's description of 'in-fected women' who, with their 'venom poison', are reminiscent of serpents, but alluring ('prety') ones – devils in disguise, perhaps? In the words of the French feminist Luce Irigaray, 'by the logic that has dominated the West since the Greeks', the woman's 'sex organ represents the horror of having nothing to see'.[51] We can only assume that this 'horror' would have been markedly intensified by the arrival of a venereal disease that heightened the importance of being able to 'see' in order to decipher the

marks of its presence on the female body. Indeed, even without the assistance of models from psychoanalysis, it is easy to appreciate the anxiety generated by the new venereal infection. The disease's primary manifestations were effectively, and very problematically, hidden from the male gaze. Lechery had become as dangerous as a game of Russian roulette. Figuring sex, pain and death, and containing the possibility of the transgression of a taboo simultaneously with its punishment, the 'harlot's' body had become a highly charged erotic symbol.[52]

According to the physicians' accounts, women were more dangerous when aroused and when in their 'menses': in 1527 Jacques de Bethencourt warned of 'the special virulence of a courtesan's menses'.[53] The old law of Leviticus appears to have informed the medical construction of the Pox; Mary Douglas's thesis is again relevant and illuminating:

> But as we examine pollution beliefs we find that the kind of contacts which are thought dangerous also carry a symbolic load. . . . I believe that some pollutions are used as analogies for expressing a general view of the social order.[54]

The belief that one sex endangers another through contact can, according to Douglas, be seen to express hierarchy, to symbolize the relation between parts of society. Male authority and dominance is undoubtedly inscribed in these depictions of tainted women: blame is conveniently deflected onto the 'weaker' sex. In the terms of Douglas's categories, however, repeatedly emphasized anxieties about pollution entering through bodily orifices might also indicate fears about social instability. It is noteworthy in this regard that, writing for a predominantly élite male readership of the late 1590s, Peter Lowe represented sexual intercourse with 'common' women (prostitutes) as less dangerous to male well-being than that with 'the other, who take greater pleasure therein, by reason that they use not the act so often' (sig. B2v). He grounds his conjecture – which he offers as fact – rather insecurely in the medical theory that the more heated and excited the woman's humours became, the greater the likelihood of the transmission of infection. The overall implication is that female lovers of a more equivalent social status pose a greater pollution threat than 'common' women. 'The other' would also, of course, encompass the more powerful and articulate women: those who could conceivably have represented any challenge (actual or fantasized) to the patriarchal status quo.

On a more playful but related note, hidden pollution, the venom of sensuous women, soon established itself as a recurring, witty and erotic motif in Continental belletristic productions, reaching a peak of popularity

in Italian and French poems, songs and paintings, in the 1540s. Ubert Naich's madrigal 'Per Dio, Tu Sei Cortese', explicitly about the 'French pox', celebrated the beauty of 'my goddess with those lovely eyes' at the same time as lamenting the 'sores and aches' and 'secret venom' that lurked within her.[55] Erwin Panofsky has described how Venus was depicted in a number of Mannerist pictures propelling her tainted milk into the mouths of unsuspecting youths and into the stream of love, poisoning greedy imbibers.[56] Agnolo Bronzino's highly erotic *Allegory with Venus and Cupid, c*. 1545 (see Plate 6), features a similar 'femme fatal' alongside her tortured syphilitic male victim.[57] Significantly, all these depictions are informed by anxiety about 'secret' infection: because of the nature of the female genital organs and because, too, of syphilis's latent – 'hidden' – phases, it was possible for someone to have the disease yet not to bear the outward marks of it.

Such representations were slower to emerge in countries seriously engaged in Protestant reform. Puritan prudery is not the explanation for this. Indeed, deceitful Venuses and tainted Eves became common in the moralizing emblem books of the early seventeenth century. Rather, the disease's associations with vice and inner corruption – even in the absence of exterior proof ('signs' of the infection) – made it a wonderful vehicle for stigmatizing a priesthood long perceived as morally lax, and a Roman Church construed as degenerate. As we shall see, Erasmus's *Colloquies* played a crucial role in establishing the motif of the Pox-ridden priest, and the Edwardian stage deployed a Protestant version of the 'pocky' harlot in the name of godly reform.

Erasmus's *Colloquies*: establishing the Pox's literary figurations

Erasmus began writing his vivid and entertaining *Colloquies* in the 1520s to illustrate a model Latin colloquial style, but also to impart spiritual, moral and practical wisdom engagingly. They dealt with matters as diverse as war, marriage, government, religion, child-rearing and the 'new' disease, in a style which was dramatic, witty, homely and heavily ironic. They were prescribed reading in the grammar schools of England and their success here was such that they appeared in numerous editions and translations.[58] Describing the special appeal of the *Colloquies* to Englishmen, a modern editor, Dickie Spurgeon, has suggested that during a time of profound social ferment, they 'furnished a practical, wise, and systematically Christian guide to conduct and belief'.[59] With their emphasis on personal responsibility and individual moral choice, they certainly provided important models for godly behaviour in the reformed Church. The Protestant

reformer Philip Gerrard addressed the Epistle of his translation of Erasmus's *The Epicurean* to the young Edward VI, characterizing it as 'one of the godliest Dialogues that any man hath written' (p. 119). *The Epicurean* contained a strong warning against 'hauntynge of whores', linking lechery to:

> The new leprosie, nowe otherwyse named Jobs agew, and some cal it the scabbes of Naples, through whiche desease they feele often the most extreme and cruell paines of deathe even in this lyfe, and cary about abodye resemblyng very much some dead coarse or carryn. (p. 149)

Here, as elsewhere in the dialogues, the disease amounted to a living death in which the body slowly and painfully rotted, and was eaten away by corruption. Such constructions were intended, in Erasmus's words here, to impress on 'young people . . . [the] safeguarding of their chastity'.[60]

Nicholas Leigh gave his reasons for translating and publishing two dialogues (1568), one of which was the particularly popular *The Young Man and the Harlot*, as threefold: first, 'for the pleasantnesse of the matter'; secondly, for 'the triall of my selfe what I could do in translating'; and, thirdly, because of the 'godlye and wholesome exhortations and lessons' they contained (p. 310). In spite of their unsparing depictions of Pox sufferers, the *Colloquies* were perceived as entertaining; they had a strong literary appeal and their significance to contemporary English writing and later satiric drama has been vastly underestimated. Erasmus was passionately opposed to war, intolerant of the abuses of the idle rich, and critical of the deportment of priests and the excesses of the Roman Church. It was no coincidence, then, that in the three of his dialogues which dealt most extensively with 'the new leprosie', his syphilitic protagonists were a mercenary soldier, a luxurious whoring aristocrat and a Romish priest.

A primary strategy of the *Colloquies* was to encourage readers to be wary of spiritual teachers in a Christian community undergoing profound upheaval; an upheaval meaningfully depicted in Erasmus's characteristic homely fashion in the dialogue *A Woman in Childbed*: 'the house of the Church is shaken with dangerous factions: this way and that way is the seamlesse coate of Christ torne in peeces'.[61] The characters receiving moral guidance frequently make sharp and pertinent criticisms of weaknesses in their instruction, encouraging an invigorated sceptical consciousness in the reader. Sometimes, too, the spiritual guides expose themselves as unworthy, as the Romish priest does in *The Young Man and the Harlot*. William Bullein's *Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence* was similarly organized to keep readers on their guard. Indeed, the success of this formula was probably a key factor in both the German and English reformers' frequent adoption of the interactive dialogue form, the natural successor to which was a drama

of more complex 'types'. Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, for example – unlike the medieval morality plays – problematized the very nature of good and evil, rendering easy assumptions about their location in society untenable. Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* presents a comparable challenge to the reader, demanding active and ongoing participation in the construction of meaning and crucially in the discernment of veiled evil. The Protestant Reformation produced a climate of suspicion, intensifying anxieties about hypocrisy and the need to distinguish the 'false' from the 'true'. Who were the good and bad angels? How could you recognize them – by what signs and/or marks? Were you yourself one of the godly or simply self-deluded? As we have seen, the new disease heightened fears about sexual contacts – how could you distinguish the clean woman from the infected? Anxieties about moral and physical pollution coincided: looking for 'signs' to guide choices was imperative.

The external marks of a disease contracted in sin could be, and were, profoundly stigmatizing in this context. Whilst English physicians were reluctant to write about it because of this, those discontented with the Roman Church seized on its political potential. Religious upheaval thus left its imprint on the social construction of syphilis: the decay and slow death of the body it caused, and its strong association with hypocrisy, were for some, and notably for Erasmus, analogous to what was happening in the Christian community. His colloquy *The Young Man and the Harlot* (1523) effectively circulated the powerfully negative image of the Pox-ridden priest throughout the schools and universities of Europe sympathetic to Protestant reform, with important results. Having achieved a high level of clarification in late medieval satire, the figure of the lascivious cleric would not have been unfamiliar to sixteenth-century readers; it was the addition of venereal disease as evidence of his sin and God's punishment that was the new departure.

In *The Young Man and the Harlot*, Erasmus took one of the common motifs of edifying fiction – the penitent harlot – and fashioned a shocking twist to his story. The reformed rake, Sophronius, who was once 'wont to be amongst all the little goods' (p. 351), converts the harlot, Lucrecia (shortened meaningfully to Lucre in this Tudor translation), out of her sinful ways with the gruesome warning:

> And thou makest thy selfe a common Gonge [jakes], or muckhill whereunto fowle and filthy, scalde, and scurvie, doth at their pleasure resort, to shake off their filth and corruption. That if thou be yet free and not infected wyth that lothsome kinde of leprosie, commonly called the french pockes, assure thy selfe thou cannot long be wythout it . . . what shalt thou then be, but a lump of quick carraine . . . (pp. 349–50)

This was a very novel construction for the time: here filthy, 'corruption'-full men are the potential polluters of the whore, not vice versa. Erasmus appears to have been challenging society's familiar stereotypes and, in the process, creating new ones. The reason for Sophronius' impassioned reform was, he reveals, that 'When I was come to Rome, I powred out the hole sincke of my conscience into the bosome of a certayne Frier penitentiarie' (p. 354) and, to his horror, the priest confessed to being a former whoremonger and syphilitic. This dubious confessor urged:

> Sonne . . . if thou truely repent, . . . I passe not on thy penance, but if thou proceed stil therin, thy very lust it self shal at the length bring thee to paine and penaunce ynough . . . loke upon my selfe . . . bleare eyed, palsey shaken, and crooked, and in time paste I was even such a one as thou declarest thy selfe to be. Thus loe have I learned to leave it. (p. 355)

On a similar note, Lucrecia confides to Sophronius that many of her best customers are 'reverend personages' (p. 352). Motivated by subsistence worries not lust, she maintains she took up her dubious profession – for want of any better or a husband – to make ends meet: 'I must get my living one way or other' (p. 347). This is certainly a powerful little piece of dramatic satire, which intentionally shocks and unsettles, stripping down the usual safe boundaries inherent in society's stereotypes and erecting new, unexpected ones. The stereotype of the syphilitic priest proved particularly appealing to the English reformers, and the 'Reverende and renowned Clarke Erasmus Roterodamus: whose learning, vertue, and authoritie is of sufficient force to defend his doyngs' (Nicholas Leigh, p. 313) became an authority to invoke when tarnishing the reputations of unreformed English clerics, as well as Romish ones, with the syphilis smear.

Shortly after this dialogue was originally published Simon Fish compiled *A Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, deploying the motif of the Pox-ridden priest to further the process of ecclesiastical reform in Britain:

> These be they that have made an hundreth thousand ydell hores yn your [Henry VIII's] realme, which wolde have gotten theyre lyving honestly, yn the swete of theyre faces, had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected theym to unclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankynd yn your realme; that catche the pokkes of one woman, and bere theym to an other . . . ye, some one of theym shall bost emong his felawes, that he hath medled with an hundreth wymen.[62]

Whilst 'woman' is the primary source of physical pollution in this account, unreformed priests and monks are projected as the spiritual and physical corrupters of 'the hole generation of mankynd'. The force of this attack lies in the representation of a class of men who should be the spiritual élite, as even more reprehensible than harlots. To present them as male polluters rather than as male victims of 'the pokkes' – the usual construction in male discourse – was, in the terms of Mary Douglas's categories, to downgrade the priesthood to the inferior rank and status equivalent to, or below, 'wymen'. Social inferiors are easier to subdue and victimize, and the cumulative effects of such rhetorical tracts undoubtedly assisted Thomas Cromwell's task of closing monastical properties.

The tradition was continued by the Marian refugees who deployed the Pox motif in propaganda aimed at undermining the hold of Catholicism in England. One of William Turner's polemical tracts declared, for example, that 'the Romyshe pokkes' was 'false religion papistrie, and unwrytten worshippyng of God, fathers fantasies'.[63] Similarly, when the Cornish Puritans supplicated Parliament about the 'decay' of the church in the 1580s they claimed that Pox-ridden churchmen whose 'infectious breath . . . savoureth of carrion', made 'God's children to abhor them, and the uncleanness and filthiness of their hands maketh them unfit members to wait at the Lord's table'.[64] Interestingly, in the next century, John Milton resurrected this construction of Pox-corrupted clergy to damage the image of the established church: he maintained its representatives were 'tigers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the preaching but the sweating-tub, inspir'd with nothing holier then the Venereal pox'.[65] In all these representations, syphilitic infection is construed as emblematic of inner corruption and hypocrisy; because the disease could be hidden yet present, it was an ideal vehicle for slander.

In fact, *The Young Man and the Harlot* encouraged a chain of political deployments which Erasmus himself might not have welcomed: horrified by what he saw as Luther's dangerous extremism, he decided to remain within the Catholic Church – a matter of some embarrassment to later Protestant admirers of his work. William Burton prefaced his 1606 translation of *A Godly Yong man and a Harlot* with the uneasy retort: 'In the rest of the Dialogues, thou shalt perceive how little cause the Papists have to boast of Erasmus, as a man of their side' (sig. L2r).

Women and children would, however, have had sound reason to invoke Erasmus as a man 'of their side'. Unlike the medical writers of the sixteenth century, Erasmus troubled himself with the effects of the new sexually transmitted infection on the innocent victims of male libertine behaviour – their wives and children. He took the culpable male polluters to task in a way that indicates he was far more concerned with the ethical

and health messages he was trying to convey than with placating his male readers. The dialogue *A Marriage in Name Only* or *The Unequal Match* (1529), like *The Young Man and the Harlot*, challenged comfortable male assumptions about society's disease polluters.

Functioning as a rebuke to parental selfishness, greed and stupidity, *The Unequal Match* related how a beautiful girl was being married off – effectively sold – to a rotting 'corpse', a syphilitic, wayward nobleman. His dicing, drinking, lies and whoring had earned him this 'living death' which was subsequently to be unfairly inflicted upon his young wife:

> Meanwhile, enter our handsome groom; nose broken, one foot dragging after the other (but less gracefully than the Swiss fashion would be), scurvy hands, a breath that would knock you down, lifeless eyes, head bound up, bloody matter exuding from nose and ears. (Thompson, p. 405)

This reads dramatically, like a stage instruction – 'enter our handsome groom' – to produce a startlingly vivid and bitterly ironic depiction of fashionable nobility. As the next chapter will demonstrate, such colourful portrayals obviously impressed themselves forcefully on the germinal minds of budding playwrights in their grammar schools, including the young Shakespeare and Dekker. Furthermore, and rather crucially, Erasmus's authority effectively lent a seal of approval to images of the syphilitic emerging and functioning in a dramatic context.

The two participants in this dialogue, Petronius and Gabriel, do not advocate the wifely devotion to a Pox-sufferer admired by Juan Luis Vives in *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (1524); on the contrary, they go so far as to declare this 'a marriage in name only'. The syphilitic has forfeited his rights as a husband and although the sufferer here is a knight with a coat-of-arms, he will soon be unfit for anything, and certainly not for leadership, because 'undeniably this disease depletes whatever brains a man has' (p. 407). In constructing this dialogue, Erasmus was clearly responding to worries about the spread of this disease particularly amongst the nobility and society's rulers: it repeats in a more accessible fictional form many of the points made in his *Institutio Christiani Matrimonii* (1526). Petronius declares that it is time for Princes to take action against the new contagion and proceeds to indicate some key preventive measures: kissing, sharing cups, sleeping in soiled sheets and getting too close to people, should all be stringently avoided. Indeed, if Erasmus's facts about the transmission of the disease had been accurate, modern health educators might commend this piece of writing as excellent preventive health care propaganda.

From the time of its earliest appearance, syphilis prompted heated ethical debates centring on marriage and moral duties to one's spouse and children. Vives was an authoritative spokesman for one side, Erasmus for the other; but it was Erasmus's views, popularized by his *Colloquies*, which held important sway in Britain. In 1530, in his lectures on canon law at the University of Aberdeen, for example, William Hay asserted: 'It is not lawful to ask for intercourse or to agree to it if one of the parties of the marriage has the Neapolitan sickness'.[66]

It is commonly assumed by critics that syphilis and marriage first began to receive public attention through plays of the late nineteenth century, namely Ibsen's *Ghosts* and Eugene Brieux's *Damaged Goods*, which both give dramatic expression to the moral and practical dilemmas surrounding syphilis and families.[67] However, as we have seen, Erasmus dealt with these emotive issues in his *Colloquies*, which were repeatedly published, translated, and used as pedagogic tools in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the physician Eugene Fournier's book *Syphilis and Marriage* (1881), which Brieux drew on for his play, echoes of Erasmus reverberate throughout. Concerned about the effect of syphilis on the 'honest woman', Fournier argues, for example, that the responsible physician must concern himself with whether a bridegroom might 'give a virtuous young woman the pox as a wedding present'.[68] As well as disseminating facts about the disease's spread, Ibsen, Fournier and Brieux were all concerned – as Erasmus had been – to shatter the veil of hypocrisy surrounding syphilis: to deflect blame from poor female prostitutes driven to their occupation by the need to survive materially, onto the upper-class whoremongers whose money and privilege fed their crime, producing widespread misery. This was not, therefore, novel territory for dramatists – English Jacobean playwrights, undoubtedly encouraged by Erasmus's worthy and successful foray in this direction, had been there before. However, syphilis's earliest stage deployments, though associated with depictions of prostitution and faulty family relationships, were of a rather different but equally polemical cast.

The Harlot's disease: 'Pocky bodies' in 'godly' Tudor Interludes: *Nice Wanton* and *Marie Magdalene*

> In godly myrth to spend the tyme we doe intende
>
> Lewis Wager, The Prologue, *Marie Magdalene* (1567) sig. A3r

Together, these two Protestant morality plays illustrate the range and importance of the doctrinal issues and symbolism surrounding the new

leprosy-like disease for the purveyors of the reformed, or, more accurately, reforming religion.[69] Building on Bale's earlier initiative of deploying diseased bodies on the stage, they succeeded, in fact, in establishing a powerful emblematic currency and performance tradition surrounding the Pox, which inevitably informed subsequent theatre.

Nice Wanton and *Marie Magdalene* were probably written to be acted by choirboys before the court of the young Edward VI. As in Bullein's *Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence*, Protestant health-giving wisdom was construed in Erasmian, humanistic terms, as requiring an accessible and entertaining vehicle. 'Godly myrth' was thus a key conjunction but achieving the implied balance between godly instruction and pleasure was not a simple matter when the latter was largely dependent on the portrayal of vice. Lewis Wager found it necessary to defend his Interlude against detractors who recognized the material as well as the spiritual profit that the pleasurable aspects of the depictions of vice could attract: 'O (say they) muche money they doe get' (Prologue, sig. A2v). Rather paradoxically, and in the manner of Marlowe's *Dr Faustus*, these early Protestant dramatists clearly recognized, and exploited, the compelling theatrical value – the tantalizing erotic and comic possibilities – of sin. Consequently, in the Edwardian Interludes, as in later Protestant drama (notably, for example, Dekker's *The Honest Whore*), a creative tension often exists between the moral/religious design of the work and the pleasure of exposition.[70]

As John King has argued, in the Protestant Interlude fornication tends to become 'a composite symbol for the seven deadly sins'.[71] He cites as the main reason for this John Bale's development and popularization for the English context of the Lutheran identification of the Whore of Babylon of Revelation with the Church of Rome: dramatic bawdry thus came to symbolize 'the "spiritual fornication" of Roman ritualism'.[72] When, therefore, the audience witnessed the seduction and fall of characters such as Dalila and Marie in *Nice Wanton* and *Marie Magdalene,* they were simultaneously engaging with the plays' allegorical levels of meaning in which, according to the Protestant reformers' version of history, the True, undefiled Church was sullied and temporarily superseded by the corrupt False Church of Antichrist. Naturally – given the popular association of Pox with prostitutes – the harlot Church, like her lascivious priests, had a special imagined affinity with venereal disease. In his propaganda pamphlet, provocatively entitled *A new booke of Spirituall Physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande* (1555), the Marian exile, William Turner, recorded how thoroughgoing the stigmatizing tie between 'thys abominable frenche pox' and Catholicism could be. Turner, 'doctor of Physik', reconstrues the origins of the 'pokkes' in a 'noble hore' of Italy (f. 74r):

> There was a certeyne hore in Italy, whych had a perillus disease called false religion . . . all the kynges and nobilitie of the earth . . . they committed fornication wyth her . . . and caught the Romishe pokkes. (f. 74r)

The anti-Rome propaganda in the two Interludes under discussion is considerably more subdued than this, depending, for its effect, on the audiences' prior apprehension of the significance of the 'harlot' and her attendant Catholic Vices to Protestant history. Both Dalila and Marie, however, face death from the 'pokkes' as a fitting punishment meted out by God for their 'fornication', but the deployment of the disease in each of the plays functions primarily to illustrate an aspect of Protestant doctrine and undoubtedly, too, to further Erasmus's worthy endeavour of 'safeguarding . . . chastity' in young people.[73]

Indeed, the Edwardian dramatization of prostitution and venereal disease carried a far greater symbolic weight than can be satisfactorily accounted for by invoking Bale's crude propaganda models. To understand fully, for example, Lewis Wager's *The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene* we must return to Calvin's teachings in *The Institution*, and particularly to his exposition of original sin.[74] To recap, briefly: Calvin apprehended original sin as an inherited disease of the soul productive of 'workes of the flesh . . . Sinne' (II.I.8, f. 4r). The infection sprang from Eve's transgression which was prompted by 'infidelitie': 'The woman was with the deceite of the Serpent led awaye by infidelitie' (II.I.4, f. 4v). 'Infidelitie' is the leading Vice in Wager's Interlude, and Marie's fall from grace, signalled by her embracing Pride, Cupiditie and Carnall Concupiscence (and thus succumbing to the works of the flesh), and adopting an appearance suggestive of a Southwark prostitute ('So that I might be plesant to every mans eye' sig. B3r), is depicted as a consequence of her seduction by this composite personification of sin and evil. 'Infidelitie,' as the antithesis of 'Fayth', is the 'head of all iniquitie, / The well and spryng of all wickednesse' (sig. A4r). He is a hypocrite wearing a 'face' of love and honesty where there is only lechery and deceit; and who frequently changes his 'gowne', 'cappe', and 'visour', in order better to beguile and seduce his victims. As Adam's corrupter he is 'the Serpents sede', offspring of 'Sathan' (sig. B3r); and as 'Moysaicall Justice' (sig. A3v) he represents the old Law, the old Faith (encompassing for this Protestant play, Judaism and Roman Catholicism) which betrayed, and was perceived in the mid-sixteenth century as continuing to betray, Christ: 'Infidelitie all mens heartes doe occupie: / Infidelitie now above true Faith doth remayne', Infidelitie rejoices (sig. A4r). On a more material, human plane, he is the embodiment of unrestrained appetite, preoccupied with culinary as well as sexual gratification ('we had wonderfull good fare . . . plentie of fleshe and fishe', sig. A3v); and, crucially,

he is a consummate pimp who encourages and promotes sexual liaisons outside wedlock. Exploiting Marie's immaturity and abusing her trust in his age and authority, this false spiritual guide urges, 'Your bodily pleasure I would have you to exercise' (sig. B2r).

In the sixteenth century 'infidelity' had long signified 'want of faith; unbelief' (*OED2* [1]) but the modern meaning of sexual, especially marital, unfaithfulness or disloyalty seems to have emerged in this period (*OED2* [3]), first noted use, 1529). Undoubtedly, this extension of meaning to the sphere of personal relationships derived from the perceived centrality of marriage to the Protestant programme of reforming the morals of the priesthood and of society generally: quite simply, being one of the faithful, a member of the True Church, involved containing one's sexual appetite within the institution of marriage. The punishment for not doing so was likely to be a dose of 'the pocks', and, indeed, it is this meaningful knowledge of the consequence of sin, which leads to Marie's reform.

Mistaking Infidelitie for Prudence because of his deceptive 'geare', Marie confides in him, relating the fearful sexual encounter that initiates the process of her spiritual rebirth. Ironically, her incredulous account of her ravishment constitutes one of the comic highpoints of the play: on repairing to bed she found 'hym in the flaxen beard' hiding there like 'some yll spirite' smelling of 'muske and civet' (sig. E2r). This is the depiction of a diseased lecher disguising his bad smells (of sin and infection) with sweet perfumes. This anxiety-producing liaison results in her confrontation with 'the Lawe' and her introduction to a further personification, 'Knowledge of Sinne': a Protestant Virtue who kindles her conscience, setting her on the road to repentance mainly, it seems, through his appearance. We can only guess how this figure looked, but Infidelitie's abusive response to his entrance gives us some idea:

> Lo, Mary, have ye not sponne a fayre threde?
> Here is a pocky knave, and an yll favoured;
> The devill is not so evill favoured, I thinke in dede,
> Corrupt, rotten, stinkyng, and yll favoured.
>
> (sigs. E4v–F1r)

'Knowledge of Sinne' is surely in the guise of a sufferer from 'that lothsome kinde of leprosie': rotten, stinking, and disfigured like the priest in *The Young Man and the Harlot* and the bridegroom in *The Unequal Match*. This makes sound doctrinal sense if we attend once again to Calvin's teaching and his emphasis on the significance of 'The history of Job':

> To throwe men down with knowledge of their owne follye, weakenesse and uncleannesse, bryngeth alwaye his princypal profe . . . describing Gods wisdome, strength and cleannes. (I.I.3, f. 1v)

Marie, like Job, is alerted to the sullied state of her soul, to her need for repentance, by its external manifestation as a physical disease: Knowledge of Sinne is, in fact, an embodiment of the Pox and of the fate that awaits her if she continues to prostitute her body. Once she has grasped the nature of her diseased conscience through viewing this 'pocky' personification of it she pleads: 'O blessed Lawe shew me some remedy!' (sig. F1r). Marie subsequently turns from the corrupting effects of Infidelitie and happily finds her 'salve and medecine' (sig. F2r) in Christ, Faith and Love. Having, therefore, forsaken the old 'Moysaicall Justice' for Christ, the Word, the new Law; and having reformed her morals and set about regenerating her soul through faith and love as a good Protestant, Marie is spared the slippery downward slope of inner and outward corruption symbolized in this play by the Pox. This version of Mary Magdalene's story illustrates the fundamental Protestant doctrine of justification by faith; but Wager's dramatization of Calvin's insights and of Marie's personal conversion is simultaneously a representation of, and a model for, how the Christian Commonwealth might be healed by a more thoroughgoing conversion to Protestantism, thus avoiding the slow spiritual and social degeneration threatened by the continued adherence of many to the old 'infected' religion of Rome and to Infidelitie. Emblematic of sin and corruption and associated with fear, pain and suffering, the 'new leprosie' (*The Epicurean*) was a powerful mediating disease construct for the Protestant message.

In *Nice Wanton*, as in *Marie Magdalene*, spiritual corruption is externalized as physical disease, but in this play the fallen woman's sin becomes emblazoned on her own body: for Dalila, unlike Marie, there is no escape. Like Erasmus's priest, syphilitic disease renders her 'bleare eyed, palsey shaken, and crooked'; and, in a manner highly reminiscent of Henryson's leprous Cresseid, reduced to the status and appearance of a beggar, Dalila laments her pain and deformities which she attributes to her 'filthy living'. Offering herself as a spectacle of diseased corruption, Dalila complains: 'My parentes did tidle me, they were to blame, / In steade of correction, in yll did me maintain' (sig. B2r). Aberrant parenting, conceived as allowing too much 'libertye' (sig. C1v), 'ydelnes and play' (sig. A2v), has caused the prodigal daughter to become 'a strong whore' (sig. B4v). Dalila dies from her actual disease, acknowledging, 'Justly for my sinnes God doth plague me' (sig. B2r), whilst her equally reprobate brother, Ismael, is 'hanged in chaynes' (sig. B4v). Crime and vice in this Interlude thus become instances

of the type of self-killing alluded to in Boord's contemporaneous medical tract. Disorder, consequent upon the parents' negligent and intemperate management of their offspring, leads to 'horror' which is rendered explicit in the gruesome sign of Dalila's disfigured, decaying body.

In these two Interludes, as in Bullein's dialogues, we see the Protestant appropriation of the discourse of medicine (encompassing its disease constructs) to give meaningful clarification and an emotive edge (disease is always associated with fear and medicinal cures with gratitude) both to doctrinal issues and to anti-Catholic propaganda. Thus, for example, the Virtue, the Lawe, instructs the conscience-stricken Marie Magdalene:

> Thy sore is knowen, receive thy salve and medicine,
> I have the sicke to the leache, give good eare,
> Hearken diligently unto his good discipline,
> And he will heale thee . . .
>
> (sig. F2r)

These are old and familiar biblical, homiletic metaphors of healing but, as is becoming increasingly clear, the reformers built on ideas and fears associated with particular sixteenth-century diseases and contexts to address contemporary problems and to articulate specifically Protestant 'cures'.

We have seen how the grotesquely disfigured 'pocky' body was a densely symbolic stage signifier, serving to convey meaning in multiple domains simultaneously: it had physical, spiritual, moral, religious and social resonances, all centring on degeneration and corruption. Indeed, the 'pocky' body functioned in a strangely, but aptly, similar way to Christ's body in late medieval drama where, as Sarah Beckwith has described, 'each set of categories transcode[d] and refer[red] to others, and meaning [was] constructed and deferred through these interrelationships'.[75] In fact in these Protestant plays the 'pocky' body represented the degenerate antithesis of Christ's body – the Christian body corrupted through Papal Catholicism. Furthermore, in both the *Colloquies* and the Interludes, hypocritical, lascivious male authority figures were intimately associated with this degeneration – with the abuse and exploitation of the less powerful female body. Whilst sixteenth-century physicians' and male sufferers' accounts of the Pox tended to locate blame in the polluting female body, these literary representations worked to suggest a rather different scenario: gender politics are never far removed from depictions of venereal infection. More generally, syphilis's associations with the sexual act and with original sin meant that the disease became a familiar motif in literature preoccupied with morals, vice and

the fallen condition. Inevitably the Tudor representations inform those of the early seventeenth century, but the meanings of the disease mutate slightly, as we should expect, with time and social change. Fifty years on the Pox is being deployed on the Jacobean stage for related, yet shifting ideological purposes, and with increasingly sophisticated aesthetic effect. In the next chapter we shall witness the coming of age of Iniquity and Infidelity.

5
The Pocky Body: Part II

'The plague that a Whore-house layes upon a Citty'[1]

It is a curious fact that when the London theatres reopened after the major bubonic plague epidemic of 1603, a cluster of plays emerged which, through their imagery, allusions and themes, directed their attention not to 'the' plague but to the venereal sister plague – the French Pox. Prostitutes, courtesans, panders, bawds, and lecherous males with their attendant 'infection' became commonplace types on the Jacobean stage for a number of interrelated reasons that it will be the purpose of this chapter to explore.

There has been no shortage of prior attempts to account for the prevalence of images of venereal disease in Jacobean drama, especially Shakespeare's. Gregory Bentley has argued that syphilis was the *ne plus ultra* figure of social 'corrosion' and, like the disease itself, this was rife in early Stuart society – hence its extensive theatrical presence.[2] The 1990s hailed syphilis, rather differently, as the Jacobean figure *par excellence* of desire, and uncontained desire, like its figure, is a pronounced hallmark of the period's 'theatre of excess'.[3] On a rather different note, Johannes Fabricius has argued that Shakespeare's 'Bohemian and libertine' lifestyle led to his contracting venereal disease, consequently his 'mid-life' creations are replete with images of syphilis, reflecting his suffering and subsequent 'misanthropy'.[4] Meanwhile, Jonathan Gil Harris has emphasized syphilis's association in the early seventeenth century with heightened anxieties about 'foreign bodies', anxieties promoted by the rise of Paracelsan medicine.[5]

I argue that the Tudor literary – dramatic traditions explored in the previous chapter can offer additional or alternative ways of apprehending this representational glut, and that the Pox's ideological resonances – its meanings in other bodily domains than the strictly physical – are of crucial importance.

So too, in my view, are the much neglected commercial and aesthetic aspects of 'pocky' body deployments: figuring disease and death, as well as desire, there is an erotic component here that may well have had box office appeal, and which warrants further exploration. Additionally, an accomplished playwright might attempt to harness the anxiety-producing aspects of disease, described by Sander Gilman as 'the fear of collapse . . . which contaminates the Western image of all diseases',[6] to deliver more than simply erotic pleasure. It is my contention that in *Measure for Measure* and *Pericles* Shakespeare achieved a form of aesthetic empowerment through manipulating spectators' emotions, playing upon their expectations concerning the Pox and its location in society, and disturbing the consoling fictions in which the 'pocky' body was enmeshed.[7] Furthermore, the potent cultural myths surrounding the disease, together with its medico-moral politics, rendered it, as we shall see, a powerful stage vehicle for coded comment and dissent.

First, though, I'd like to explore the important links between Tudor and Jacobean traditions of syphilis's dramatic representation; links which have been almost completely occluded by late twentieth-century scholarship. Among the first seventeenth-century plays to engage extensively and explicitly with the Pox was Dekker and Middleton's *The Honest Whore, Part 1* (1604), which contains a dramatized rendering of key elements of Erasmus's *The Young Man and the Harlot* – a fact that has been overlooked by Dekker's modern editors but which was undoubtedly crucial to the sanctioning of the brothel locus and the venereal disease topos emerging so centrally on the Jacobean stage. Additionally, the fallen woman of *The Honest Whore* is recognizably a Protestant Mary Magdalene type, signalling a continuity of tradition with Tudor moral drama. However, the Pox also appears in Dekker's pamphlets and these representations yield important insights into the socio-cultural construction of syphilis and its stage appeal as contrasted with bubonic plague. It is thus back with Dekker's plague pamphlets that this exploration of early seventeenth-century deployments of the Pox will begin.

'This city of London . . . a privileged place for whoredom'[8]

Reduced to its simplest Christian homiletic form, syphilis was the just wage for the sin of lechery. In *Newes from Graves-ende* (1604) Dekker graphically depicted the fate of the personified 'deadly sins' in plague time; arriving at the 'adulterous and luxurious spirit' (sig. F2r) the reader is transported away from a pitiful, dying lecher to a thriving brothel of 'painted harlots' and 'half-fac'de Panders' who 'smile at this plague' because:

> Knowing their deaths come o're from France:
> Tis not their season now to die,
> Two gnawing poisons cannot lie,
> In one corrupted flesh together.
>
> (sig. F2v)

The French disease is another infection, quite distinct from 'this' or 'the' plague and in this construction its poisonous presence in the body precludes death from bubonic plague ('Being guarded with French Amulets', sig. F2v). In *Worke For Armorours* (1609) 'the' plague was construed as the disease of Poverty's suburban camp whilst Money's city dwellers were prone to the 'gnawing' consumption consequent upon 'Ryot' (sig. G2v). What was the writer's strategy, then, when in the same year, in *Lanthorne and Candle-light* (1608/9), 'The Infection of the Suburbs' was emphatically introduced as both plague and Pox – the latter the disease of whoring enshrined in the 'taffata'-gowned harlots and the 'carted bawdes' of the 'Forreiner's' territory, outside the City walls of London (sig. Gg6v)?

In *Lanthorne and Candle-light* the 'Bel-man', functioning as an indefatigable and privileged searcher-out of vice, is the reader's guide through the metropolis by night. In fact, although the suburbs are initially represented – as in the City governors' rhetoric – as the focus of London's 'infection' (moral and physical), something far more complex ensues which cleverly subverts this conventional construction. The motif of 'shutting (or locking) up', familiar from the plague pamphlets, is employed to draw a sharp, contrasting line between the two main 'infections' of the suburbs:

> When the dore of a poore Artificer (if his child had died but with one Token of death about him) was close ram'd up and Guarded for feare others should have beene infected: Yet the plague that a Whore-house layes upon a Citty is worse yet is laughed at; . . . The Tradesman having his house lockd up, looseth his customers, is put from worke and undon: whilst in the meane time the strumpet is set on worke and maintain'd (perhaps) by those that undoe the others: give thankes O wide-mouth'd Hell! (sig. G6v–H1r)

In characteristic Dekker fashion, Christian homily transmutes into sharp political comment. The poor tradesman has his livelihood removed in plague time through the locking-up policy imposed, selectively, by the same authorities that, 'perhaps', keep the suburb's whorehouses in business. The 'strumpets' parade themselves for all to see, unchallenged by those who should be shutting them up: the 'Counstables, Churchwardens, Bayliffes, Beadels and other Officers Pillors and Pillowes to all the villanies'

(sig. H1r). 'Pillors and Pillowes' implies that these authorities do more than merely countenance the trade. The whores are portrayed as walking vessels of disease who traverse the suburb–City boundary virtually unimpeded; hence the venereal plague associated with prostitution is 'worse' in its potential to contaminate the 'Citty' (and by implication its well-to-do inhabitants) than bubonic plague – the latter being the infection which by 1609 was increasingly located in suburban poverty.

Such tactics expose the hypocrisy of London's rulers and law-enforcers, but the voice of the pamphlet is in danger of sounding like a prostitute-phobic berater of women. Was Dekker himself of this temperament, as Germaine Greer implied in *The Female Eunuch*, by associating him with a translation of a French 'misogynist's account' of marriage?[9] It would certainly be easy to fall into this misapprehension; his persona continues:

> What a wretched wombe hath a strumpet, which being (for the most part) barren of Children, is notwithstanding the onely Bedde that breedes up these serpents? . . . Shee is the Cockatrice that hatcheth all these egges of evills. When the Divell takes the Anatomy of al damnable sinnes, he lookes onely upon her body. When she dies . . . When her soule comes to hell, all shunne that there, as they flie from a body struck with the plague here. She hath her dore-keeper, and she herselfe is the Divells chamber-maide. (sig. H1r–H1v)

The 'serpents' alluded to are the sinners of the suburbs defined in the previous paragraph as cheaters, panders and harlots. In fact this passage prompts the reader to ask how a race of near-sterile (through their Pox-infection) prostitutes could possibly give birth to all the vices of the suburbs they are charged with in the contemporary moralistic, anti-woman discourses which Dekker is imitating here. In their too persistent one-sidedness ('she herselfe'), the repetition of negatives surrounding the female body should make us suspicious, hinting as they do at the ironic, parodic nature of this passage. Ultimately, this polemic encourages the reader to ask who the prostitute's partner(s) in sin might be – it takes two, a 'he' as well as a 'she', to support the vice of prostitution. Indeed, the moralist anatomist, construed suggestively as the 'Divell', looking 'onely upon her body', is implicated in the 'damnable sinnes' he 'takes the Anatomy of': male hypocrisy is, again, the main target of this satire.

The type of discourse Dekker was seeking to evoke was not limited to city legislators' and moralists' tracts: John Lyly's *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1579) seems to have been among the earliest in a late sixteenth-century literary fashion which engaged obsessively with woman-censoring and woman-adoring rhetoric, constructing females as binary opposites of

harlots, devils, serpents, Medusas, cockatrices on the one hand; and angels, virgins and saints on the other.[10] The corruption beneath the seductive exterior is a particularly common motif, recalling Ulrich Von Hutten's construction of polluting women. Indeed, before long syphilis found its way into these voguish literary pronouncements on the concealed dangers of the female body, as in Stephen Gosson's tract, provocatively entitled *Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen, Or a Glasse to View the Pride of Vainglorious Women* (1595):

> These Holland smockes so white as snow,
> and gorgets brave with drawn work wrought:
> A tempting ware they are you know,
> werewith (as nets) vaine youth are caught.
> But manie times they rew the match
> When poxe and pyles by whores they catch.[11]

The 'deceitful Venus' type of French and Italian belletristic verse has clearly, by 1595, made her debut on the English scene. Barnaby Rich's *The Excellency of Good Women* – 'The infallible markes whereby to know them' – provides another example of the type of unashamedly male-centred rhetoric Dekker's passage was attacking:[12]

> Shee must have modesty, bashfullnes, silence, abstinence, sobrietie: she must be tractable to her husband. . . . Shee must not bee a vaine talker. . . . Shee overseeth. . . . Shee must be.[13]

Dekker's tract forces the reader to confront the arrogance and hypocrisy inherent in such rhetorical play but which formed the propaganda basis, too, for the much more harmful scapegoating mechanisms and punitive treatments of prostitutes. From the late 1570s (interestingly, the period when William Clowes was targeting London's poor as its Pox-spreading criminals and calling for tougher measures to control them),[14] the Bridewell authorities had tried to crack down on commercial sex in the capital without much obvious success. In 1602 Samuel Rowlands was able to claim that 'there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than ever there were before the Marshall was appointed'.[15] The Bridewell records reveal that they had, however, succeeded in identifying a profile of brothel clients which implicated the well-to-do in London's vice racket: members of the foreign merchant community, the staffs of the embassies, gentlemen of the Inns of Court and prominent citizens, all featured on their lists.[16] Nevertheless, in the early years of the seventeenth century Lord Chief Justice Popham launched a particularly one-sided

vindictive campaign against poor prostitutes, insisting on the building of houses of correction: his hostility to them earned him a reputation for the persecution of 'poor pretty wenches out of all pity and mercy'.[17]

Apparently intent on redressing the balance by deflecting some of this blame back where he felt it belonged, Dekker implicated the wealthy City-dwelling 'landlords' of the brothels in London's vice network. The voice of *Lanthorne and Candle-light* remonstrates:

> Is not the Land-lord of such rentes the Ground-Bawde . . . sithence hee takes twenty pounds rent every yeare, for a vaulting schoole. . . . And that twenty pound rent, hee knowes must bee prest out of petticoates; his money smells of sin: the very silver lookes pale, because it was earned by lust. (sig. H1r)

Furthermore, the tract maintains that the 'ranckest' whores are 'purged' out of the suburbs 'and (as a cleere streame) . . . let into the Citty' (sig. H1v). Prostitution in the City goes under a different, hypocritical guise: the 'Puritane', the lieutenant's or captain's wife, lodging in places like a scrivener's house so that 'all commers may enter, without the danger of any eyes to watch them' (sig. H1v). Her clients are the City residents, from gallants and merchants, to 'Apron-men' and shopkeepers (sig. H2r). Here, not among the slums of the suburbs, the worst ('ranckest') vice and infection is bred, this discourse forcefully argues, subverting the moralists' claims that the suburbs were exclusively London's 'sink of sin'.[18] Having, therefore, commenced by deploying a common motif from élite discourse – 'the infection of the suburbs' – Dekker proceeded to disentangle its disease elements (syphilis and bubonic plague), separating out venereal disease and the stigma and blame associated with it and relocating it back within the City walls with the luxurious types amongst whom, his tract suggests, this 'infection' was primarily bred and maintained. Indeed, its allegations may have been well founded: the Bridewell Court Books confirm that there were considerable numbers of bawdy establishments operating within the City's jurisdiction, enough, certainly, to lend substance to such claims.[19]

In a much later pamphlet, *Dekker His Dreame* (1620), the writer's edifying underworld dream vision yielded a vivid caricature of the male hypocrite-lecher, versed in clever but dubious rhetoric aimed at deflecting blame for sinful behaviour. Wandering in hell, the dreamer comes across a soul '<u>boyling in Sulphurous flame</u>', cursing God and railing against divine 'Injustice':[20]

> For all the taste of <u>Pleasures</u> I did feele,
> Was in the <u>warme Embracements</u> of my <u>Whore</u>:
> If that were <u>Sin</u>, why then did <u>Nature</u> store

> My Veines with hot bloud, blowing lustfull fire?
> 'Twas her Corruption, and not my Desire.
>
> (f. 34v)

Try as he might, using insidious and warped arguments, to shift responsibility for his conduct onto 'Nature', his 'whore', and ultimately onto God, the hellish punishments being meted out to the lecher confirm his 'corruption', *his* lustful 'desire'. Indeed, Dekker's colourful portrayal of a fallen lecher-rhetorician anticipates Milton's Satan.

Whilst not exonerating prostitutes, Dekker's pamphlets consistently sought to deflect some of the responsibility for their sin back onto their male accomplices ('Pillores') and customers – those 'fallen' types whose greed for money and/or sexual gratification supported prostitution, commodifying and exploiting the female body. In contradistinction to his representation of the plague, though, the perceived sinners associated with the venereal Pox were not merely the uncharitable wealthy: the implicated social range encompassed constables and apron-men as well as rich merchants, united by their gender, their lechery, and their involvement in the corruption of the less powerful female body. Whilst the bubonic plague, conceived as a scourge of God, was visited on whole communities and mostly on those who lacked the resources to 'flee', syphilis much more effectively targeted those perceived as the perpetrators of sin, making it a wonderful disease for appropriation by the satirist. Like the plague, though, the Pox was deployed to articulate and expose power relations construed as exploitative: the politics of syphilis in the first decade of the seventeenth century being, first and foremost, those of gender.

An 'Adulterous Bawdy World': Dekker's *Honest Whore* plays

> That cunning Bawd, (Necessity) night and day
> Plots to undoe me (2.IV.i.135–6)

In the early part of 1604, on behalf of Prince Henry's Company, Henslowe paid £5 to 'Thomas deckers & Midelton in earneste of ther playe Called the pasyent man & the onest hore'.[21] Scholars argue about the extent of the collaboration, but there is general agreement that Dekker had the biggest hand in *1 Honest Whore* and that Middleton had very little to do with *2 Honest Whore*, which was probably performed a year after the first play, in 1605.[22] Although the second play was not published until 1630, *1 Honest Whore* appeared in print in 1604 with Dekker's name alone on

the title-page; another quarto edition was published in the same year. This suggests that the first play met with success, sufficient to warrant it being quickly followed up by both a sequel and the marketing of a playtext. One of these quartos was reissued in 1605 and there were further editions in 1615, 1616 and 1635.[23]

The appeal of *1 Honest Whore* as a reading text is interesting because the first play appears less tightly structured and accomplished as a dramatic entity than the second, yet the latter had to wait 25 years for publication (1630). There could be many reasons for the success of the 1604 quarto but the fact that it contained a recognizable, if heavily adapted, rendition of elements of Erasmus's popular *The Young Man and the Harlot* may have had a considerable bearing on it. One early Jacobean translator of this colloquy prefaced his selection with:

> Good wine needes no Ivy bush, and ERASMUS, hath no need of my commendations. To the learned and judicious, yea generally to all men, he is wel knowne for his deepe learning and profound judgement: that for the entertainment of these his conferences, I needed not but only to have said ERASMUS wrote them.[24]

Erasmus's name assured quality and almost guaranteed market success – his creations needed no 'bush'. Since Thomas Dekker's livelihood depended on the entertainment value of his plays and the popularity of his pamphlets, he would have been quick to recognize not only the dramatic potentialities of the *Colloquies* but also the bonus of having Erasmus's charismatic, marketable name associated, however loosely, with his work. Furthermore, this famous humanist's 'profound judgement' could be invoked to justify the inclusion in the play of a brothel scene replete with bawdy innuendo and extensive venereal disease discussion. In his introduction to *1 Honest Whore*, Cyrus Hoy points out how scholars had recently (1980) 'remarked on the possibility of Dekker's role in introducing to the stage what an older generation of scholars termed "questionable scenes"'; this particularly referred to II.i of *1 Honest Whore* – the penitent harlot scene, termed by Hoy, Dekker's 'droll idea'.[25] Harnessing, as it did, Christian hagiographic (the harlot becomes a Mary Magdalene type) as well as Erasmian authority, Dekker's first extensive brothel scene might not, however, have seemed quite so 'questionable' or so 'droll' to a Jacobean audience. If the *Colloquies'* earthy themes and language were suitable for Christian schoolboys, why not for adult playgoers? It is probable, then, that Erasmus's 'godly', pedagogic dialogues played no negligible role in encouraging a vogue for bawdy city comedy and permitting extensive allusions to syphilis on the Jacobean stage.

This is not to imply that Dekker's evocations of Erasmus's dialogue were mercenary: undoubtedly he sought here, as in his other works and like Erasmus and the Reformation dramatists, to combine comedy and enjoyment (and hence crucially for Dekker, material profit) with social and religious propaganda. Following Erasmus's lead, he drew on and extended the health education potential of the brothel locus at the same time as developing his penitent harlot, Bellafront, into a Mary Magdalene idealized-type to illustrate Christian repentance and to exemplify female godly behaviour under extreme duress. Erasmus's dialogue was really just a starting point and authorization for Dekker's own pedagogic endeavours. Whereas Erasmus's edifying themes were constructed with an élite male readership, and the concerns of the European nobility and religious reform very much to the fore, Dekker's net was cast rather lower: his messages targeted the citizens of early seventeenth-century London. *The Honest Whore* plays both reactivate the anti-Rome polemic contained in *The Young Man and the Harlot,* and build on the germ of a theme found there, foregrounding and reiterating the health and subsistence worries of Milan's (London's) poor women sometimes driven to prostitution to survive. With its Bedlam and Bridewell, the correspondence between this Milan and Jacobean London is apparent.[26] Towards the end of *2 Honest Whore*, Bellafront poignantly expresses the misery attendant on her own past tragic predicament:

> Oh, when the work of Lust had earn'd my bread,
> To taste it, how I trembled, lest each bit,
> Ere it went downe, should choake me (chewing it?).
>
> (2.IV.i.353–6)

The analogy between consumption and prostitution ('You eat, but to supply your blood with sin', 1.II.i.366) is sustained throughout both parts of *The Honest Whore*, highlighting its particular concern – the relationship between poverty, prostitution and 'infection' – but also, through incorporating frequent references to apples and fruit, pointing to its religious and moral preoccupations – fallen sexuality and corrupt appetites.

The Honest Whore dramatizes an 'adulterous bawdy world' (1.I.i.115) where, 'Like Almanackes (whose dates are gone)' (2.IV.i.388), women's bodies are discarded ('throwne by') and replaced subject to the whims and tastes of male consumers. The commodification of sex and womanhood is emphasized through a web of allusion and analogy likening the female body to materials ('A skin, your satten is not more soft, nor lawne whiter', 1.II.i.172), land ('keepe the foresaid Land, out of the foresaid Lords fingers', 2.III.i.39–40) and food ('I have a <u>Punck</u> after supper, as good as a rosted Apple',

1.III.i.17). The luxurious preoccupations of the spendthrift males are juxtaposed and contrasted with the 'necessity' worries of the women: whilst the epitome of the profligate male, Matheo (evocative of Plato's 'Unjust Man'),[27] frenziedly seeks pleasure and culinary delicacies, his wife's interests – after her moral reformation – are purely subsistence ones. Indeed, Matheo and his libertine acquaintances are characterized – like Lewis Wager's Infidelitie – by their excessive 'appetites' and, according to the surgeon William Clowes, such intemperate types, if afflicted with the Pox (as just deserts), were unworthy of the surgeon's assistance: 'Such as are great eaters and drinkers and inordinate users of women are unfit to be cured' (sig. C5v). The two parts of *The Honest Whore* present the root cause of the prostitution problem (and hence of the spread of syphilis) as the paucity of godliness amongst Milanese (and by implication London) gentlemen and, most importantly, their consequent deficient or perverted husbandry of women.

The young nobleman, Hippolito, who converts Bellafront in the brothel, is usually construed by critics as exemplifying virtue and godly manhood – a godliness which then goes horribly wrong in *2 Honest Whore* when he seeks to corrupt virtue enshrined in the penitent harlot, Bellafront.[28] However, a comparison – which the Jacobean audience might more readily have made – of Hippolito's management of the harlot's conversion with that of Erasmus's Sophronius, highlights the Jacobean young man's moral and religious deficiencies. Indeed, indications of his lack of godliness surface throughout Part 1. With the Duke's daughter, Infelice, on whom he had set his heart, apparently dead and freshly buried, the audience is introduced to Hippolito professing his grief and his intention to shun worldliness, devoting himself, instead, to meditation on 'Infaelices end' (1.I.i.126). We find out later that this seeming godly devotion actually consists in his idolatrous worshipping of her sensuous image adorning a 'painted board' in his closet (1.IV.i.46), alongside the more conventional meditation on a skull. Hippolito's servant draws the audience's attention to this impropriety by alluding bawdily to the portrait of Infelice as a 'punk' and himself as a 'bawd' keeping the door of his master's chamber. However, prior to this spectacle, Hippolito's lecherous friends lure him into a brothel where his new sense of morality undergoes its first test, confronted by the beautiful courtesan, Bellafront. Bellafront invites his attentions (and thus his custom) which Hippolito dallyingly declines, claiming that if she were his, 'he could brooke no sharers' (1.II.i.261); he would be 'pleasures usurer' (1.II.i.263).[29] Much to Hippolito's surprise, Bellafront falls in love with this idea, professing loyalty to any 'kind gentleman' who would 'have purchacde sin alone, to himselfe / For his own private use' (1.II.i.269–70). Apparently the young man has confused the prostitute's 'necessity' interests with his own carnal desires projected onto her body which, his language

reveals, is for him just another commodity, to be bought or left as his whims dictate. He protests that she must be feigning; that she would 'abuse' that kind man's 'coyne' and 'shew him a french trick' – the Pox:

> And so you leave him, that a coach may run
> Betweene his legs for bredth.
>
> (1.II.i.307–8)[30]

Thus he trots out the familiar male line redolent with anxiety about infection emanating, spitefully, from seductive, loose women, causing male impotence and bodily decay. This allusion to the French disease appears to trigger an idea which will encourage his chastity, steering him away from dangerous flirtatious territory onto safer ground: he will pass his time by testing his rhetorical skills on the conversion of this 'harlot' – he will imitate the worthy endeavours of the type of morally reformed gentleman epitomized in Erasmus's Sophronius.

The conversion scene is replete with Pox images: the French disease is figured as a physical corruption of the blood transmitted through coitus, analogous to the moral corruption, lust, which taints the blood and soul with 'poison'. The allusions to the Fall link the disease closely to original sin, evoking John Calvin's pronouncements on 'the corrupt appetites of the soule' and the disease of 'infidelitie'. Both the religious (unbelief) and relationship (unfaithfulness) meanings of infidelity circulate in Dekker's conversion scene: Bellafront longs to be 'loyal' to one man only whilst Hippolito upbraids her mercilessly for being willing to 'hire' her body out to the 'fruitless riot' of Moors, Tartars, Jews and Turks. Sexual fidelity is thus construed here, as in Wager's Interlude, as indivisible from loyalty to the 'true' Christian faith.[31] Hippolito's instruction has been far from 'mild', as he promised at the outset; unlike Sophronius' it is lacking in human warmth and has a vindictive edge. He succeeds in converting the harlot but he offers her no alternative means of survival. Where the sincere Sophronius had put money, advice, new lodging and a dowry at Lucrecia's disposal, Hippolito callously walks away, shouting 'Would all the Harlots in the towne had heard me' (1.II.i.426), and leaving a suicidal Bellafront to her own devices. Hippolito has certainly not behaved as a godly young gentleman should. Indeed, it is quite in keeping with this that in *2 Honest Whore* Lord Hippolito, 'whose face is as civill as the outside of a Dedicatory Booke', proves himself to be a 'Muttonmunger' (2.II.i.254–5).

The conversion scene over, we might expect the sustained Pox references in *The Honest Whore* to dissipate into mere expletives but the reformed Bellafront appears to have a mission – she is intent on getting her moral and physical 'health' message across, first targeting bawds, then the pro-

stitute's clients and always, of course, the audience. Dekker seems to have shared Erasmus's desire to disseminate information about the disease's transmission and effects in order to inculcate a 'safeguarding of chastity' or perhaps, less magnanimously, to intensify fears about loose sexual activity among his contemporaries. Indeed, if there were as many whores, bawds and potential brothel customers among the playgoers as Jacobean accounts suggest, Dekker had an ideal audience for his propaganda.[32] Bellafront confronts Mistress Fingerlock, her former bawd who lives 'Upon the dregs of Harlots' (I.3.ii.38), with her devilish powers of corruption. She is figured simultaneously as a devil, a curse, the French disease itself and poison. This evokes the Fall and the Whore of Babylon, too, giving the episode pronounced anti-Papist resonances: the bawd is a Satanic temptress, 'our sexes monster', with destructive persuasive powers – like the Antichrist she is 'damnations Orator' (1.III.ii.30–1).

To influence the young gentleman-lechers away from their sin, Bellafront self-consciously ('Let me perswade you to forsake all Harlots', 1.III.iii.49) deploys her considerable rhetorical skills for godly purpose. Harlots, she declares, are 'Worse then the deadliest poysons' (1.III.iii.50); their souls are cursed; they are slaves, who, 'stead of children . . . breed ranke diseases' (1.III.iii.57). She secures the gentlemen's attention by adopting the familiar abusive stance against prostitutes; then, suddenly deflecting blame back onto the 'Gallants', she implicates them in the transmission of the Pox. They bestow 'that French Infant' on harlots (1.III.iii.59): the gentleman victims become equal polluters with the whore. Finally she attacks the lecher's short-sighted folly and suggests the tragic outcome of continued whoring:

> What shallow sonne and heire then, foolish gallant,
> Would waste all his inheritance, to purchase
> A filthy loathd disease? and pawne his body
> To a dry evill: that usurie's worst of all,
> When th'interest will eate out the principall.
>
> (1.III.iii.60–4)

Financial, bodily and spiritual ruin is the reward of lechery. The whorer is consumed both by his sins – his corrupt appetites and 'infidelity' – and his venereal disease. His inheritance is similarly eaten away by his luxurious and debased lifestyle.

Bellafront's analysis of this particular 'disease' does not stop here; whilst her ex-clients, rankled by her admonition, abuse her, employing familiar woman-berating forms ('There's more deceit in women, than in hel', 1.III.iii.86), she rounds on Matheo, relocating the blame for her own fall

from grace in him, her first seducer: 'you brake the Ice, / Which after turnd a puddle' (1.III.iii.96). Her 'ruine' is to serve as a warning to 'maydens' not to succumb to 'gentleman' tempters. The reformed harlot proves herself a consummate rhetorician: in the course of her speeches she has appropriated the terms of misogynous rhetoric and redeployed them to resituate the primary blame for pollution – moral and physical – on male corrupters. As in the Edwardian Interludes, the French disease is symbolic of original sin, fallen sexuality and 'infidelity' (incorporating unreformed Catholicism and hypocritical Protestantism), and the actual punishment for their prime manifestation – ungoverned appetites.

In *2 Honest Whore* another wronged woman, Infelice, manages to score a strategic and rhetorical victory over her male abuser – her husband, Hippolito. Having been exposed by his wife as a lecher and hypocrite, Hippolito has the rhetorical table turned on him: recasting Hippolito's negative constructions of women as 'tempting devils' who should be 'men's bliss' but 'prove their rods', Infelice's speech constitutes a satisfying verbal and gender triumph:

> O Men
> You were created Angels, pure and faire,
> But since the first fell, worse than Devils you are.
> You should our shields be, but you prove our rods.
> Were there no Men, Women might live like gods.
>
> (2.III.i.186–90)

This is a play primarily about bad husbandry, which causes women to get out of hand – to turn shrews or whores.[33] In the process of depicting the type of fallen male behaviour which gives rise to prostitution and 'disease', Dekker has done service to the female gender by allowing them an intelligent, if rather stylized, mouthpiece in Bellafront and briefly in Infelice. Bellafront's forgiving father, Orlando, functions as the model and authoritative guide to sound godly husbandry in the second part of *The Honest Whore*. He charitably forgives and resumes responsibility for his prodigal daughter's needs when her husband proves deficient; it is he who recasts the Milanese gentlemen as infidels: 'He's a Turke that makes any woman a Whore, hee's no true Christian I'm sure' (2.IV.ii.21–2). Prostituting a woman's body is incompatible with the 'true' faith. In this Protestant play female independence and spirit is ultimately represented as requiring, and desiring, restraint and containment: whilst unfair treatment of dependent women is not condoned, female forgiveness and submission to male rule is applauded. The much-abused Bellafront has the last word on this:

> Oh yes, good sir, women shall learne of me,
> To love their husbands in greatest misery;
> Then shew him pitty or you wracke my selfe.
>
> (2.V.ii.468–70)

Apparently devoid of irony, Bellafront's clichéed plea for tolerance towards cruel, profligate husbands sounds perverse to modern ears and is best understood as a Christian, saintly utterance emerging somewhat uneasily into the far from idealized Jacobean context which the play depicts. The effect of this speech is inevitably mediated by what the play has shown and by audience expectations: the fact that the spectators have seen Bellafront cast into Bridewell and punished unfairly for Hippolito's lust and her husband's treachery must have given even its original audiences considerable pause for thought about London's distinctly one-sided and unfair approach to the management of its vice problem; beyond this, however, it is likely that Bellafront's conventional expressions of female humility and patience would have met with considerable approval. Staged presentations of cruelty and male depravity undoubtedly functioned to some degree, however, to undermine patriarchal pretensions.

In a manner not unusual for its time, *The Honest Whore* powerfully dramatizes the exploitation of one sex by the other and portrays men as monsters and devils in the process, whilst simultaneously striving to reinforce the patriarchal gender hierarchy which maintained, even sanctioned, such abuses of power. Indeed, ambivalence and apparent contradiction are the hallmarks of much gender-preoccupied Jacobean drama, and are indicative, as Kathleen McLuskie has argued, of similar contradictions (between ideology and practice), and of tensions surrounding gender relations, within the originating culture.[34] In order to amplify this exploration and analysis of Jacobean representations of syphilis, some sense of the wider context of the gender debate is essential at this juncture. Before leaving *The Honest Whore*, I should like, therefore, to consider further some of the politico-generic implications of deployments of the Pox by looking closely at two forms present in these plays, and which recur constantly in Jacobean writing about syphilis: the Genesis story and Roman 'declamation'.

Genesis and gender relations: disease in Eden

> 'Twas her <u>Corruption</u>, and not my Desire
>
> (*Dekker his Dreame* (1620) f. 34v)

The nexus of religious, moral, social and medical meanings of syphilis converged, in the Jacobean period, around reconfigurations of the Fall.

Who tempted whom? Who was most culpable? As in the original Genesis story Adam and Eve sought to locate blame for their sin outside themselves (Eve blamed the serpent – 'The serpent beguiled me and I did eat', 3: 13 – and Adam blamed Eve – 'she gave me of the tree, and I did eat', 3: 12), so early modern men and women appear to have become entangled in a dispute about relative responsibility for the Fall and subsequent 'infection'. These concerns were articulated through images of poison and corruption, of serpents, devils, trees, apples and appetite. One of syphilis's medical consequences, reduced fertility, horrifically negated God's first command to 'Be fruitful, and multiply', and thus provided evidence of significant disorder in the world: nature perverted through man's or woman's (depending on your perspective) intemperate sexuality. Furthermore, it was the disease, which in its congenital manifestation, mysteriously, and in the manner of original sin, visited the sins of the parents on the children. In the early seventeenth century, the commonest configuration of the Fall story was inevitably of a weaker Eve, readily succumbing to sin and then corrupting Adam with her beguiling ways. This dominant cultural model, allied to the tainting Venuses discussed earlier, could be used to justify harsh measures for the control of female sexuality and the subjugation of women generally.

One of Francis Quarles's emblems provides a good example of such a 'patriarchal' configuration of the Genesis myth (see Plate 7).[35] The emblem depicts a rather coquettish-looking Eve in Paradise approaching the serpent-entwined apple tree. The accompanying poem is in the form of a dialogue between the rhetorically competent serpent and wanton, irresponsible Eve. In the serpent's description of the tempting apples there is a classic representation of the foppish male syphilitic, of the type elsewhere depicted 'crouching in the hams':

> Observe but how they crouch
> To kisse thy hand; Coy woman, Do but touch:
> Mark what a pure Vermilian blush has dy'd
> Their swelling Cheeks, and how, for shame, they hide
> Their palsie heads, to see themselves stand by
> Neglected.
>
> (p. 5)

This evokes a host of similar representations, including Ben Jonson's *Sir Cod The Perfumed* – the deviant, diseased, submissive, often foreign, sub-male stereotype who reputedly haunted bawdy houses. The 'rotten apple' status was alternatively projected onto women constructed as whores in male-authored discourse. It is significant that the objectionable 'gallants'

in *The Honest Whore* denigrate women by alluding to them as rotten fruit ('women are like medlars – (no sooner ripe but rotten)', 2.I.i.98). It comes as no surprise that by the end of Quarles's poem Eve has succumbed to the rather dubious temptation:

> 'Tis but an Apple; and it is as good
> To do as I desire: Fruit's made for food:
> Ile pull, and tast, and tempt my Adam too
> To know the secrets of this dainty.
>
> (p. 6)

The reader is left in no doubt that it is Eve who will be responsible for enticing, and then polluting, poor innocent Adam with her sinfully contracted disease. Indeed, the moralizing emblem books published in London in the 1630s and 1640s are full of such deceitful female types – Venuses and Eves – the Venuses frequently depicted with masks, suggesting the concealment of underlying corruption.[36]

As we have seen already in relation to Dekker's *The Honest Whore*, this configuration of the Genesis myth did not go unchallenged. In Dekker's two plays it is undeniably gentlemen who, in Bellafront's words, 'inchaunt silly women to take falls' (2.IV.i.314): the gallants merge with the serpent, assuming the role of satanic rhetoricians in a fallen, bawdy world. In a later Jacobean play which employs a great deal of syphilis imagery and allusion, John Webster's *The White Devil* (1612), another rather satanic rhetorician, the Cardinal Monticelso, deploys a heavily misogynous construction of the myth in a horrifying and successful bid to convict Vittoria of harlotry and have her imprisoned in a house of correction. He construes his victim as a rotten fruit with a 'goodly' exterior:

> You see my lords what goodly fruit she seems,
> Yet like those apples travellers report
> To grow where Sodom and Gomorrah stood
> I will but touch her and you straight shall see
> She'll fall to soot and ashes.
>
> (III.ii.63–7)[37]

Concluding authoritatively:

> I am resolved
> Were there a second paradise to lose
> This devil would betray it.
>
> (III.ii.67–9)

Monticelso and Francisco had earlier attempted to dampen Brachiano's desire for Vittoria – or curtail it through fear – by insinuating that she was Poxed, that she harboured 'a sting', a 'sharp whip', in her 'adder's tail' (II.i) – like the images of Fraud in Dante's *Inferno* (Canto XVII) and in Bronzino's *Allegory*.[38] Rotten apples, barrenness, poison, stings, perfumes, corruption, deceit, disease and desire, condition the lost paradise of this playworld where black and white devils merge, confounding our attempts to separate them into the binary categories of good and evil articulated by the characters themselves. The play contains its own critique of misogynous rhetoric, exposing those who most use it as hypocrites, schemers, murderers and – of course – Papists.

Male authors did sometimes, therefore, manipulate and configure the Genesis myth differently from the patriarchal norm; they also deployed it to undermine the convention not only for ideological reasons, but also for aesthetic ones, which it will be the purpose of the last part of this chapter to explore. The Bible itself could support many versions of the Fall story because of its own internal contradictions: the Pauline epistles, for example, imply several times that Eve was sexually seduced, and that sin therefore came into the world through woman and not through man; yet Paul also identifies Adam as the source of sin and death. James Grantham Turner has provided a very full account of how the comparatively arid details of Genesis were subsequently transformed by exegesis and commentators seeking to clarify the ideal sexual and power relations between the descendants of Adam and Eve.[39]

Early Protestantism was undecided on the merits and role of woman: the two key sixteenth-century Protestant reformers construed the male–female relationship differently. Luther, like Augustine, assumed that woman was created for procreation only; he placed great emphasis on the first blessing and injunction 'Be fruitful and multiply' and insisted that the female fulfilled her original purpose only to the extent that she contributed to parenthood.[40] Calvin, by contrast, stressed the companionship of marriage and maintained that in one aspect at least – the politics or government of the household – women were as spiritually gifted as men.[41] Constructions of the female were, in fact, highly unstable in spite of attempts by some to simplify the problem of the other sex by construing them as types – virgins or whores. In the early seventeenth century deployments of the Genesis myth were particularly copious not only in religious and moral writings but also in libertine literature, drama, and the 'apology for woman' genre. All, it is likely, were participating in a reassessment of gender relations in which the complex engagement between rhetoric and material conditions was such as to defy any easy modern pronouncements on it. What can be safely said is that women did emerge in this period –

albeit in small numbers – with their own voice and constructing their own defences. My sense of the situation is that in their woman-denigrating outpourings, some men – the real Hippolitos of early modern England – did protest too much. Their abuse was possibly symptomatic of their fears about increasing female effectiveness and, as we have seen in relation to plague, anxiety about social instability appears to channel itself all too readily into a too-insistent obsession with the other's disease-polluting potential.[42]

Significantly, the earliest-known prose 'defence' of women thought to have been written by a woman – *Jane Anger: her Protection for Women* (1589) – construes itself as a 'protection' against the 'disease' of the lover of *Book: his Surfeit* (a book which either never existed or is now lost).[43] Anger's satire is generally thought to be targeted at the loose and offensive anti-woman rhetoric emerging from the witty pens of men like John Lyly.[44] Undoubtedly this is part of the tract's remit but, I would argue, a more pressing concern underlies Anger's anger: the threat posed to the physical 'health' of women, by inconstant and 'surfeiting' lovers. Such health and disease discourse can, of course, be construed as operating entirely on a moral plane, but if we approach Anger's tract aware of how the language of venereal disease had penetrated the male rhetoric she is attacking, another level of meaning is apparent. In the following passage riddles about pricks and stings have obvious sexual connotations which are yoked to 'inconstancy' and the threat of being 'plagued':

> But men never leave stinging till they see the death of honesty. The danger of pricks is shunned by gathering roses glove-fisted; and the stinging of bees prevented through a close hood. But naked dishonesty and bare inconstancy are always plagued through their own folly. (p. 41)

Of course, we are free to assume that the plague for folly will be cuckoldry and 'horns', as had been suggested earlier, but subsequent medical allusions ('a Sovereign Salve to Cure', 'sweat') would undoubtedly have pointed the tract's original readers in the direction of another one – venereal disease consequent upon sexual 'surfeit', 'foolish love' and 'inconstancy'. In the manner of Dekker's Bellafront, Anger deflects the allegations about female disease inscribed in male libertine rhetoric away from women, back onto sexually promiscuous men, whilst pointedly and meaningfully wishing 'health' to 'the Gentlewomen of England'.

It is a generally held view that women only began to voice anxieties, in print, about their own vulnerability to syphilis infection through loose male sexual activity in the 1890s with the emergence of *fin de siècle* feminism. If Jane Anger was indeed female (and not a man writing under a

pseudonym), one woman at least was spurred into expressing her concern – albeit obliquely – 300 years earlier.[45]

Pleasure, danger and medico-moral politics

> They run so into rhetoric as oftentimes they overrun the bounds of their own wits, and go they know not whither.
>
> Jane Anger, *Jane Anger: her Protection for Women*, p. 32

If the two parts of *The Honest Whore* contain their own powerful critique of misogynous rhetoric, exposing those who espouse its terms as lecherous hypocrites, it has to be said that the dramatic success of these plays depends on their thoroughgoing engagement with it. The related bawdy exchanges, too, are a source of jokes and fun as well as a vehicle for social criticism. Indeed, *The Honest Whore* delights in, and draws attention to, its own consummate display of wit, whether vocalized by satanic declaimer or reformed whore. In spite of their pedagogic aspects, it is easy to see how these bawdy city comedies might have played into the hands of the theatres' detractors such as John Northbrook, who had remonstrated of 'Vaine playes, or Enterludes' in 1577:

> If you will learne howe to be false and deceyve your husbandes, or husbandes their wyves howe to playe the harlottes, to obtayne one's love, howe to ravishe, how to beguyle, . . . how to allure to whoredome, how to murther . . . shall not you learne, then, at such enterludes how to practise them?[46]

There is a sense in which *The Honest Whore* gleefully fulfilled the critics' worst dreams in satisfying its audiences' sinful fantasies, giving the latter what they craved and were willing to pay for, with, of course, a certain moral and religious gloss. It provided a winning cocktail of sexual excitement; underworld spectacle; farcical husband-and-wife strife; staged declamations persuading for and against seduction and prostitution – all within a Protestant framework.[47]

When Hippolito turns to the audience in *2 Honest Whore* to enlist male backing and approval for his intended enterprise – to corrupt a reformed harlot – he is drawing attention, in schoolboy-like manner, to his rather specious cleverness as well as containing it, and its evil implications, in its playworld context. Having gloated to Bellafront about his earlier successful exhibition of 'strong perswasion' which resulted in her conversion, he canvases support from his macho well-wishers:

> You men that are to fight in the same warre,
> To which I'm prest, and pleade at the same barre,
> To winne a woman, if you wud have me speed,
> Send all your wishes.
>
> (2.IV.i.255–8)

In keeping with Hippolito's character, this qualifies as a rather immature male-bonding game, implicating those who 'wud have me speed' in a fantasy of rhetorical sin. The legalistic vocabulary hints at the origins of a declamatory art which, through its links with rape and brothel settings, with virgins, whores and debates about pollution, developed a curious affinity with syphilis in the early modern period.[48]

Declamation had originally been intended to train Greek schoolboys for public life, in particular for arguing persuasively in the lawcourts. 'Controversiae' were declamatory exercises based on highly improbable legal cases: the schoolteacher would propose the case, which would involve stock characters in implausible situations (virgins in brothels, for example), and secondary-age scholars would give speeches of their own, arguing persuasively on one side or the other. This educational practice was assumed by the Romans and applauded and adopted centuries later by Renaissance humanists encountering the classical models in the form of the 'controversiae' of the elder Seneca and of Quintilian. Erasmus recommended these exercises in his *De ratione studii* and Vives, in *On Education*, commended the 'controversiae' to young scholars: 'for in them very many arguments are keenly and shrewdly invented and gracefully and charmingly expressed'.[49] The stock themes and characters of the 'controversiae' had been absorbed along the way into New Comedy: rich man, poor man, old man, prodigal son, forgiving father, pimp, harlot, pirates, poisons, coincidences and sudden discoveries, were the substance and contrivances of declamatory exercises before they informed romance and drama.[50] Attention has recently been focused on the importance of the 'controversiae' as source material for the Jacobean stage, but their significance as potential erotica is relatively new critical territory.[51] With their endless articulation of adultery, rape and sexually transgressive activity couched in curiously legalistic discourse and commended for schoolboy imitation, the 'controversiae' occupy an equivocal niche in patriarchal literature able to be appropriated and understood – rather in the manner of *The Honest Whore* – as both instructive texts and mild pornography.

To reduce *The Honest Whore* and other disease-rich Jacobean plays to the status of social documents enshrining religious, moral, social and medical meanings would be to ignore and shy away from the highly complex but

important relationship between pleasure and disease. Staged dialogues about sex and persuading to it, or against it, carry an erotic charge, which is only increased by their venereal disease content.[52] Desire accompanied by expressions of anxiety and danger, circulating in the transgressive territory of a brothel, has significant erotic potential which can be harnessed or subdued by the production: when sexually-aware bodies take to the stage, what they say may be less important than how they look and act and how the audience responds. It is fair to speculate that the erotic potential of Dekker and Middleton's two plays would have been contained rather heavily by the overt moralizing and Protestant frame: the pathos and seriousness of Bellafront's responses in her Magdalene guise might, indeed, have functioned as a severe dampener to lust and terminated any prurient laughter in an embarrassed, chilled drizzle.[53] Nevertheless, the plays offer the spectacle of a courtesan (a man in 'drag') preparing herself for her customers; of the interior of a house of ill repute; of attempted seductions; of the inside of a Bridewell for the punishment of lewd women; of sexually provocative bodies traversing the stage. Indeed, it was not for nothing, we may assume, that *The Honest Whore* was produced in a London strip club (Raymond's Revue Bar) in the 1990s. These are titillating scripts of pleasure, danger and medico-moral politics – a compelling theatrical (or screen) combination in any age.[54]

Shakespeare's 'pocky' bodies: disease, anxiety, and aesthetic empowerment

The commercially profitable nature of this winning theatrical formula, which had initially begun to be registered – as Lewis Wager's defence of his Interlude attests – by the Edwardian dramatists and their critics, was certainly not lost on the most successful of the Jacobean playwrights, William Shakespeare.[55] Plots linking prostitutes, lechers, hypocrites, bawds, panders, brothels, disease, together with jokes and rhetoric about the sexual act, its moral implications and its dangers, represented an attractive marketing proposition: undoubtedly, four plays from Shakespeare's mature period which contain extensive allusions to, discussions about, and images of the Pox (*Troilus and Cressida*, *Measure for Measure*, *Timon of Athens* and *Pericles*) had their origins partly in this sound commercial insight. Furthermore, and in a creatively sustaining manner, the formula allowed for the more interesting and successful elements of the native morality tradition, as developed by the Edwardian playwrights, to be transformed and combined in an exciting and experimental way with the increasingly fashionable neoclassical forms, particularly those descended, like the 'controversiae', from or through New Comedy.

Additionally, and importantly, a skilful playwright might attempt to harness the anxiety-producing aspects of disease – 'the fear of collapse . . . which contaminates the Western image of all diseases' – to deliver more than simply erotic pleasure.[56] Through a focused analysis of *Measure for Measure* and *Pericles* the remainder of this chapter will elucidate the dramatic mechanisms through which Shakespeare successfully achieved this form of aesthetic empowerment. I am proposing that there is a crucial, but as yet largely unexplored, relation between Stephen Greenblatt's notion of 'social energy' ('the capacity to arouse disquiet, pain, fear, the beating of the heart, pity, laughter, tension, relief, wonder') and Sander Gilman's thesis that:

> The fixed structures of art provide us with a sort of carnival during which we fantasize about our potential loss of control, perhaps even revel in the fear it generates within us . . . an inherent tension exists between the world of art representing disorder, disease, and madness and the source of our anxiety about self-control.[57]

Measure for Measure and the horror of 'appetites' out of control

> The King . . . seeing so many thousands of his people dying weekly, and that in his royall Citie, and beginning of his raigne, may be occasioned to take heede that he leave not his first love, decline not from his professed sinceritie, and be not drawne away from his owne stedfastnes, but rather to vow reformation of whatsoever maybe found by diligent inquirie, to be offensive in the Church and common-wealth.
>
> James Balmford, *A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues Infection*, (1603)[58]

Measure for Measure was staged in the latter part of 1604, following an extraordinary period of momentous national change, instability and epidemic disease. Elizabeth I's death in March 1603 had, as we've already seen, caused considerable trepidation about the prospect of civil war and foreign (Catholic) invasion; trepidation which was eased by the progress south of the new Protestant hope – James VI of Scotland. Protestant propagandists like Dekker hailed James as England's Apollo, the new physician of the kingdom, a 'Sun' from the healthy North, dispersing the pestilent airs of civil and international war. As James travelled south his cavalcade was met by a deputation of Protestant clerics brandishing their 'Millenary Petition' calling for further reforms in the English church and addressing the king in similar medicinal language: 'the King, as a good physician, must first know what peccant humours his patient naturally is most subject

unto, before he can begin his cure'.[59] These metaphors were particularly apt because they were ones James himself favoured and deployed liberally in his tracts on kingship, but, as Balmford's words above illustrate, they had an especially poignant double edge in 1603. Much to the embarrassment of the Protestant authorities, James's arrival in England had coincided with a particularly virulent outbreak of bubonic plague.

One major national crisis followed hot on the heels of another, and clerics like Balmford were not slow to imbue these occurrences with Providential meaning. Whilst Puritan divines used the disaster to warn James and persuade him to 'vow' greater 'reformation' (to assuage God's wrath), those of the Popish persuasion co-opted the disaster for their own ends, prompting James Godskall, preacher of the word, to rail from his pulpit in 1604:

> As for the Romish Edomites, the superstitious Papists who rejoyce at this ours and your present calamitie, insulting over us in this land, and in others, preaching it unto theirs publikely, and muttering it privately, that this deluge of the plague is justly broken through among us because we have (as they speake) forsaken the religion and profession of our forefathers.[60]

Plague and plague-punctuated religious polemic were both rife in London in 1603–4, as England waited anxiously to discern to which point of the religio-political compass its new monarch would most incline.

The hopes of Puritan extremists were dashed fairly early on (January 1604) by the Hampton Court Conference, which failed to secure James's toleration of them; and the optimism of militant Protestants like Dekker was dealt a severe blow shortly afterwards when the Treaty of London, making peace with the Spanish enemy, was negotiated and signed. Furthermore, throughout 1604 disturbing reports reached London suggesting that Protestant merchants were being persecuted by members of the Inquisition when they docked at Spanish ports.[61] Meanwhile, James fashioned himself in public as a king of religious moderation wary of both extremes – 'Papists' and 'Puritaines' – whilst further unsettling London's majority anti-Spanish populace by initiating negotiations for a Spanish match (marriage to Donna Anna – the Infanta) for young Prince Henry.[62] By the second half of 1604 Londoners must, indeed, have been deeply suspicious that this represented a serious attempt to sway Protestant England, along with the Stuart dynasty, to a Catholic future.[63] Enter centre stage Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, deploying the new king's favourite medico-political rhetoric, and promising to 'unfold' the 'properties' of government from the vantage point of the Pox-infested administrative hub of the Holy Roman Empire – Vienna.

As sophisticated satirical drama, *Measure for Measure* may initially seem to have more in common generically with Roman city comedy than with the English morality play, but remnants and adaptations of the mid-sixteenth-century native tradition survive here – as they do in *The Honest Whore* – in its characterization, themes and imagery. In order to explore the dramatic function of syphilis in this Jacobean play it is necessary to highlight these frequently neglected links with the Tudor past.

Whilst *Measure for Measure's* lecherous Lucio appears to be a development of personifications such as *Nice Wanton*'s Iniquity, hypocritical Angelo – a type of 'Moysaicall Justice' – has much in common with Wager's Infidelitie. Both the latter are embodiments of diseased authority intent on seducing innocence, and both reflect repeatedly on the difference between their exterior appearance and their inner corruption. Metadramatic techniques constantly foreground this gap between seeming and being. Infidelitie's frequent change of 'geare' provides a visual spectacle of the hypocrisy encoded in his lines: 'For every day I have a garment to weare, / Accordyng to my worke and operation' (sig. E2r). Angelo's suggestively puritanical style of garb, his grave and 'precise' demeanour, likewise serve to disguise the devil within. He soliloquizes:

> O place, O form,
> How often dost thou with thy case, thy habit,
> Wrench awe from fools, and tie the wiser souls
> To thy false seeming.
>
> (II.iv.12–15)

On a similar note the Duke reflects: 'O, what may man within him hide, / Though angel on the outward side' (III.i.527–8).

In *Measure for Measure* anxieties about devils posing as angels and about distinguishing syphilitic bodies from wholesome ones pervade the playtext. Even the Duke, problematically (given Tudor personifications of hypocrisy) disguised as a friar, arouses suspicion. Lucio rails slanderously: 'you bald-pated lying rascal, you must be hooded, must you? Show your knave's visage, with a pox to you!' (V.i.349–51), implying that the friar conceals his disease beneath his hood. Indeed, Lecherous Lucio and his 'gentlemen' friends constantly project their anxieties about contracting the Pox, or already having it, onto others. Their nervous, bantering accusations in the second scene thinly camouflage their real concerns about their own health. The first gentleman playfully accuses Lucio of being 'pilled, for a French velvet' (I.ii.34) – a pun on baldness and haemorrhoids, both the legacy of syphilis. Lucio retaliates, alleging there is 'painful feeling' in his

friend's speech so that 'Whilst I live, [I shall] forget to drink after thee' (I.ii.38): he will no longer share his friend's cup in order to avoid catching his disease.

Spiritual and physical corruption, figured as fornication and its disease legacy, syphilis, are rife in Vienna and, as the Duke tells Escalus, it is not confined to 'the stew' (V.i.316). In this play, as in *Timon of Athens*, *Troilus and Cressida* and Dekker's and Middleton's *The Honest Whore*, 'appetites' are so out of control that bodies (spiritual, physical, social, national) are in danger of devouring themselves. Syphilis, the disease that appeared to gnaw away at, and rot the body from within, is an apposite image for this personally- and socially-destuctive lack of self-government which in this play, as in Wager's Interlude, is also linked – though rather more loosely and obliquely – to religious infidelity: 'Thy bones are hollow / Impiety has made a feast of thee' (I.ii.54–5), the far from pious Lucio tells his friend. 'Impiety' (*OED2* [1] 'lack of godliness') pointedly and revealingly stands in for lechery in Lucio's euphemistic construction. But, as the Duke's speeches shamefully reveal, the citizens of Vienna are unable adequately to govern their bodily appetites because the social body has not been effectively governed (I.iii). The Duke has failed to exert lawful rule, and his right-hand man and substitute, Angelo – the man who from his exterior guise appears least corrupt – reveals himself to be the most culpable fornicator in Vienna. This religious hypocrite, like the 'type' of his forerunner, Infidelitie, is the wolf in sheep's clothing, the enemy within and, if left concealed and unrestrained, he is the potential author of his community's complete spiritual and social destruction.

Measure for Measure depicts, and muses on, a society fearfully out of control – like a syphilitic body – through ineffective and tainted government. The audience is invited to observe and reflect on this anxiety-producing spectacle of horror: horror, which is pleasurably diffused through laughter, and contained sufficiently to permit enjoyment, by this being an 'other' place, Vienna. Given syphilis's well-established (by 1604) literary and dramatic associations with the corruption of the Catholic Church, it is no coincidence that this play's setting is, as Leah Marcus has pointed out:

> one of the capitals of the Holy Roman Empire, much in the news in the year 1604 as the traditional seat of the Habsburg dynasty, the administrative hub of a vast and shifting Catholic alliance with which the English had been on hostile terms for decades.[64]

In *Measure for Measure*, as in the Protestant Interludes, syphilis is emblematic of Catholic corruption. This disease, however, resides not in any single fornicating and unreformed individual but is widely diffused through the

harlot body of this morally and spiritually degenerate city: a city which contains confessors, friars and nunneries rather than Bedlams and Bridewells and where the young and spiritually pure, like Isabella, are abused and exploited by devilish authority-figures. The question of whether or not the Duke might be 'tainted' (IV.iv.4) rumbles unsettlingly through the playtext, threatening a veritable storm of corruption. It is significant that in John Bale's overtly anti-Catholic play, *The Temptation of Our Lord*, Satan's chosen disguise was, like Dr Faustus's and Vienna's Duke's, a monk's habit. Likewise in Bale's notorious *Three Lawes*, Hypocrisy was garbed as a grey friar. A Jacobean audience might well have found themselves considerably disturbed by this dubious Duke's insistence that he will impose himself through marriage on the saintly Isabella.

This comforting spectacle of an 'other' (Roman Catholic) place – not Jacobean England – experiencing a deluge of satanic corruption is, however, disturbed by brief but highly significant glimpses of London. Mistress Overdone and Pompey, for example, discuss a recent Proclamation requiring all the bawdy houses in the suburbs of Vienna to be 'plucked down' (I.ii.86); Pompey reassures the bawd that those in the City will 'stand for seed' (I.ii.91). The sudden crack-down on vice in Vienna, in fact, seems to parallel the situation in London in the early Stuart years, evidenced by the Bridewell records, and delineated by Thomas Dekker and many others.[65] Then there is the problem of Angelo with his Puritan's demeanour of 'stricture and firm abstinence' (I.iii.12): what is his like doing wielding power at the administrative centre of the Catholic Empire? Should he be understood as a type of stern and cruel Catholic Inquisitor, or does he represent a threat closer to home: a two-faced, high-placed, Protestant threatening the 'health' of the commonwealth – Lord Justice Popham, perhaps? Indeed, some Puritans in England at this time were calling for tougher penalties against fornication, particularly adultery, invoking both the Old Testament (Mosaic) law in which the penalty for the guilty was death, and the precedent of some Protestant cities on the Continent.[66] Angelo's suggestive resemblance to Wager's Infidelitie, whose 'type' embodied the Old Law and the corrupt Old Faith that betrayed Christ, should make us pause to think here. If Angelo does represent an extreme form of Puritanism which was advocating harsh Mosaic justice in the early Stuart years, is this factional element of Protestantism being obliquely aligned in this play with hypocrisy and thus with a backward slide into corruption?[67] Does *Measure for Measure* warn about the devil within, the syphilitic 'rot' of the commonwealth? Is London in danger of becoming like – or, indeed, might it already resemble – that 'other' place of 'fornication', Vienna?

Alternatively, does the play hint at there being another, and possibly even greater, threat to the stability of the socio-religious body, one from

without – from the Habsburg ruler of Vienna? It is undoubtedly significant that rumours about the Catholic Archduke Albert and his Spanish wife Isabella invading and colonizing Britain were rife in the early years of the seventeenth century. As we have seen in relation to Thomas Dekker's *The Wonderfull yeare*, 'reformed' Londoners, particularly those of the militant cast, did fear being swamped once again by the Antichrist in this period. Indeed, in 1600 Shakespeare's company, The Lord Chamberlain's Men, had cashed in on the capital's predominantly anti-Spanish mood, staging an extraordinary play entitled *A Larum for London, or the Siedge of Antwerpe*', which represented the Spaniards as bloodthirsty and tyrannical rapists and child-murderers, and which amounted to a blatant piece of anti-Spanish scaremongering.[68] Given this hostile climate, James I's diplomatic and friendly gestures towards Spain in 1604 – including attempting to marry the future king of England to the Infanta – would have done nothing to allay Londoners' worries about a more insidious encroachment into the commonwealth of the bad old ways of Roman Catholicism. In fact, the Pox symbolism in *Measure for Measure* encodes meaningful warnings about the iniquities and injustices of false religion as represented by its two analogous poles – Papistry and hypocritical Puritan extremism.

Measure for Measure does not set out to resolve the questions it raises, instead it plays upon its audiences' doubts and anxieties, never allowing them to be completely confident that its locus is somewhere else, that identities are certain and fixed: it blurs safe boundaries and evades clear distinctions sufficiently to cause tension – to promote the circulation of social energy. This form of aesthetic empowerment in fact depends upon the finely tuned disturbance of consoling 'fictions': in this case that the diseased chaos it depicts – the social body out of control – exists elsewhere. *Measure for Measure* engages with its spectators' fears for the stability and health of the commonwealth, articulating them meaningfully, and – importantly – enhancing them, through the deployment of that well-worn yet still highly disturbing motif of inner corruption and self-collapse – syphilis.

***Pericles* and aesthetic transgressions**

The power of stage deployments of disease to arouse anxiety necessarily depends on the actual existence of that infection, or one resembling it, in the community from which the audience watching it derives. The painful, disfiguring and body-threatening aspects of the disease must be understood, if deployments of it are to harness and deliver strong emotion. Without this, its images are likely to be appreciated only as texture-enriching satirical and structural devices; and bawdy jokes about it as just a source of good fun. Indeed, its presence and import in a work

of art is likely to be missed altogether until a historical moment arises in which the devastating effects of a new 'plague' reactivates awareness, conferring emotional currency on the old representations.

Collating seventeenth-century references to this play, Leeds Barroll has argued that '*Pericles* was extremely popular – perhaps even one of Shakespeare's greatest hits – no matter how bland it may seem to many modern palates.'[69] It was played at court before ambassadors, was a huge success at the Globe, and went through several quarto editions; yet, as Barroll implies, *Pericles* met with muted acclaim in the twentieth century. Undoubtedly its absence from the 1623 Folio (raising doubts about its authorship) is the main reason for this; but John Wilders' observations about the play's 'lack of dramatic irony' resulting in a 'lack of dramatic tension', recorded when the BBC mounted a rare twentieth-century production of it in 1984, offer another explanation.[70]

The dramatic climax of the play – its brothel scenes depicting a popular topos from classical 'declamation' of a virgin eloquently defending herself against rape and prostitution – are, indeed, replete with irony and tension as well as potential erotic appeal, but these stage effects rely especially heavily on its audiences' familiarity with syphilis in its life-threatening, untreated form, or an illness sufficiently like it. In 1984 no such contagion was arousing anxiety in Britain, and in certain crucial respects the venereal 'plague' which surfaced shortly afterwards does not mimic the earlier disease. It is neither so prevalent in Europe, nor so conspicuous: the Pox's ghastly ability grotesquely to refashion the outer appearance of its victims is thankfully not shared by AIDS. Modern audiences might recoil from unsavoury images of the syphilitic on the stage, but confronted with a Thersites or a Boult they are unlikely to experience any anxiety for their own wellbeing. It is interesting that while the 'bland', farcical, 1994 National Theatre production of *Pericles* recognized the allusions to syphilis in the brothel scenes, and shamelessly exploited disfigurement for laughter, it made nothing of their serious implications, or of their thematic significance to the wider play. The medico-moral-gender politics which confer ballast and tonal variety on *Pericles* were sadly either denied expression or were lost on the director.

In *Pericles*, perhaps more than any other Jacobean play (*The White Devil* uses similar techniques), it is possible to observe 'how a careful and meticulous artist can manipulate his audience by playing upon certain expectations concerning disease and its location in society'.[71] In order, however, to be receptive to these effects (and, indeed, to be able to redeploy them creatively to satisfy a modern audience), it is essential to have some prior understanding of the meanings of the disease, and its stereotypes, in the society which gave birth to the play. Against the backdrop

of the early modern social construction of syphilis that I reconstituted in the last chapter, it is time to take a closer look at the circulation of anxieties and tensions in this far from 'bland' play which admirably satisfied the Jacobean palate for Romance, 'mouldy' moral tale, declamatory-style rhetoric and erotica.[72] Furthermore, *Pericles* engaged with the same medico-moral-social concerns surrounding the Pox, the family and the state, as Erasmus's *The Unequal Match*, echoes of which reverberate through Shakespeare's play.

The first 15 scenes of *Pericles* portray the 'good' Prince Pericles being tossed impotently around the exotic world of the eastern Mediterranean, a prey to forces greater than himself yet – in the manner of romance – managing to fall in love, marry and beget a child, Marina, in the process, only to lose both wife and child almost immediately. Life is cruel but virtue flourishes in hardship: Marina, for all intents and purposes an orphan, grows up to be an ideal princess – beautiful, talented and saintly. Her tragic destiny, however, catches up with her and her life is threatened by the wicked Dionyzia just at the point when she is mourning the death of her beloved nurse. Marina's suffering seems unremitting; as she eloquently expresses it: 'This world to me is but a ceaseless storm / Whirring me from my friends' (xv.71–2). She thus prophetically foretells her future – like her past – at the mercy of uncontrollable and evil elements in nature and in society: the Princess is saved from murder only to be sold by her pirate captors to a brothel and to a fate possibly worse than death.

After this accumulation of painful occurrences some light relief is called for, but this emerges in a rather disturbing and qualified manner, in the form of Pander, Bawd and Boult, bewailing the poor state of their trade, caused not through a lack of customers ('gallants'), but rather through the 'pitifully sodden' condition of their prostitute wares (xvi.18). The tragic import of their discussion – which would not have been lost on a Jacobean audience – is that the Pox is the inevitable and sorry fate of the Bawd's 'bastards' including the 'little baggage' that lay with the 'poor Transylvanian' (xvi.20–1). In this subterranean world of inverted moral values, the sympathy expressed by Pander is solely for the adult lecher, not the bastard child who with 'continual action' is 'even as good as rotten' (xvi.8–9) – an exhausted and useless commodity. If the serious resonances of this scene are brought into play by the director, the audience's response to this low life tragi-comedy, which contains a great deal of dramatic irony (Pander is oblivious to his moral blunders), is likely to be complex. Laughter may well be checked by embarrassment (child prostitution should not be productive of humour) and tinged with anxiety: is Princess Marina about to be subjected to the same protracted and horrifying death sentence as the 'poor bastards' (xvi.14)?

Significantly and disturbingly, the potential victim of syphilis, here, is not a deviant – a sinful harlot – but an innocent virgin. Installed in the Mytilene brothel Marina bewails her fate, only to be consoled by Bawd with the knowledge that she will 'taste gentlemen of all fashions': a far from edifying prospect (xvi.75). The brothel's customers are, ironically and, again unsettlingly, 'gentlemen'. Whilst Boult, Bawd and Pander banter about the Spaniard's mouth watering at Marina's description, at Monsieur Veroles (the French word for syphilis) cowering 'i'the hams' (xvi.101) – in other words society's foppish foreigner stereotypes of the diseased – it is native 'gentlemen' and 'the governor of this country' (xix.58) who actually arrive at the brothel to threaten Marina's well-being. Jacobean society's safe boundaries for the representation of the disease's victims and polluters have thus been transgressed: young children and an innocent woman are at risk from 'gentlemen' in this murky playworld. In the terms of Sander Gilman's thesis, such disruption in the representation of boundaries has the potential to increase the spectator's anxiety for his or her own safety in the face of the disease. Tension and social energy are generated in this play, as one by one Jacobean society's 'comforting' stereotypes are undermined, the hypocrisy inherent in them exposed, and the disturbing moral chaos of the art world increasingly threatens to infringe the bounds of the stage. Here, as in *Measure for Measure*, anxieties are sufficiently contained to permit enjoyment through topographical distancing, and pleasurably diffused through laughter.

Marina's eloquent powers of persuasion – her 'declamatory' skills – prove more than a match for Mytilene's lecherous gentlemen whose wayward morals she reforms in the very brothel: the First Gentleman comically declares 'I'll do anything now that is virtuous, but I'm out of the road of rutting for ever' (xix.8–9). The dramatic climax of the brothel scenes is the arrival and conversion of none other than the 'Lord Lysimachus', governor of Mytilene. Bawd announces: 'Faith there's no way to be rid on't but by the way to the pox. [Enter Lysimachus, disguised] Here comes the Lord Lysimachus disguised' (xix.23–5). Whilst it is never directly stated or implied by any of the characters that Lysimachus has the Pox, the language of the scene conspires to sow strong seeds of doubt and fear in the audience. The proximity of the words 'pox' to 'it' (Marina's virginity) and 'disguised' – disguise being intimately associated with syphilis, 'the great masquerader', 'the secret disease' – begins the process.[73] Boult congratulates Lysimachus on his healthy appearance and Lysimachus retorts:

> You may so. 'Tis the better for you that your resorters stand upon sound legs. How now, wholesome iniquity have you, that a man may deal withal and defy the surgeon? (xix.31–4)

Here, as in *The Unequal Match*, it is lameness, in particular, which marks out the syphilitic (the diseased nobleman's marriage was a 'wretchedly lame affair') and banter about surgeons is common to both. Lysimachus would prefer 'wholesome iniquity' (xix.32) with which to do 'the deed of darkness' (xix.37). He hides his dishonourable intentions in a cloak of euphemistic language, but the audience is not to be hoodwinked for Bawd replies 'Your honour knows what 'tis to say well enough' (xix.39). Furthermore, the brothel's mistress is 'bound' to this governor (60); by implication, Lysimachus is a regular 'resorter', all too familiar with the iniquitous business in hand.

This established, Bawd's words function to highlight Lysimachus' supreme status in Mytilene society: she stresses to Marina that he is an 'honourable man' (xix.55), 'the governor of this country' (xix.58), and concludes 'Come, we will leave his honour and hers together' (xix.69). There is, of course, a pun on 'his honour', here: how will his honour emerge from this confrontation with 'hers'? Marina later appropriates Bawd's terms and upbraids Lysimachus with them:

> And do you know this house to be a place
> Of such resort, and will come into it?
> I hear say you're of honourable parts,
> And are the governor of this whole province.
>
> (xix.81–4)

Lysimachus, meanwhile, attempts to lay any blame for sinful behaviour firmly with the lowly Bawd ('your herb-woman; / She that sets seeds of shame, roots of iniquity', xix.86–7), whilst simultaneously reiterating his own high social standing ('my pow'r', 'my authority', xix.90) which by implication place him above and apart from such 'iniquity'. This in spite of the fact that the play has established that he is a regular customer and that without his like there would be no such trade in the first place. 'Herb-woman' suggests Bawd's function as a quack-healer of diseases picked up at her door: the common lucrative sideline of bawdry. Thus Lysimachus' doubly reprehensible behaviour – as a 'resorter' and, furthermore, as a nobleman who should know better – has been exposed. His mask has been temporarily lifted but he appears to go quite unpunished for his misdeeds, indeed, he even seems to be rewarded, for Marina's father eventually betroths her to this man of dubious honour and health.

This is a satirical play with the same cautionary message as *The Unequal Match*. The potential polluter of a beautiful and talented young woman is a luxurious gentleman who abuses the privileges that his nobility favours him with. Through marriage, an innocent young woman will be placed at

his disposal (and exposed to Pox infection) by the very person who should most seek to protect her – her father. Marina's response to the intended match is silence, which, after her former voluble eloquence, is articulate. It is informative to read this outcome in relation to Petronius' condemnation of the 'unequal match' in Erasmus's dialogue:

> Enemies scarcely do this to girls captured in war, pirates to those they kidnap; and yet parents do it to an only daughter, and there's no police official with power to stop them! (Thompson, p. 408)

Marina has escaped rape and murder at the hands of her enemies, has survived her passage with her pirate-captors intact, and then just when the audience is relaxing, thinking her safely delivered to the protection of her family, her father subjects her to an 'unequal match'. Construed by Petronius as an 'outrage' (p. 407) such dubious matches reflect badly on the parents and have important implications for the commonwealth and its government: 'As private individuals, they're disloyal to their family; as citizens to the state' (p. 408).[74] The argument of the 'colloquy' is that the ability to rule of the 'governing classes' is being severely undermined by the new leprosy: irresponsible father-rulers are putting both the health of their offspring and the state in jeopardy through this 'madness' (p. 407). King James himself had made much of the hazards of such 'unequal matches': in his widely circulated treatise of advice to Prince Henry (*Basilicon Doron*) he warned his son about the dangers of infection linked to pre-marital sexual relations, and the double threat this represented for future monarchs and their kingdoms (interestingly the treatise links this discussion of potential 'pollution' with the threat to a country's stability caused by a prince marrying someone of another religion).[75] The recognition of the 'unequal match' in *Pericles* has important negative consequences for how we read the character of Pericles in the Jacobean context: a Prince who is seldom in his own state; who flees from danger rather than confronting it; who readily commits his young daughter to the care of rather dubious others; and who, through betrothing her to a potentially diseased son-in-law, is putting both Marina's health, and his future princely heir's, at stake. On a more symbolic level, he may unwittingly, through neglect and poor government, be introducing 'corruption' into the virgin body of his daughter and the commonwealth.

Critics have repeatedly argued that 'good king' Pericles bears a strong resemblance to James I whose administration the play sets out to flatter and bolster: once again Shakespearean drama is construed as shoring up royal absolutism. Such assertions appear to be underpinned by the fact that *Pericles* resonates with James's own maxims about kingship – 'Kings

are earth's gods' being a prime example. However, if, as I have been arguing, the structures of the play undermine Pericles' rule and credibility, more pointed comments and warnings about Jacobean power-politics are thinly concealed here.[76] As described in relation to *Worke For Armorours*, James I's management of the country was being heavily criticized around 1608–9 (when *Pericles* was being staged) and Protestants were particularly concerned about a resurgence of Catholicism through James's questionable foreign and economic policies.[77] Throughout the first decade of the seventeenth century the king made repeated, unsuccessful attempts to secure a Spanish marriage for Prince Henry, and when *Pericles* was first staged he was pursuing an alternative plan for an alliance: a 'match' between his fervently Protestant daughter Elizabeth and the Duke of Savoy (the Spanish King's nephew).[78] For committed but increasingly disillusioned Protestants, the incursion of the Antichrist into England's Protestant shores loomed, once again, as a considerable threat.

The play's distant settings – the unfamiliar shores of the eastern Mediterranean – undoubtedly functioned to camouflage and deflect any reliable, focused inferences about the English situation. Lysimachus' Mytilene might, however, be readily confused with Jacobean Southwark. Having, therefore, been transported round the exotic courts of the East with examples of aberrant government being demonstrated and – in keeping with the moral tale suggested by Gower – spelt out, the audience finds itself back in a more familiar, earthy context for the play's most powerful scenes and most poignant messages. Images of, and allusions to syphilis, are completely absent from the non-Mytilene scenes yet the disease's favourite and most persistent themes – hypocrisy (encompassing ideas about 'seeming', 'being', and disguise) and corruption – dominate the playtext.

The play's apparent moral ground is staked out, deceptively, in the first scene of the play by the skilful use of predictable, conventional (in terms of moralistic patriarchal discourse), yet misleading signposts. The beautiful Princess of Antioch's sinful corruption is conveyed, for example, through the deployment of Jacobean society's well-worn stereotypes of the polluting woman: she is a forbidden fruit, a tainted apple, a 'glorious casket stor'd with ill' (i.70–1, 120). This is clearly a representation of the sinful Eve/Venus/Pandora type, recognizable from the pages of seventeenth-century emblem books. The Princess is not an intermediary in this construction, producing evil through picking the apple or opening the casket: she *is* the evil. This is very much in line with the idea of the dangerous contaminated woman – a polluting vessel – in the medical writing of the period. As a highly conventional representation, this functions, along with Gower's predictable chorus, to condition and prepare the audience for the patriarchal constructions and moral messages they are most familiar with:

that women are men's and society's corrupters through the Fall; that foreigners contaminate the English with their disease; that prostitutes disseminate syphilis. What the audience is shown, however, and is undoubtedly shocked by, is an alternative, more honest, and potentially disturbing vision.

In this play it is 'gentlemen' who are exposed as the corrupters and contaminators of less powerful women; it is the King of Antioch who has abused his power and caused his daughter's Fall; it is the 'honourable' Lysimachus who threatens Marina's virtue and health. What the audience is shown through the action is frequently at variance, then, with what is often, rather too glibly, stated. In the first scene, for example, the symbolically unnamed 'Daughter of Antioch' is a virtually silent witness to the events manipulated by her father. As a young and impotent presence, and as her father's victim, she has the potential to inspire sympathy in the audience in spite of Pericles' condemning speeches about her. The structural design of the play (the gaps between what the audience hears and what it sees), in fact, embodies and reflects its major preoccupation: the differences between saying and doing, seeming and being, which delineate hypocrisy. We might reflect at this juncture how James I's actions in the first decade of his reign appeared to many to have been considerably at odds with his constantly reiterated maxims about how a king should behave. Indeed, in the eyes of many of his subjects, James might have done well to take note of the emblem and motto of the Fifth Knight in *Pericles*: 'an hand environed with clouds, / Holding out gold that's by a touchstone tried' and 'Sic spectanda fides' which might be rendered as 'the trial of godliness and faith is to be made not of words only, but also by the action and performance of the deeds' (vi, 41–3).

Pericles, like *Measure for Measure*, dramatizes the particular implications and dangers of hidden corruption in rulers, and of the tyrannical and abusive power-relations that result. Isabella challenges Angelo (and the audience) with the problem: 'authority, though it err like others, / Hath yet a kind of medicine in itself / That skins the vice o'th'top' (II.ii.138–40); and Pericles rephrases it: 'Kings are earth's gods; in vice their law's their will, / And if Jove stray, who dares say Jove doth ill?' (i.146–7). This has interesting connotations for the Jacobean stage. In the early years of the seventeenth century men could not say the king 'doth ill' but they could seek to reveal it, or at least gesture towards it, through the dramatic deployment of potent cultural myths about threatening 'plagues'. Pocky bodies, medico-moral politics, and dubious marriages were, I have argued here, powerful stage vehicles for coded comment and dissent.

Epilogue

That these disease-impregnated cultural myths were popular and durable is attested by the notorious anti-Spanish play, Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, staged in London from 5–14 August 1624 (when it was banned) in front of vast jocund audiences.[79] *A Game at Chess* celebrates the thwarting of yet another attempted Spanish match and the safe return home from Spain of Prince Charles, by an overt piece of propaganda associating the 'Black House' deceitful, rapacious Spaniards with – among other negatives – 'bouncing Jesuitess(es)', 'secret vaults', concealed ulcers (I.i.120), 'contaminating' marriages (III.i.319), 'holy whoredom' (V.ii.61), 'spotted righteousness' (I.i.89) and sin 'sheltered / Under a robe of sanctity' (II.ii.132–3). The 'catholical mark' visible on the lecherous Black Bishop's Pawn's forehead is suggestively both the mark of the beast (Revelation 13: 16) and a syphilitic sore; but the Black Knight, alias the ex-Ambassador to England, the Conde de Gondomar, who had revived the idea of a 'Match', is the target of the play's most virulent, character-demolishing satire. He is represented as 'the fistula of Europe' (I.i.46) sporting 'a foul flaw in the bottom of [his] drum' (IV.ii.7) which necessitates him being carried everywhere in a litter with a seat specially made to accommodate his syphilitic sore. We can only imagine the riotous amusement that accompanied this lampoon helping to produce the largest audiences the London stage had witnessed to date: contemporary accounts suggest 3000 plus at each performance.[80]

This chapter has stressed the importance of cultural traditions, especially dramatic ones, in shaping Jacobean literary and stage representations of syphilis. 'Fornication' and his companions, infidelity and syphilis, continued to have complex and composite politico-religious meanings in a Jacobean society which was possibly as much obsessed with regeneration, reform and the activities of the Roman Catholic Antichrist, as it was with sex. Whilst the Jacobean stage dramatized the horror of 'appetites' out of control, and pondered seriously on how best to contain them, it simultaneously acknowledged and exploited, like its Tudor forerunner (and as in the *Colloquies*), the pleasure in the exposition.

I have suggested that the combination of disease, sexual desire and medico-moral politics constituted a winning theatrical formula with box-office implications that were certainly not lost on the playwrights of the commercial theatre. Pleasure is often heightened by anxiety, and it is significant that *The Honest Whore 1 and 2*, *Measure for Measure* and *Pericles* all manipulate their spectators' fears about their own well-being in the face

of disease (physical and social) by blurring the safe boundaries between the fictional art world and reality, and collapsing, one by one, Jacobean society's comforting fictions about the Pox's victims and polluters. Whilst these plays pay lip service to common stereotypes, for example that foreigners and prostitutes are society's polluters, what they actually expose to view are dangerous corrupting 'insiders', often in high places, and often posing as virtuous godly men (Hippolito, Angelo, Lysimachus): thus ultimately the endogenous disease threat looms larger than that posed by 'foreign' bodies. In *Pericles* the eponymous hero is a contaminating 'insider' by proxy, threatening to pollute his daughter through an inauspicious marriage. If, as many critics have argued, Pericles did bear a resemblance to King James, then contagious 'disease' was being surreptitiously associated with the very top of English government in 1609. Significantly, given the intensely anti-Spanish climate of 1624, in *A Game at Chess* the Pox resides securely with the Spanish Antichrist. However, the White Knight and Duke (Prince Charles and Buckingham) are, as we shall see, obliquely aligned in that play with the sibling sin of appetite – gluttony. My final chapter, 'The Glutted, Unvented Body', will unravel the process whereby such repeated insinuations of excessive consumption eventually had disastrous repercussions for the head of the English 'body'.

6
The Glutted, Unvented Body

> It maye seme to all men, that have reson, what abuse is here in this realme in the contynuall gourmandyse and dayely fedynge on sondry meates, at one meale, the spirite of gluttony, triumphynge amonge us in his gloryouse charyot, callyd welfare, dryvynge us afore hym, . . . into his dungeon of surfet, where we are tumedted with catarres, fevers, goutes, pleuresies . . . and many other sycknesses, and fynally cruelly put to death by them, oftentymes in youth.
>
> Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (1534) f. 45r

> An insatiable pouch is a pernicious sink, and the fountain of all diseases, both of body and mind.
>
> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) p. 226

We have seen how, through the course of the sixteenth century, the age-old sin of lechery evolved into a complex notion of 'fornication', synthesizing medical, religious and political discourses into an intriguing saga of bodily corruption. The related sin of appetite – gluttony – was not to be outdone: it emerged, too, with formidable ideological resonances that were to have profound repercussions, not least for the constitution of the country. This may sound rather extreme but an illustration of a decapitated paunch printed in 1651 (see Plate 8) suggests one major consequence.[1] At this stage, however, I shall dwell on the medical dimension of this image, for it provides a useful point of entry into a seventeenth-century pathological landscape of 'excess' inhabited by – amongst other uncanny forms that will be encountered in this chapter – glutted, unvented bodies.

The eye is drawn immediately to the grotesque body in the foreground

sporting an 'insatiable pouch' and seeming at the mercy of its flailing members, one of which has managed through its dislocated movements to cut off its own head – grimacing on the floor beside it – with a sword. The belly's face suggests that it, and its sensual appetite, have usurped the place of the head (and reason); whilst the vignette of people in the background shows them preparing food for the insatiable belly's next – self-destructive – feast. The glutted body is clearly out of control – it has lost its head! This humorous representation of a gormandizing belly was taken from a book of political fables but it could easily have accompanied one of the medical regimens examined in Chapter 1. As *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1576) warned its readers, 'immoderate gurmandyze, surphet, and dronkennesse' play havoc with the digestive processes, causing the body to 'abounde and be full of ill humours' and the brain to be 'stuffed full of thicke fumes' (f. 10v; f. 19v). The outcome of excessive consumption is ultimately the dulling of reason, causing 'venerous luste' and foolish, beastly behaviour (f. 10v). Furthermore, because humoral balance is impaired, the body's defences are undermined, allowing fearful contagion and evil spirits to penetrate the soma. The glutted, costive state of the body was thus construed as triply dangerous: it sickened the body and the mind, and placed the immortal soul in jeopardy. Only strict supervision of the body's ingestive and venting processes could maintain the body in healthy, balanced order.

This bodily schema – so foreign to the modern cultural imaginary of disease that it can only be apprehended as a rather strange, even ludicrous myth – is, I want to stress here, of crucial importance to understanding the relation between early modern embodiment, and social vision. As I suggested in my Introduction, when social systems are perceived to be in disarray, ideas about the physical body's conditions of unity are called into play in an attempt to address problems and to re-establish order. However, this process depends on circulating images of bodies available in a culture, rather than on the use of a 'natural' corporeal entity as a basis.[2] This chapter argues that in the decades prior to and during the civil wars, the poorly regimented, humorally imbalanced body was the site where circulating discourses of pathology (crucially in religious, economic and political domains) intersected and merged. Even more important, it was the site where 'cures' were formulated too. Furthermore, the glutted, unvented body should be neither dismissed as a mere fiction, nor seen as just a good storehouse of metaphors for describing disorder in the early modern body politic. Rather, intimately bound up in the dynamic of reasoning, problem solving and decision making, it had real consequences both for individuals and for the commonwealth. Bodily analogies may not reflect realities, but they can guide future action and thus create social realities.[3]

In order, however, to recapture the seminal role of this somatic image in early modern social process, we must lower our sceptical post-Cartesian defences and allow the clamouring belly to be restored to its prime position in early modern culture.[4]

The early sixteenth-century humanists Starkey and Elyot (see epigraph) appear to have shared a perception that gluttony was a particular English problem, and the source of many of the realm's 'diseases': 'For thys ys a certayn truth, that the pepul of englond ys more gyven to idul glotony then any pepul of the world' (Starkey, *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, p. 59). Both writers stressed the need for an enhanced emphasis on the classical imperative of temperance to subdue the demands of the 'idul' belly (located in the idle nobility, and, in Starkey, in the clergy too, p. 50), and hence reduce disease in individuals, as well as the 'commyn wele' body. Starkey's *Dialogue* took this body logic further, suggesting that over-consumption by the few coexisted with 'skarsenes of vytayl' for the majority, causing many to perish and die. In this perception the fundamental humoral principles of balance and harmony were being radically undermined, producing a 'consumptyon' or great slenderness in the politic body (p. 51). In Galenic medicine the stomach could be the source of all 'evils' as well as the fountain of health: ingestion, digestion and excretion were at the centre of a physiological system predicated on balance, proportion, distribution and flow. The properly maintained stomach distributed its life-giving products to its members, whilst the glutted paunch with its poor digestion impeded distribution and ultimately destroyed the entire body. Hence over-consumption implied self-consumption – Starkey's wasting disease of 'consumptyon'. In this medical schema there was no firm dividing line between food and medicine, and what you ate and drank, and how you managed your processes of elimination, determined not only your physical health but your spiritual, moral and behavioural characteristics too. As Phillip Barrough's *Method of Physick* declared in 1583, proper regimen had the ability to 'correct, reforme and amende . . . the best workmanship of God' – the body (sig. A6r). It was the most fundamental activity in the self-fashioning process and, as we began to see in Chapter 1, from the mid-sixteenth century it was construed as the basis of the regeneration of the nation too. Indeed, ministers were commanded to rail against surfeit from the pulpit every Sunday – 'all kind of excess offendeth the majesty of almighty God' – and by the early seventeenth century godly 'regiment' was an obligation for all self-respecting Englishmen:[5] 'the lawe of God . . . the law of man, parents, king, and country, commaund, and call unto thee to endeavour to preserve thy bodie' (Manning, *Complexions castle*, p. 6).

Early sixteenth-century humanist misgivings about English gluttony appear

to have evolved into a new temperance movement, producing anxious rallying cries for proper regimen(t). Significantly, the word 'regimen' developed multiple meanings in this period: it was interchangeable with 'regiment', and could simultaneously refer to rule of diet, mode of living, and the governing of a person, people or place (*OED2*).[6] In Chapter 1 I linked this heightened emphasis on the need for temperance and bodily rule with the rise of humanism, Neoplatonism and with reforming Protestantism.[7] All these influences are certainly at work in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, which devotes a lengthy book to illuminating 'Temperaunce', a virtue construed as an essential attribute of the well-fashioned, godly gentleman.[8] As the depiction of Alma's (the soul's) castle renders clear, meticulous maintenance of the 'goodly order' (33) of the digestive system, which includes the judicious venting of 'fowle and wast' matter (32), is of prime importance to health and the maintenance of Reason, but not just in the physical dimension: the soul and the Protestant commonwealth are implicated here too. According to the vision of Spenser's poem, ideology, with its medical underpinning, cannot be viewed separately from dietary and digestive concerns. In keeping with this schema, the 1610 edition of John Jewel's *Works* graphically depicts the 'Ecclesiastical body of our church' prior to its Reformation purgings as a glutted soma 'swollen' with 'many unholsome humors of unsound and erroneous doctrines, and of superstitious worships and ceremonies'. Furthermore, Jewel prescribes regular 'repurgation' to evacuate its 'foul corruptions' and keep it 'light, apt, and fit, for spirituall operations'.[9] It is just such a strange but immensely important body logic centring on the digestive system and consumption that informs the poetry of John Milton several decades later, and which is, I argue here, intimately bound up in the mid-seventeenth century with a Puritan–republican somatic social vision which justified regicide on the grounds of princely 'excess'.

But such an extreme politics of dietary regiment did not evolve overnight and, by focusing in considerable detail on the socio-economic crisis of the 1620s through to the 1630s, I aim to unravel a process whereby the nation's endogenous disease gave rise to a cultural imaginary dominated by the glutted, unvented body, and to a search for its prodigal embodiments who were construed as 'consuming' the nation as well as themselves. Ultimately the head of the English body becomes, for some, its most notorious 'paunch'. The politics of proper regimen(t) takes us into a surreal textual milieu of banquets, cannibalistic feasts, luxurious hospitality, monstrous consumptive bodies, and gormandizing bellies. My aim in juxtaposing a diverse range of writings – court masques, public stage plays, medical and political regimens, economic tracts and poetry – is to foreground their intertexture: all these writings share a somatic idiom

of consumption, and all, as we shall see, are participating in a fraught politics of the gormandizing belly. This will be a strange, necessarily digressive journey into an unfamiliar medical–literary landscape dominated by the stomach, and the first port of call is the Stuart court just a few years prior to England's pathological crisis ('When was it seen a land so distressed without war?')[10] of the early 1620s.

That the Stuart kings subscribed, at least in theory, to the ideal classical vision of temperate man is attested both by James's political writings, and by the court masques written for them. A prime example of the latter is Ben Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, performed before a court audience for 'delight . . . [and] profit' in 1618.[11] This is the masque in which the prime 'belly-god' of the seventeenth century – Comus – makes his stage debut. Stephen Orgel has charted the intriguing transformation of the classical Comus from a relatively harmless god of love, wine, dance and high spirits to the villainous one of banquets and 'swinish gluttony' in this period.[12] Indeed, Comus, along with Circe (whose alluring sexuality metamorphosed men into beasts), came to enshrine and symbolize early modern anxieties about excessive pleasure and monstrous bodies (interestingly, too, both became associated in Protestant iconography with the Whore of Babylon).[13] *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* opens with the curious spectacle of a 'bouncing belly' (10), a 'plump paunch' (26), 'riding in triumph' (5) across the stage, greeted by a chorus singing:

> Hail, hail plump paunch, O the founder of taste
> For fresh meats, or powdered, or pickle, or paste;
> Devourer of broiled, baked, roasted, or sod,
> And emptier of cups, be they even or odd.
>
> (26–9)

Comus is soon joined by an antimasque of men metamorphosed into 'monsters' (78) by their excessive eating and drinking. Hercules, looking on, exclaims: 'Can this be pleasure, to extinguish man? / Or so quite change him in his figure?' (98–9), 'These monsters plague themselves' (102). As is usual in this art form, the antimasque is banished and eventually replaced by an alternative, ideal vision. In this case, King James as Hesperus (the evening star) presiding over 'the Hesperides, / Fair beauty's garden' [the court] (188–9),[14] is offered as the focal point where Pleasure and Virtue 'meet' (170). Under the tutelage of Mercury and Daedelus the spectators observe 12 young noblemen emerging from Mount Atlas to participate in the rational courtly pleasures of measured dancing, music and poetry. Dancing in restrained, intricate and stately style, making 'the beholder

wise' (242), the noble masquers (the prime of whom was Prince Charles) enact 'measure' – they become the visual embodiment of temperance and the antithesis of 'effeminate' (190) sensual pleasure. As Daedalus instructs: 'what is noble should be sweet, / But not dissolved in wantonness' (282–3).

Thomas Carew's masque for King Charles, *Coelum Britannicum,* performed on Shrove Tuesday night 1634, enshrined a similar, though more emphatic, message about measured sweetness being an essential constituent of court life.[15] Indeed 'sweetness' here tips over into 'excess': only virtues that 'admit excess' (614), and allow for 'regal magnificence' (614) should grace the court (but how, we might ask, can 'excess' be 'temperate'?). The court of Charles and Henrietta Maria is represented as more holy than the heavens, providing a virtuous pattern for Jove to emulate. The 'lascivious extravagances and riotous enormities' (180–1) of the god's former life, his 'detested luxuries' (77), are cast off and his court is 'reformed' along Caroline lines. The oxymoronic matter of 'temperate excess' will be pursued a little later; it will suffice simply to observe at this point that the Stuart masques appear particularly anxious to create an image of James, and then of Charles, as the epitome of temperance.

This is, perhaps, not surprising given James's words of political wisdom to his heir in *Basilicon Doron*:

> As he cannot be thought worthie to rule and command others, that cannot rule and dantone his owne proper affections and unreasonable appetites, so can hee not be thought worthie to governe a Christian people.[16]

In fact, in this portentous opening to his treatise, James was merely echoing a maxim that all the sixteenth-century humanist advice books for princes (following Plato, Cicero and Seneca) reiterated: bridled appetite was *the* essential attribute of a ruler. Erasmus's immensely influential political regimen, *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), had stressed that 'the good prince' should be a 'model of frugality and temperance', and as early as the 1520s in England Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue* had asserted, 'he that can not governe one, undowtydly lakkyth craft to govern many'.[17] Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Book named the Governor* (1531) also dwelt at length on temperance and described the essential 'double governance' of a ruler:

> That is to say, an interior or inward governance, and an exterior or outward governance. The first is of his affects and passions which do inhabit his soul, and be subject to reason.[18]

As I have argued elsewhere, Shakespeare's *Richard II*, which is deeply immersed in late sixteenth-century debates about tyrannical kingship and its opposite, engages thoroughly with the medico-political rhetoric of appetite found in these regimens (or 'mirrors' for princes). His Richard is the ultimate 'eager feeding', 'consuming' monarch, graphically imaged in Gaunt's famous deathbed speech as an 'insatiate cormorant' preying 'upon itself' and destroying England (II.i.37–9).[19]

Proper regimen(t), then, with the strict control of appetite, was unmistakably a political issue, but it was an economic one too. Indeed it was an economic issue of such consequence that we might well pause to ask whether the clamorous calls for self-government that are found in the medical regimens at the turn of the seventeenth century were not partly prompted by concerns about another body perceived to be in urgent need of control – the sick body of English trade. Some insight into this peculiar body is illuminating in relation to a very 'strange play' written by the prolific Protestant playwright Thomas Heywood in the mid-1620s, which seems oddly obsessed with food, feasts and gormandizing bodies – *The English Traveller*.[20] It will also help to unravel *Coelum Britannicum*'s 'temperate excess' – the paradox which takes us to the troubled heart of Stuart court culture.

In 1620 England had begun to sink into a particularly deep and lengthy economic depression that was productive of immense anxiety and hardship, and which was perceived to warrant urgent action. Parliamentary proceedings lamented:

> Trade like the moon is on the wane, . . . the countries [counties] that suffer are several, the suffering several, . . . trade runs high in importation . . . low in exportation . . . the kingdom is hindered even within the kingdom by a decay of the trade of cloth.[21]

'A decay of the trade of cloth' was perceived as immensely significant, indeed disastrous to the health of the economy, because woollen cloth was England's biggest export: 'perhaps as much as 90 per cent and certainly over 75 per cent of England's exports were made from wool'.[22] Contemporary observers of the crisis had no doubts that 'the decay of money' in the kingdom (the 'canker' of England's wealth) which was associated with widespread 'suffering', was directly related to the 'dangerous disease of the decay of Trade', described graphically by one pamphleteer as 'that great and general damp and deadness in all the trades of the kingdom'.[23] This extract from a merchant's treatise of 1629 renders clear why the Government responded with particular alarm to costiveness in the woollen industry:

> The decay of merchandizing or vent abroad of our home-bred wares must needs hinder the employment of the makers thereof and so consequently increase great numbers of the poor, and be the ruin of all the inland trades, for that they depend one upon another; and the decay of either is very prejudicious to the State.[24]

The country was glutted with woollen cloth it could not vent and this was causing widespread unemployment, poverty and social unrest: in this fragile early capitalist economy, social instability was the inevitable accompaniment of the decay of trade – the safety of 'the State' itself was felt to be imperilled.

Various crisis committees were set up to investigate first the decay of money and then the decay of trade, and in 1622 the Privy Council circulated a letter to the JPs of the ten leading clothing counties in a stop-gap attempt to stem unemployment in the textile trade by forbidding redundancies.[25] A flurry of pamphlets diagnosing the 'disease' – many of them written by merchant members of the specialist committees – poured off the presses and commentators focused obsessively on 'the body of the trade' and particularly on 'her' ingestion and waste.

One of the most influential committee members, a merchant of the East India Company Thomas Mun, warned:

> The whole body of the trade, . . . will ever languish if the harmony of her health be distempered by the diseases of excess at home, violence abroad, charges and restrictions at home or abroad.[26]

'Health' could only be achieved, according to Mun, through maintaining a careful balance between exports and imports:

> The ordinary means . . . to encrease our wealth and treasure is by Forraign Trade, wherein wee ever observe this rule; to sell more to strangers yearly than wee consume of theirs in value. (*England's Treasure*, p. 5)

A slightly negative balance was preferable, and a glutted bodily state was disastrous, thus he stressed that 'wee must finde meanes by Trade, to vent our superfluities'.[27] Interestingly, the 'superfluities' in 1621 consisted not only of unvented cloth, but 'leude people' too. Defending East Indian trade, his tract announces rather curiously, 'It breedeth more Mariners then it doth ordinarily consume, and disburtheneth the kingdome of very many leude people' (*A Discourse*, p. 4). Trade was, it seems, being accused of 'consuming' sailors, but it was also charged with 'consuming' something of rather more note – the 'common' wealth. Thus Mun urges defensively

'the Trade from England to the East-Indies doth not consume, but rather greatly increase the generall stocke and Treasure of this Realme' (*A Discourse*, p. 3).

Parliament and the general public were not so sure. The nation's gold and silver were disappearing somewhere and East India trade seemed a likely culprit. There were repeated calls in Parliament for the imposition of controls on the company and during one session in 1624 there was even a sudden motion that 'the East India fleet might be stayed', with some members crying out 'stay the money that they send out of the land'.[28] The merchants retaliated, utilizing the presses effectively both to promote foreign trade as a source of England's 'Treasure' and to argue a very different remedy to stem the troubling haemorrhage of bullion from English shores. Mun warned, 'if we mistake the nature of the Malady, we shall ever apply such cures as will at least delay, if not confound the Remedy', and repeatedly stressed an alternative source of the nation's 'decline' (*England's Treasure*, p. 58):

> I affirm, that a Merchant by his laudable endeavours may both carry out and bring in wares to his advantage by selling them and buying them to good profit, which is the end of his labours; when nevertheless the commonwealth shall decline and grow poor by a disorder in the people, when through Pride and other Excesses they do consume more forraign wares in value then the wealth of the Kingdom can satisfie and pay by the exportation of our own commodities, which is the very quality of an unthrift who spends beyond his means.
>
> (*England's Treasure*, p. 26)

Misselden concurred that 'prodigality and superfluity', leading to the excessive importation of foreign goods, were to blame:

> But if the forraine commodities imported, doe exceed in value the Native Commodities exported, it is a manifest signe that the trade decayeth, and the stock of the Kindome wasteth apace. (*The Circle*, p. 117)

He concluded:

> But if all the Causes of our Under-ballance of Trade, might be represented, in two extremeties of the kingdome at this day: Poverty, alas, and Prodigality. The Poore sterve in the streets for want of labour: the Prodigall excell in excesse, as if the world, as they doe, ran upon wheeles. The one drawes on the Over-ballance of Forraine Trade: The other keepe's backe in Under-ballance our Trade. (*The Circle*, p. 132)

All the commentators stressed that it was 'unnecessary', 'superfluous' luxury items that increased the 'waste and charge' (glutting the body), namely, 'sugars, wines, oils, raisons, figs, prunes, currants, tobacco, cloth of gold and silver, lawns, cambricks, gold and silver lace, velvets, satins, taffetas' as well as 'precious Stones, rich Jemmes, exquisite perfumes, costly unnecessary Spices'.[29] Mun lamented 'whilst wee consume them, they likewise devoure our wealth' ('excess' was self-destructive, consuming the self as well as others) and advocated, not abstinence, but temperance and moderation – 'moderate use of al these wares' – as the effective 'Remedy': 'All kind of Bounty and Pomp is not to be avoided, for if we should become so frugal, that we would use few or no forraign wares, how shall we then vent our own commodities?'[30] The 1622 committee investigating 'the decay of trade' (on which Mun sat) appears to have been swayed by such arguments, agreeing that:

> The most important remedy [for the scarcity of money] is to provide against the overbalance of trade, for if the vanity and superfluity of our importation be greater than the exportation of our home commodities will bear, the stock of this kingdom must need be wasted.[31]

The sick body of trade was being imagined as a vast, imbalanced, glutted body, productive of wasting disease.

But it is time to stand back and take stock of the bodily analogies that were both shaping these arguments, and helping to determine the outcome of the fraught debates about England's 'consuming' disorder. The first thing that can be said, with the benefit of hindsight, history and modern economic theory, is that there was a serious mismatch between what was actually happening to commerce and the economy and what was imagined – indeed, reasoned – to be taking place in the 1620s: it was the cultural imaginary (rather than a 'reality' split off from cognitive processes) that was fashioning the debates. True, woollen exports had plummeted (to some 40 per cent below the boom year of 1614) and gold and silver were in short supply, but the major causes of the stagnation of trade, which were glimpsed at but not dwelt on in many of the trade tracts (especially in Mun's), were the outbreak of the Thirty Years War and the related 'monetary anarchy' on the Continent.[32] The latter culminated in the devaluation of foreign currencies and consequently in highly unfavourable terms of trade for English goods.[33] Added to this, during both the major export slumps of the 1620s – 1621–2 and 1629–31 – the harvests were disastrous, accentuating the problems of unemployment and poverty. Grain had to be imported, which further disturbed the balance of payments.[34]

More complex, long-term commercial change was also underway, rendering causal factors in any particular crisis more difficult to fathom and untease. The cloth industry in Britain had actually begun to stagnate in the 1560s and throughout the first part of the seventeenth century it was simply not managing to respond effectively to increasing foreign competition. Craig Muldew's study of the growth of credit networks in Britain from 1530 suggests that slumps in the woollen trade received disproportionate attention in the debates about supply of money.[35] He charts a growth of consumption and exchange in Britain where:

> Purchasing power based on credit increased more rapidly than the technology of production and the organisation of distribution, and this resulted in more than a century of constant inflation: in southern England food prices increased at least five-fold between 1530 and 1640, and the prices of industrial goods more than doubled.[36]

In spite of this, England's – and in particular London's – consumption of luxury goods was spiralling rapidly:

> In 1557 only some 282016 lb of sugar were being shipped into London; by 1595 this had risen to over 1 million lb. Between 1563 and 1620 the amount of wine, currants, raisins and spices imported into London also increased over five-fold, and by the mid-1590s over 1 million lb of currants were being imported into London alone from the Levant.[37]

Trading routes to exotic locations were increasing and becoming ever more convoluted as companies discovered ingenious ways to circumvent the shortage of bullion at home. As Jean-Christophe Agnew has described, in this 'Protean social world' where displacement in trade was rapidly accelerating, conventional signposts were lost and people were 'feeling their way round a problematic of exchange'.[38] The speed and complexities of commercial change in this period were simply far in advance of the theoretical structures to interpret them and a specialized vocabulary to articulate them. Yet, in times of crisis like the depression of the 1620s, the mystery of trade urgently presented itself for explanation. In this situation recourse to bodily analogies was inevitable.

Inevitable, because the body can stand for any bounded system, and it is through metaphor that we project patterns from one domain of experience in order to structure another domain of a different kind, enabling us to order the unfamiliar and to reason about it.[39] Furthermore, because medicine adjudicates between the normal and the pathological, the innocent and the guilty, when a social system is perceived to be disordered,

medical knowledge will also be called into play. In this way medical discourse is 'necessarily caught up in broader cultural narratives and power relations'.[40] But this is a dynamic process and perceived pathology in social, political and economic 'bodies' will invariably impinge on the cultural understanding of ill health in the individual body. Hence my assertion above, that anxious calls for better self-government in the medical regimens of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries may well have been prompted by anxieties about the economic body.[41]

Certainly, the diseased body that frolics luxuriously on the pages of the trading tracts is recognizably glutted and unvented and prone to 'excess' like its prodigal sibling in the medical regimens. Both bodies are of the disordered humoral type, consuming voraciously and brimming over with superfluous corrupt humours which must be vented and appetites to be bridled if health is to be restored. In her rich and compelling discussion of early modern trade and cultural aesthetics, Patricia Fumerton asks the question: 'Why the pell-mell convergence of economic and corporeal discourses . . .?' in the trading tracts. She concludes that trade could not be grasped 'in literal and familiar terms'; consequently 'It was rendered mystical and displaced into . . . "oblique" representations.'[42] I would suggest a rather different explanation: in fact the disordered body of trade, and the sick commonwealth, were being understood and reasoned about in very familiar medical terms. The problem is that those terms are very unfamiliar today so that they seem strange and mysterious to us: 'bodies' were imagined differently, and it is how they were thought to work (rather than the use of any 'natural' body as a basis) that determined the representations and the plausibility of the analysis that ensued. Far from appearing 'mystical' or 'oblique', such accounts as those above by the merchants Mun, Misselden and Malynes, would have seemed highly reasonable in the 1620s – they were, after all, grounded in ancient medical authority.

The situation as the above merchant-economists saw it, was one in which certain disordered, intemperate bodies were voraciously consuming luxury goods, rendering themselves diseased and adding to England's costiveness, whilst other, less fortunate, bodies were being 'consumed' by poverty. The excessively 'consuming' former types were being held generally responsible for England's 'malady'. But who and where were the culpable bodies? The search was on for the gormandizing culprits and it was into this finger-pointing environment that Heywood launched his English travellers.

Gormandizing bodies 'bombasted wyth drincke, and bellycheere': Thomas Heywood's *The English Traveller*[43]

> A STRANGE play you are like to have
> Thomas Heywood, Prologue, *The English Traveller* (*c*. 1626)

> '**Bombast**' v. [OED2 1. To stuff or pad with cotton-wool–1820; 2. To stuff, inflate with bombastic – pompous or extravagant – language 1566]

The surreal bodily landscape of *The English Traveller* – which includes a cannibalistic-style feast off a London street – is so bizarre and apparently unfathomable that literary critics have tended either to ignore the play altogether or to approach its illegibility with derision. Richard Rowland's essay is a notable exception. Alongside situating the play within heated seventeenth-century debates about moral 'profit' to be had – or not – from stage plays, Rowland is interested in the tragi-comedy's shape-shifting generic propensities, pointing out that a masque does 'surreptitiously' enter the play, even though the Prologue disavows that it'll stoop to include such a common thing 'As song, dance, masque, to bombast out a play' (p. 155).[44] Heywood is obviously playing wittily with his audience's / reader's expectations, but something else is afoot here – he clearly wants the blurred shape of the masquing 'bombast' within his play to be discerned. I would argue that, tongue-in-cheek, he is actually signposting its presence in an ingenious play which is steeped in the language of commerce and consumption, and which is as much concerned with the material profit culture surrounding the London stage as it is with morals. Indeed, the two were inseparable circa 1626 when the play was written and first performed.[45]

In the London neighbourhood of the Wincotts, Geraldines and Lionels, the families around which the two intertwined plots of *The English Traveller* revolve, there is a great deal of consuming 'hospitality' and – as the knowing Clown insinuates – no good will come of it!

> Clown: I'll stand to't, that in good hospitality there can be nothing found that's ill: he that's a good housekeeper keeps a good table . . . good cheer cannot be without good stomachs, good stomachs without good digestion, good digestion keeps men in good health; and therefore, all good people that bear good minds, as you love goodness, be sure to keep good meat and drink in your houses, and so you shall be called good men, and nothing can come on t but good, I warrant you. (I.i, p. 164)

In fact, through the course of this play the audience witnesses no fewer than five 'abundant feasts' which, though masked in the convivial rhetoric of 'good cheer' (I.i, p. 164), are unmasked as precursors to lechery and adultery, as drunken orgies, feasting fights, 'massacres' of meat, culminating finally, and in keeping with the play's tragi-comic credentials, in a rather black funeral feast. It would seem that, as young Geraldine announces in the first scene, 'our [English] appetites / Are not content but with the large excess / Of a full table' (I.i, p. 162).[46]

But what has this to do with English travellers? The opening of the play – nominally a discussion between two fashionable young friends, Delavil and Geraldine, about the superiority of the experience of foreign travel over the theoretical knowledge of it – firmly establishes a link between travelling and 'profitable' trade. Delavil the scholar is convinced 'the practic' stands above 'the theoric' because

> A plain pilot can direct his course
> From hence unto both the Indies; can bring back
> His ship and charge, with profits quintuple.
>
> (I.i, p. 157)

There is definitely more 'profit' to be had from the experience of travel, than mere 'knowledge'. Indeed, the play is pervaded by a rhetoric of trade and commerce which hovers intrusively around discussions of friendship, marriage and hospitality. Thus in the dining-room scene at the beginning of Act III Wincott profusely thanks Old Geraldine for the princely, and pricey, feast just consumed:

> We are bound to you, kind master Geraldine,
> For this great entertainment; troth, your cost
> Hath much exceeded common neighbourhood;
> You have feasted us like princes.
>
> (III.i, p. 193)

The repartee that ensues is about 'debtors', 'treasure', lending 'gratis', and 'tending back', provoking an aside from the outsider, Delavil:

> What strange felicity these rich men take
> To talk of borrowing, lending, and of use!
> The usurer's language right.
>
> (III.i, p. 194)

The playwright is concerned, it seems, to ensure his audience grasp the strange association here and throughout *The English Traveller* between hospitality, princely feasts, trade and credit. As it transpires, there are many 'travellers' in this play besides Young Geraldine: Old Lionel the merchant whose travels finance the excesses of his son Young Lionel is an obvious one, but many others are partially (and wittily) concealed in the 'masque' scenes and these will be revealed in due course.

First, a little more about the ingenious double plot that sustains all this neighbourly gormandizing. The Delavil, Young Geraldine, Wife and Wincott plot is based on a story of deception and sexual intrigue which Heywood had declared to be true in his own earlier prose account, *Gunaikon*, (1624). Old Wincott, having taken a young, attractive wife, foolishly and gullibly proceeds to lavish entertainment on his neighbour Young Geraldine and the latter's untried and untested friend, Delavil. Going against all the advice of contemporary marriage manuals, Wincott urges:

> I would have you
> Think this your home, free as your father's house,
> And to command it, as the master on't;
> Call boldly here and entertain your friends,
> As in your own possessions.
>
> (I.i, p. 160)

Predictably in this context, 'the unmatched yoke of youth and age' (III.i, p. 201) proves disastrous, resulting in an attempted seduction of his wife by Geraldine (following a banquet put on by Wincott which leaves Geraldine 'bombasted wyth drincke, and bellycheere' and subject to 'mutinous fancies', IV.iii, p. 222);[47] and a successful 'possession' of her body by the devilish, Delavil. Overcome by her guilt, the wife drops dead only to be feasted immediately on her funeral bed by her cuckolded spouse, this time urging:

> First feast, and after mourn; we'll, like some gallants
> That bury thrifty fathers, think't no sin
> To were blacks without, but other thoughts within.
>
> (V.ii, p. 248)

Old Wincott's shocking identification of himself and Young Geraldine with hypocritical, money-grasping sons points directly to the play's by-plot.

In the hilarious stream of action centring on Old Lionel's household, the audience sees young Lionel and his quick-witted servant styling themselves as 'lords', luxuriating in:

> our palace, where each room
> Smells with musk, civet, and rich ambergris,
> Aloes, cassia, aromatic gums,
> Perfumes and powders.
>
> (I.ii. pp. 164–5)

'rinsing their throats' with 'Bordeaux and canary' (I.ii, p. 166), and generally burning 'the nights in revels, drink and drab' – in 'drunken surfeits' (I.ii, p. 165). This profligacy is financed entirely out of a heavy bag of cash belonging to Lionel's merchant father who is presently away at sea accruing more 'stock', and whom many times they wish dead. Thus whilst Young Lionel is shipwrecking his soul and 'sinking in [his] own disease' (I.ii, p. 169) at home ('in the harbour' II.i, p. 177), his father is risking real shipwreck at sea to fuel his son's 'disease' of excessive consumption. Old Lionel arrives back unexpectedly and it is left to the resourceful servant to concoct an ingenious happy ending which, Plautine-style (the plot is loosely rooted in Plautus' *Mostellaria*), and rather predictably, he more than achieves.

But it is the banquet and revels concocted by prodigal Lionel and Reignald (I.ii., II.i and ii) which merit our further attention here and it is important to bear in mind that these scenes were staged in the mid-1620s when people were demanding to know who were the culprits 'consuming' England's wealth? 'Am not I now lord?' Young Lionel gesticulates, and on that pompously inflated note the weight of Old Lionel's money bag is tested before master and servant proceed to organize a gormandizing extravaganza of duck, capon, turkey, green plover, snipe, partridge, lark, cock, and pheasant, caviar, sturgeon, anchovies and, as Young Lionel instructs his 'steward', 'besides all these, / What thou think'st rare and costly' but 'No butcher's meat'. Music – the 'Best consort in the city for six parts' (I.ii, p. 173) – is also arranged. This is a parody of a 'lord's' feast, which, if we believe accounts such as this by William Harrison, were common among England's merchant class:

> To be short, at such time as the merchants do make their ordinary or voluntary feasts, it is a world to see what great provision is made of all manner of delicate meats from every quarter of the country, wherein, beside that they are often comparable herein to the nobility of the land, they will seldom regard any thing that the butcher usually killeth, but reject the same as not worthy to come in place.[48]

The comic deflation and unmasking of 'hospitable' feasting continues as the audience is treated to a surreal account of the ensuing 'revels' by

Clown with confused interpolations by Wincott. He informs his master he has just come from:

> CLOWN: A lodging of largess, a house of hospitality, and a palace of plenty; where there's feeding like horses and drinking like fishes . . . where there's nothing but feeding and frolicking, carving in kissing, drinking and dancing, music and madding, fiddling and feasting.
> WIN: And where, I pray thee, are all these revels kept?
> CLOWN: They may be rather called reaks than revels; . . . I no sooner looked out, but saw them out with their knives, slashing of shoulders, mangling of legs, and lanching [*lancing*] of loins, till there was scarce a whole limb left amongst them.
> WIN: A fearful massacre!
> CLOWN: One was hacking off a neck; this was mangling a breast . . . one was picking the brains out of a head, another was knuckle-deep in a belly; one was groping for a liver, another searching for the kidneys.
> . . .
> WIN: Did they not send for surgeons?
>
> (II.i, pp. 175–6)

Clown's witty description of the 'feasting fight' is extended and rendered more amusing because it takes old Wincott rather longer than the audience to gather that Clown has been present at a 'massacre of meat' rather than of guests. Through the course of the account its edges become indistinct and it metamorphoses from a feast, to a fight, to a cannibalistic orgy, to a massacre of (non-human) meat presided over by the merchant's son Lionel – 'the prince of prodigality, and the very Caesar of all young citizens' (II.i, p. 177). Indeed, Lionel's pretentious styling of himself as a 'lord' together with his barbarous gormandizing makes this seem a perfect dramatic representation of a passage in Burton's *Anatomy* about the surfeiting and drunkenness of 'carpet knights':

> As much valour is to be found in feasting as in fighting, and some of our city captains and carpet knights will make this good, and prove it. Thus they many times wilfully pervert the good temperature of their bodies, stifle their wits, strangle nature, and degenerate into beasts. (pp. 229–30)

But the shape-shifting account of Lionel's 'banquet' does not stop here; rather it continues to occupy a great deal of stage time as Young Geraldine who, according to Clown, has just come from 'the rifling of the dead

carcases . . . the spoil' (II.i, p. 177), is called upon to relate what he has seen at Young Lionel's. Clown's use of the latter construction is highly significant because it would point a London audience to another context – that of the close of a court masque. In the prologue to *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) Ben Jonson alluded to 'the rage of the people, who, as a part of greatness, are privileged by custom to deface their carcases' (6–7): it seems there was a bizarre long-standing tradition of bystanders flooding into the banqueting hall (at Whitehall for example) at the end of a masque brutally to tear down and plunder the fine scenery and decorations (the 'carcass'). So, alerted to the masque-like finale of Lionel's banquet, the audience hears how:

> In the height of their carousing, all their brains
> Warmed with the heat of wine, discourse was offered
> Of ships, and storms at sea; when suddenly,
> Out of his giddy wildness, one conceives
> The room wherin they quaffed to be a pinnace,
> Moving and floating; and the confused noise
> To be the murmuring winds, gusts, mariners.
>
> (II.i, p. 179)

The drunken revellers imagine they are in a storm at sea and proceed to 'cast their lading overboard' – to throw everything into the street – and attempt to save themselves in ludicrous ways:

> A fourth bestrides his fellows, thinking to scape
> As did Arion on the dolphin's back,
> Still fumbling on a gittern.
>
> (II.i, p. 179)

Meanwhile, as Geraldine relates, further pointing up the masque analogy:

> The rude multitude,
> Watching without, and gaping for the spoil
> Cast from the windows, went by the ears about it.
>
> (II.i, p. 179)

All mayhem breaks loose and a constable is called 'to atone the broil'. 'Imminent shipwreck' is stayed by his timely intervention and they worship him as Neptune:

> They adore his staff,
> And think it Neptune's trident, and that he
> Comes with his Tritons (so they called his watch)
> To calm the tempest, and appease the waves
>
> (II.i, p. 180)

But so far this is all mere description whetting the appetite for spectacle, which is happily supplied by the ensuing scene before Old Lionel's house. Here the dishevelled drunken revellers are stirring to consciousness, tottering about the stage mumbling about their saviours, Neptune and 'the gentle sea-gods', whom Young Lionel tells his fellow 'sailors and sirens', 'are the marine gods, to whom my father / In his long voyage prays to' (II.ii, p. 184). This is extremely clever script-writing, working skilfully to produce 'mirth . . . matter and . . . wit' as promised in the Prologue. But it is the 'matter' that detains us here for not only do these 'revels' resemble a masque, but they allude to (indeed, even seem to burlesque at points) a particular one published in 1625 – *Neptune's Triumph*.[49] In so doing they suggest two rather more substantial and notorious English travellers besides the fictitious young Lionel and his inebriated crew: none other than Prince Charles and the Lord High Admiral, Buckingham.

Unmasking merchant's and masquing 'bombast'

Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion was written by Ben Jonson in 1624 to celebrate the return home of Prince Charles (Albion) and the Duke of Buckingham (Hippius) from their abortive trip to Spain to arrange Charles's marriage to the sister of Philip IV. For many in England this had been a dangerous and disastrous venture, prosecuted in a furtive, secretive manner, which should never have happened in the first place. There was very little support throughout the country – and certainly not in London – for a Spanish match for the prince, nor for an alliance with the Antichrist which that would entail. Consequently there was great rejoicing in the capital when the princely traveller and his accomplice returned home empty-handed.

Charles and Buckingham had nearly been lost at sea in a real shipwreck (as opposed to the imagined one in the revels above) and in the masque they are wafted safely home on a floating island to be welcomed to English shores by none other than Neptune – King James himself. The 'glorious triumph' (288) is couched in the language of trading luxury ('silkworm's toils' 324; 'shellfish spoils' 325; 'ambergris', 332) afforded by 'Neptune's strength' (343) imaged spectacularly as 'his fleet, ready to go or come, / Or fetch the riches of the ocean home' (344–5). Neptune-alias-James thus

emerges as a sort of super sea god / merchant, presiding over England's flourishing trade in rich commodities. With its strange cannibalistic people-stew antimasque, its emphasis on culinary delights (including cook's broth sporting 'an Arion mounted on the back / Of a grown conger, but in such posture / As all the world should take him for a dolphin' (138–40), and its preoccupation with billowing waves and sea gods, it is not difficult to discern similarities with Lionel's revels. In the latter, though, staged a year or so after *Neptune's Triumph* was printed, a distorting carnivalesque lens functions to undermine the masquing 'bombast' of the triumph (about the 'great lord of waters and of isles' (365) for example): the whole becomes a grotesque parody of a Jacobean masque – a prolonged antimasque of excessive consumption with no restorative vision. Furthermore the structural parallels work to suggest a likeness between prodigal Lionel, the merchant's spendthrift, gormandizing son and his inebriated crew (saved from complete shipwreck by the arrival of the Neptune-constable), and Prince Charles and his fellow noble masquers.[50]

Viewed through the illuminating prism of trading body discourse, *The English Traveller* would seem obliquely to be pointing its finger at a strange line-up of gormandizing culprits implicated in England's devastating 'malady' of the 1620s: its rich, prodigal citizenry but especially merchants' sons, construed as 'carpet knights', together with their over-indulgent fathers who were simply fuelling the disease of excess; the 'real' English travellers, Charles and Buckingham; and perhaps even King James, the orchestrator of luxury trade, according to *Neptune's Triumph*.

But let us consider these veiled allegations a little closer, focusing first on the merchants. There is an interesting unguarded moment in one of Mun's pamphlets which suggests that even merchants – like himself – were anxious about their offsprings' 'consuming' proclivities:

> The memory of our richest Merchants is suddenly extinguished; the son being left rich, scorneth the profession of his Father, conceiving more honor to be a Gentleman . . . to consume his estate in dark ignorance and excess, than to follow the steps of his Father as an Industrious Merchant to maintain and advance his Fortunes.
>
> (*England's Treasure*, pp. 3–4)

Mun's unwise observation (given his otherwise unblemished encomium to merchant enterprise) seems to be endorsed, in a rather more pointed way, by *The English Traveller* which repeatedly laments how the industry and dangers associated with Lionel's father's travels are serving merely to 'shipwreck' the son. This appears in complete contradiction to the rhetorical 'bombast' of the merchants about the 'laudable endeavours' (*England's*

Treasure, p. 26) of their trading enterprises serving altruistically to enrich the kingdom.

Furthermore Young Lionel, in his drunken delusional murmurings at the end of his 'banquet', implicates his father (and by extension merchants generally) in a distinctly nefarious practice – that of praying to the 'marine gods' (instead of God) on his long voyages (II.ii, p. 184). Prime among the marine gods was, of course, Neptune, alias the English monarch. There may well be an oblique allusion here to a topic much debated in the 1620s and which was being given urgent consideration in 1633 when *The English Traveller* first emerged in print form for its second public airing.

The crux of the issue was just how much freedom the trading companies should be granted or denied in the light of the economic depression at home. As mentioned earlier, the parliaments of the early 1620s were fairly hostile to the activities of the Merchant Adventurers and sought, with a certain degree of success, to curb their activities. Indeed, as we saw in relation to Bullein's *Dialogue* and Milles's *The Mistery*, merchants had long been associated by some Protestants with the iniquities of Babylon:[51] a perception undoubtedly fuelled by a prominent passage in Revelation 18:

> For all nations have drunken of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and all the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich of the abundance of her pleasures. (Revelation 18: 3)

MPs were particularly anxious about the Crown's practice of selling monopolies to companies, granting them the exclusive right to manufacture or trade a commodity. Frequently justified as a mechanism to encourage economic growth, monopolies were, in actuality, sold simply to bolster flagging Crown revenues. They were, indeed, an iniquitous practice amounting to a form of bribery, with merchants suing to the monarch or his representatives such as the Lord High Admiral (Lionel's 'marine gods, to whom my father / . . . prays . . . to', II.ii, p. 184), for privileges in return for cash. In the early 1630s when another disastrous phase of stagnation was hitting the cloth trade, and Charles and his Privy Council were making all the decisions in the absence of Parliament, the Merchant Adventurers sued to the Crown for special privileges of trading in the Low Countries and Germany to counteract 'the great decay of their trade'. The matter would have been highly topical in 1633–4 when, unable to vent their broadcloth, clothiers were beginning to 'cast off their workmen', and in several parts of the country, including Wiltshire, even the largest firms were ceasing manufacture 'to the impoverishing of many poor people

depending thereupon'.[52] In the event Charles granted the Adventurers the extensive privileges they desired and a Proclamation to that effect was issued on 3 December 1634. The publication in 1633 of a play as hostile as *The English Traveller* is to 'travellers', particularly those associated with luxury trade, hardly seems as 'accidental' as the playwright claims in his preliminary address 'to the Reader'. On the contrary, Heywood's seemingly conventional pronouncement that he is 'ever studious of thy pleasure and profit' may be a sardonic hint at the play's topicality.

Indeed, if we return to its original mid-1620s context, and delve a little deeper into the East India Company's activities in 1622, the full extent of the play's unmasking of merchant's and masquing 'bombast' can be recovered. In that year, at virtually the lowest point in the economic depression, the East India Company's fleet had been involved in an extremely savage enterprise: they had united with Persian forces to destroy a Portuguese trading post and sack 'the key of all India' – Ormuz. When the Company's ships returned to harbour in the summer of 1623 laden with their exotic plunder there was general uproar and disdain for the enterprise, partly because it had been such a barbarous affair, involving the mutilation and dismemberment of victims.[53] As Patricia Fumerton's subtle analysis has demonstrated, the sailors' activities in Ormuz were linked to the savagery of cannibalism and the language associated with that fastened itself with considerable adhesion to East India 'consuming' trade generally.[54] In the popular imagination, it seems, there was a very blurred distinction indeed between cannibals and English sailors (which is perhaps why Mun referred to them as 'leude' waste in *A Discourse*, p. 4). In the light of this atrocious event, Young Lionel's massacre of meat / cannibal feast takes on another dimension of significance. Furthermore the boarding of his 'ship' by a constable (Neptune) allusively recalls James's 'punishment' for the whole regrettable escapade: when the Company's fleet set sail in March 1624 he had it fired on, boarded and stayed by his officers until £10,000 each was paid to him and his Admiral, Buckingham.[55] Notwithstanding the English monarch's piratical-style activities, James shortly afterwards offered his protection to their fleet in return for a share in the Company. By so doing he drew damaging attention to his and Buckingham's intimate entanglement with consuming cannibalistic (and Babylonian) practices. Interestingly, the merchants declined the offer. *The English Traveller*'s masquing burlesque functions to undermine the pompous rhetoric and claims (the 'bombast') of *Neptune's Triumph* and it is tempting to imagine that those among the audience 'in the know' about this and/or the sack of Ormuz would have laughed raucously at the whole stage débâcle.[56]

White House 'arch' gormandizers

We have travelled a considerable, troubling distance from the ideal vision of monarchy presented by the court masques, but there is further to go. Intemperate gormandizing remains my focus but we are heading now to the troubled heart of Stuart court culture, where a prodigal ingestion of food and money by 'arch' gormandizers was threatening to 'consume' the constitutional head itself.

Almost as soon as James set foot in England he was being criticized for his spendthrift habits. These included lavishing enormous sums of money on his vast entourage of Scottish courtier-friends and establishing and maintaining large numbers of extra country residences to entertain them. One commentator described the Scottish influx tellingly as a horde of 'locusts [come to] devour this kingdome'.[57] The new king particularly enjoyed hunting and feasting, and apparently ordered extravagant banquets with a minimum of 24 courses of:[58]

> Dishes, as high as a tall man could well reach, [were] filled with the choycest and dearest viands sea or land could afford: And all this once seen . . . was in a manner throwne away, and fresh set on to the same height, having only this advantage of the other, that it was hot.[59]

In the face of such prodigality, royal household expenses doubled almost at once, from £40,000 at the end of Elizabeth's reign to £80,000, and continued to spiral. Very rapidly James had to develop mechanisms to replenish the dwindling Crown coffers and these included the sale of knighthoods (for at least £30 per head), the practice of granting monopolies described above, and levying taxes.[60] James's repeated attempts to secure Spanish matches for his children were undoubtedly partly financially motivated too. Indeed, one of James's court officials, John Holles, was moved to exclaim of a proposed match for Prince Henry: 'But why should the heir of England be sold? . . . what honor, what profit, either present or future, shall redound to this kingdom thereby?'[61] Few could ignore such acts as James rewarding three Scottish followers with £44,000 after the Commons had awarded him extra funds in 1606.[62] By 1609 the excesses of 'the Queen of Gold and Silver' (James I) were notorious and much resented, prompting, as we have seen, scathing satirical responses from the likes of Thomas Dekker.

Ironically, given the rhetoric of royal temperance in the court masques, these were seen by many of the court's critics as the very embodiment of excess. For one thing, with their lavish scenery, special effects and costumes, they cost an enormous amount to stage, causing Francis Bacon to

advise:[63] 'These things are but toys. . . . But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy, than daubed with cost.'[64] For another, they were accompanied by feasting extravaganzas with the excessive consumption of alcohol. Sir John Harington has left us a vivid account of how a masque planned for the visiting King of Denmark in 1606 turned into a drunken débâcle with the inebriated Queen of Sheba falling into the Danish monarch's lap and 'Hope and Faith . . . both sick and spewing in the lower hall'.[65] As it transpired, too, the King had a noted preference for the comic buffoonery of the antimasques over the stately vision of the masque proper, and grew particularly fed up with the measured pace of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, losing his temper and screaming, 'Why don't they dance? What did you make me come here for? The devil take all of you, dance!'[66] It seems that the dignity of 'Hesperus's' court completely collapsed at the end of that occasion when, as the ambassador Orazio Busino reported, the King having left, 'like so many harpies the company fell on their prey', throwing the table containing the feast to the ground and shattering the glass platters.[67] Given such accounts, Young Lionel's banquet-burlesque sounds increasingly close to the real thing and this was probably Heywood's point. In essence the court masque enshrined conspicuous consumption and excess: whilst rhetoric about 'measured sweetness' and ideal visions of temperance may have been didactically motivated (to teach the court virtue), for many contemporaries they were sheer hypocritical 'bombast'.[68] Temperate excess was a sham.

But the hypocrisy shrouding English court excesses, especially its gormandizing proclivities, had already been publicly unmasked (producing raucous laughter) in an unparalleled stage success – Middleton's *A Game at Chess*. As described in the last chapter, this play made much of the religio-political mythology associated with syphilis; but it engaged, equally inventively, with the politics of the glutted, excessive body. In the last act when the White Knight (Prince Charles) and the White Duke (Buckingham) arrive at the Black House court (Spain) they are treated to a lengthy discourse on how Black House culinary parsimony is in stark contrast to White House practice where 'cooks are purchased / After the rate of triumphs, and some dishes / After the rate of cooks' (V.iii.36–41, 22–3). It was common knowledge that Charles and Buckingham had complained bitterly about the insubstantial nature of feasting at the Spanish court so Middleton's hints were extremely pointed, but the insinuations of the Black Knight (Gondomar) that the White House was imitating and even outdoing the excesses of 'impious' Roman 'Arch' gormandizers (James insisted on 24 courses not 22), tipped the script-writing into highly dangerous territory indeed, linking, as it did, gluttony with tyranny:

> Black Knight:
> We do not use to bury in our bellies
> Three hundred thousand ducats and then boast on't,
> Or exercise th old Roman painful-idleness
> . . .
> Nor do we imitate that arch-gormandizer,[69]
> With two and twenty courses at one dinner.
>
> (*A Game at Chess*, V.iii.6–8, 22–3)

However, the arch-hypocrites and tyrants of the piece emerge unequivocally as the Black House gormandizers who are imaged as voraciously consuming other nations to satisfy their Babylonian absolutist ambitions ('The hope of absolute monarchy', II.i.126; 'the large feast of our vast ambition', V.iii.84, 83–103).

That *A Game at Chess* was such a popular success suggests that the audiences had considerable sympathy with its matter, as well as appreciating its mirth. In fact Buckingham's banqueting excesses were as notorious as that play came to be. When he returned from Madrid in 1623 he was said to have held a banquet at York House during which 3000 dishes of meat were served.[70] It had even been suggested that a Protestant martyr, Doctor Preston (died 1628), had been tried for his unorthodox position on redemption and salvation by Buckingham (his erstwhile patron) and the Duke's fellow Satanic inquisitors ('subtile doctors'), through the vehicle of a 'sumptuous feast'. During the meal, Preston was chided for refusing to drink enough to 'pledge the health of King James', to which he replied that he had not willingly offended 'but if it were an Engine to Court-intemperance, and to engage men into greater quantities than themselves liked, . . . it . . . was a sin'.[71] Doctor Preston's doom was sealed by his godly temperance (according to this martyrologist's account), but the Duke of Buckingham was shortly to be called to account for his Babylonian excesses.

When he was impeached and charged with 'misemploying the king's revenue' in 1626 the discussions surrounding his liability were couched in particularly 'consuming' terms. He was considered more culpable because in the midst of

> weakness and consumption of the commonwealth he hath not been content alone to consume the public commonwealth treasure, which is the blood and nourishment of the state, but hath brought in others to help in this work of destruction.[72]

Buckingham was further accused of concealing his actions 'under the guise of public service' but, as Linda Levy Peck has highlighted, the contemporary

rhetoric surrounding his corruption raises questions about whether Buckingham or the king was most at fault:

> If we look upon the time past, never so much came into any one man's hands out of the public purse. If we respect the time present the king never had so much want, never so much foreign occasions, both important and expensive; the subjects have never given greater supplies, and yet those supplies are unable to furnish these expenses.[73]

Interestingly Mun's *England's Treasure*, in hot pursuit of prodigal bodies fuelling England's 'disease', had dwelt at length – in an unspecific way – on such princely abuses:

> Yet here we must confess, that as the best things may be corrupted, so these taxes may be abused and the Commonwealth notoriously wronged when they are vainly wasted and consumed by a Prince, either upon his own excessive pleasures, or upon unworthy persons, such as deserve neither rewards nor countenance from the Majesty of a Prince: but these dangerous disorders are seldom seen, especially in such States as are aforenamed [England is not 'aforenamed'],[74] because the disposing of the publique treasure is in the power and under the discretion of many; Neither is it unknown to all other Principalities and Governments that the end of such excesses is ever ruinous, for they cause great want and poverty, which often drives them from all order to exorbitance, and therefore it is common policy amongst Princes to prevent such mischiefs with great care and providence, by doing nothing that may cause the Nobility to despair of their safety, nor leaving any thing undone that may gain the good will of the Commonalty to keep all in due obedience. (*England's Treasure*, p. 63)

It seems that by 1626 Parliament felt it had located the 'arch-gormandizers' who had been consuming the 'common' wealth, fuelling England's 'malady'; and with James now dead had initiated a 'cure' by taking action to purge his favourite, prodigal Buckingham. The new king's unwise response was to protect Buckingham by imprisoning outspoken MPs, and to dissolve Parliament.[75] In the event Buckingham was assassinated in 1628. But the Duke was by no means the only official implicated in 'consuming' corruption in the 1620s. Sir Francis Bacon who, as Attorney-General, had approved many grants of monopolies, was accused of taking gifts from litigants;[76] and one MP described Chancery graphically as 'an inextricable labyrinth, wherin resideth such a monster as gormandizeth the liberty of all subjects whatsoever'.[77] As the historian Kevin Sharpe has

noted, 'metaphors of illness and cures pervade the language of 1628 and 1629' and 'The diseases discovered . . . threatened to infect the whole body politic': England was perceived to be in a state of 'terminal . . . disorder' and urgent cures were deemed necessary to stem the perceived tide of corruption.[78] Meanwhile Charles, the 'physician' of the nation according to Stuart political rhetoric, provoked further outrage by levying a 'forced loan' without parliamentary consent, which raised important constitutional questions about the limits of monarchical authority. To make matters worse, he imprisoned several MPs who refused to pay the levy.[79] Such actions culminated in the highly aggrieved Parliament of 1628 formulating the famous Petition of Right, which implied that the king was not abiding by traditional English law. Charles's unwise response was to embark on a long phase of rule (from 1629 until 1640) without parliaments. He would, perhaps, have done better to take heed of Mun's timely observation:

> The invention of Parliaments is an excellent policie of Government, to keep a sweet concord between a King and his Subjects, by restraining the Insolency of the Nobility, and redressing the Injuries of the Commons, without engaging a Prince to adhere to either party. (*England's Treasure*, p. 66)

and his frank warning:

> A Prince . . . is like the stomach in the body, which if it cease to digest and distribute to the other members, it doth no sooner corrupt them, but it destroyes itself. (*England's Treasure,* p. 70)

Monstrous tyrannical bodies

> And what wonderfull monstres have ther now lately ben borne in Englande?
>
> John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise* (1556)[80]

Mun's image of 'a Prince' as a paunch 'cupboarding the viand' (reminiscent of Plate 8) is particularly striking because it subverts the traditional view of a monarch as the head of the politic body governing with reason paramount: his anonymous prodigal Prince is pure sensual appetite.[81] This is very much in keeping with the 1620s' metaphorical landscape of excess encountered above, in which some English bodies, including many highly placed 'paunches', were engaging in frenzies of consumption, whilst the commonwealth, denied the 'blood and nourishment' necessary for her

survival, was languishing with ‘weakness and consumption [wasting disease]’.[82] Food, money, land, health, bodies, justice and liberty circulated in metonymic relation to one another, and all were being ‘eaten up’ by the sensual excesses of iniquitous self-consuming Babylonian types (recognizable descendants of villainous types encountered earlier in this study, namely, Infidelity, Civis, Worldly Man and Matheo). Indeed, representations of over-full excessive, and undernourished declining bodies, pervade economic, political, legal, religious, medical and literary writings of the early seventeenth century: in the run-up to the civil wars, the poorly regimented imbalanced body is the site where the discourses of pathology intersect and merge, and where ‘cures’ are formulated, too. Inevitably, the ideas associated with, and generated by, the concept ‘regimen(t)’ were immensely important in this context, and I shall pursue this later. At this point, however, I’d like to introduce another uncanny body of particular note – John Ponet’s ‘child of Fulham’.

Dr John Ponet, bishop of Rochester and Winchester, had fled to the Continent along with familiar figures like Bullein and Foxe, at the beginning of Queen Mary’s reign. Settled in Strasbourg in 1554, he set about writing *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power*, designed to encourage rebellion against the Marian regime. It was published in Strasbourg in 1556, and again in 1639 and 1642 ‘to serve the turn of those times’.[83] Ponet’s was the first of a line of Renaissance treatises on tyrannicide, which include works by John Knox, George Buchanan and John Milton, and its significance in shaping the corporeal pathologies of those accounts, and of the discourses of corruption from the 1620s to the 1650s, was immense.

It is actually a very engaging text, brimming with vivid corporeal analogies such as ‘an evil governour’ as ‘a sowe’ in a ‘faire garden’ and the monstrous ‘child of Fulham’.[84] In a chapter ominously entitled ‘An Exhortacion or rather a warnyng to the Lordes and Commones of England’, Ponet asks the rhetorical question, ‘And what wonderfull monstres have ther now lately ben borne in Englande?’ (sig. K3v)’. He immediately responds (this child is one of several ‘monstres’):

> A childe borne at Fulham by London even now this yeare, with a great head, evil shaped, the armes with bagges hanging out at the Elbowes and heles, and fete lame. (sig. K3v)

The treatise proceeds to explain this monster’s monstrous significance:

> And as the head of it is the greatest part, and greater than it ought to be, with to muche superfluitie of that it should not have, wherfore it must pull from the other membres to confort it, and lacke of that

> good proporcion it ought to have: so shall the governours and headdes of Englande sucke out the wealth and substaunce of the people (the politike body) and kepe it bare, so that it shall not be hable to help it self. (sig. K4v–5r)

Here the nation's enormous head, full of humoral waste ('superfluitie'), is consuming the common wealth and destroying the body – an analogy very familiar from the rhetoric of the 1620s above, but novel in the 1560s. *A Treatise* is structured to link the swollen head with excessive eating and drinking on the part of those that have 'dronken of the hoore of Babilon's cuppe' (sig. E6v), but particularly with evil governors who flout the law and abuse their subjects:

> So dothe an evil governour . . . subverte the lawes and ordres, or maketh them to be wrenched or racked to serve his affections, that they can no longer doo their office. He spoyleth the people of their goodes either by open violence . . . or promising and never payeing: or craftily under the name of loanes, benevolences, contribuciones, and such like gaye paynted wordes. . . . And when he hathe it, consumeth it, not to the benefite and profit of the common wealthe, but on hoores, . . . banketting, unjust wars. (sig. G2r)

Indeed, it is a 'lawe positive' that princes should use a 'meane kynde of diet':

> leaving the excesse thereof, wherof many occasiones bothe to destroie nature and to offende God folowe, they might converte that they before evil spent, to the relief of the povertie, or defense of their countrey. (sig. B5r)

Furthermore, *A Treatise* is unequivocal about the godly way to deal with such a swollen-headed tyrant who deludedly thinks he's a god, as the Pope thinks he's 'felowe to the God of Goddes' (sig: B3r and 3v):

> Common wealthes and realmes may live, when the head is cut of, and may put on a newe head . . . whan they see their olde head seke to much his owne will and not the wealthe of the hole body, for the which he was only ordained. (sig. D7r)

Ponet is adamant that a Prince cannot claim any 'absolute autoritie' (sig. C1r). Here, as in Buchanan and Milton (and in Erasmus before them all), the monarch is a mere man performing an important office on behalf of the people: if he fails to bridle his appetites, obey the law and live up to

his responsibilities, he can be deposed and replaced as Edward II and Richard II had been in the past – a legal precedent had been set (sig. G3r).[85] Natural law – accessible via 'mannes conscience' – testifies 'that it is naturall to cutte awaie an incurable membre, which (being suffred) wolde destroie the hole body' (sig. G6v). Thus body logic, with its medical analogies, is determining and justifying radical political action.

But contemporary medical models also shaped and underpinned the vision of the ideal 'balanced' commonwealth articulated by all these writers. Ponet described a 'mixed state' where 'a king, the nobilitie, and commones' ruled together for 'the benefite of the multitude; and not of the superior and governours alone' (sig. A5r); and stressed the crucial role of the law upheld by 'parliamentes, wherin ther mette and assembled of all sorts of people, and nothing could be done without the knowlage and consent of all' (sig. A5r). Buchanan similarly saw justice as maintaining 'a balance or harmony of functions' among the elements of the body politic: 'so that they are interdependent and mutually allied. As a result, there seems to be a single function of all, and this function is the control of inordinate passions' (p. 51). He emphasized the crucial importance of proper regimen in maintaining the health of 'bodies':

> Both the human body and the body-politic are injured by the presence in them of harmful things and by the lack of things they need. Each body is cured in much the same way as the other – namely, by nourishing and gently assisting the weakened members and by diminishing the fullness and excess of that which does no good, and by moderate exercises.[86]

Milton, likewise, described a politic body composed of humours and elements interacting dynamically and sharing a common interest:

> And because things simply pure are inconsistent in the masse of nature, nor are the elements or humors in mans Body exactly homogeneall, and hence the best founded Common-wealths, and least barbarous have aym'd at a certaine mixture and temperament, partaking the severall vertues of each other State, that each part drawing to it selfe may keepe up a steddy, and eev'n uprightnesse in common.[87]

Thus in the ideal commonwealth the parts are subordinated to the whole, not the head, and the organism is thereby maintained in harmony.

Given this pronounced corporeal context for understanding health and disease in the commonwealth, and the strong association of 'excess' of rulers with tyranny, it is not difficult to discern from the body images

circulating around the Stuart kings and their officials in the 1620s and 1930s, how far they were felt by some to have strayed down an ungodly path of government. For one thing they were self-proclaimed absolutists who considered themselves to be more than men, ruling by divine right. The court masques were entirely premised on this belief. And in the depressions of these decades, in the midst of 'great want and poverty' (*England's Treasure*, p. 63) in the kingdom, their banqueting and masquing continued – indeed, even increased. Justice itself was alleged to be gormandizing liberty under their auspices and Charles made the fatal move of flouting the law personally by his 'forced loans', the granting of monopolies, and the imprisonment of MPs. In 1630 sermons were even preached at assizes which contained charges of judicial corruption, like this one recorded by John Rous in his diary:

> Mr Ramsay . . . preached before the judges at Thetford . . . He had many touches upon the corruptions of judges and councellors. A similitude he had of the head receiving all the nourishment, and causing the other members to faile and the whole man to die, which he applied to the commonwealth, where all is sucked upwards and the commons left without nourishment.[88]

This clearly invokes Ponet's monstrous child, and in the light of such open expressions of the implications of judicial abuses at the turn of the 1630s, Charles's decision to proceed to 'dispose of the publique treasure' (*England's Treasure*, p. 63) without the consent of Parliament must have been seen by many in the anti-absolutist camp as flagrant tyranny. On top of all this he had married a practising Roman Catholic, and was favouring the Laudian Church's ascendancy. In doing so he risked being identified with a ritualistic excess which many saw as superstitious and the provenance of the Antichrist. Furthermore, he was making conciliatory gestures towards Spain. In the 1630s the king was heading into very dangerous metaphorical territory indeed, increasingly resembling Mun's princely paunch or Ponet's bloated head to unsympathetic observers. Such heads should and could be replaced, according to the anti-absolutists. Yet this drastic initiative would require more justifying rhetoric than Ponet's blunt assertion. For the majority of the populace in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, English monarchs probably were ruling by 'divine right' and God-given reason. How could mere mortals take action against God's anointed?

As the concluding section of this chapter will demonstrate, the politics of proper regimen(t) – especially dietary regimen(t) – provided a solution. A glance at the OED definition of regimen(t) is illuminating:

> **'Regimen(t)'** *OED2* 1. Rule or government over a person, people, or country; especially royal or magisterial authority. Now rare (very common *c.* 1550–1680); 2. function of a ruler; 3. Government or control over oneself; 4. The governing of a person, people or place; 5. rule of diet or mode of living. [2–5 are all now obsolete]

'Regiment', the medical meaning of which was used interchangeably with 'regimen' in this period, was, as the above definitions reveal, a composite and 'very common' term that mysteriously vanished from use in the decades following the Restoration. What I wish to argue here, is that it, like 'appetite', was a politically charged and symbolic concept *circa* 1550–1670, which mediated a transfer of authority from the divine 'anointed' monarch (the king's regiment) to the divine in man (reason and conscience) – the latter was accessible via close self-scrutiny and careful bodily and spiritual regimen (the regiment of God which negated the need for priestly intermediaries) – and ultimately to Parliament and the regiments of 'godly' men spurred on by rejection of Charles I's alleged unbridled appetites.

It is in the writings of the foremost literary republican, John Milton, that we can most clearly discern the development of a consistent politics of the body, grounded in medical authority, which for him as for many others in the mid-seventeenth century, sanctioned the beheading of a monarch.

John Milton and the politics of dietary regimen(t)

> Scene: a stately palace, set out with all manner of deliciousness: soft music, tables spread with dainties.
> Lady to Comus:
> Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,
> I would not taste thy treasonous offer; none
> But such as are good men can give good things,
> And that which is not good, is not delicious
> To a well-governed appetite.
>
> John Milton, *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle [Comus]* (1634) ll. 700–4

Milton's 'reformed' masque, *Comus*, is, like *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, and indeed the court masques, obsessed with food and feasting. In all these texts consumption is an ideological issue (with ethical, religious, political and economic components) and whether their protagonists abstain from eating, consume in moderation, or gorge themselves is immensely significant.[89] *Comus*'s Lady, travelling to join her father, but lost in a 'drear

wood' of 'perplexed paths' (37), tired and hungry, becomes embroiled in the clutches of 'swinish gluttony' personified, Milton's Comus, who conjures up the banquet described above. As the young Lady, rejecting the feast, points out (in language that recalls the insinuations of Heywood's Clown and of 'godly' Doctor Preston faced with Buckingham's banquet), only the 'good' can give 'good' things: who is offering the food, and why, is of crucial importance. Those with 'well-governed appetite', schooled in 'princely lore' (34) and accompanied by 'a strong siding champion Conscience' (211) – like Alice Bridgewater (the Lady) and her brothers – will be able to discern specious guides and reject bad hospitality.

As Milton's masque instructs its audience, excessive eating and 'gorgeous feast[s]' (776) are evil and antipathetic to nature's 'sober laws' (765) because a principle of equity should govern consumption:

> If every just man that now pines with want
> Had but a moderate and beseeming share
> Of that which lewdly-pampered Luxury
> Now heaps upon some few with vast excess,
> Nature's full blessings would be well-dispensed
> In unsuperfluous proportion.
>
> (767–72)

Here, as in Ponet, temperate consumption is a positive law with socio-economic implications. 'Lewdly pampered Luxury' – excess – leads to the hunger and suffering of the 'just man', and the preceding 'now' suggests a pressing immediate context. That context was the economic depression of the early 1630s.

Milton wrote this masque to commemorate the installation of the Earl of Bridgewater as Lord President of Wales at Ludlow Castle: a region particularly hit by high unemployment and poverty.[90] It was staged in 1634, a year after the publication of Heywood's *The English Traveller* and a few months after the staging of *Coelum Britannicum*, and it presented its audience with rather different, alternative, 'travellers' to those prodigal ones encountered in the writings above. But it also appropriated some of the key motifs of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* and *Coelum Britannicum*, reworking them in significant ways. *Comus* takes place amidst 'the rank vapours of this sin-worn mould' (917) – an obviously sinful, fallen world – whilst Jove inhabits the airier, healthier, spiritually superior regions, 'the gardens fair / Of Hesperus' (980–1), in which the English monarchs sat enthroned in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* and *Coelum Britannicum*. This translation of regions could be taken to imply that the 'extravagances

and riotous enormities' (180) associated with Jove's court in the latter masque, are also translated to the earthly 'underworld' – to Charles's court. That would certainly make sense given that the 'Monopolies, . . . sophistication of wares . . . and rates imposed on commodities' were iniquitous practices linked, in reality, not to Jove's fabled realm (as depicted in *Coelum Britannicum*) but to Caroline government, and they were being heavily criticized in the early 1630s.[91] Thus Milton's masque does seem subtly and obliquely to undermine the 'bombast' of the court masques, especially that associated with divine right, and with 'regal magnificence's' need for excess (613–17): 'spare temperance' (765), not 'temperate excess', is the 'princely' virtue applauded in Milton's reformed masque.[92] Earthly displays of luxury and majesty are only applauded by its anti-hero.

Milton's poetical rendering of bodily regimen (in all its dimensions) undoubtedly, however, achieved its fullest and finest degree of explication in his great epic, *Paradise Lost*.[93] Led astray by 'insatiate Satan' (intent on tainting mankind's 'animal spirits' with 'inordinate desires', II.8; IV.805), 'ungoverned' Eve 'Greedily' . . . engorged without restraint' perverting 'nature's healthful rules' (XI.517; IX.791; XI.523). The legacy of the Fall is man's thraldom to his appetites, and consequent disease and death: 'And govern well thy appetite, lest Sin / Surprise thee and her black attendant Death' (VII.546–7). But, as Michael instructs Adam, all is not quite lost: a degree of freedom from this bondage can be achieved through 'The rule of not too much, by temperance taught / In what thou eat'st and drink'st' (XI.531–2). In Milton's epic strict bodily regimen is synonymous with submission to the regiment of God (as opposed to the regiment of Satan) and the cornerstone of the ideology (broadly Puritan and republican) it expounds. Medicine, religion and politics are inextricably intertwined in a discourse of authority and freedom where regiment, government, temperance, moderation and reason (together with their negative antitheses) are key words. Freedom, at both the individual and social levels, is, paradoxically self-restraint, and particularly dietary restraint, which enables reason – God in man – to be paramount. Indeed, the ability to reason *is* freedom:

> Reason in man obscured, or not obeyed,
> Immediately inordinate desires
> And upstart passions catch the government
> From reason, and to servitude reduce
> Man till then free.
>
> (XII. 86–90)

But kingship does exist in this radical political model of dietary regiment, and Milton's post-Restoration work, *Paradise Regained* (1670), provides the fullest explication of this – or perhaps more accurately of what it is not – through the vehicle of a Satanic banquet.[94] In this epic we meet another 'alternative' traveller, this time none other than Jesus, wandering through the wilderness absorbed in 'holy meditations' and 'deep thoughts', led by his spirit (I.195, 189–90). The Son of God, 40 days in the desert without food, and adamant that he is a man and will suffer as such, is soon accosted by the arch-consumer, Satan, who has 'found . . . viewed . . . [and shockingly] tasted' him (II.131). His first temptation is a sumptuous feast:

> A table richly spread, in regal mode,
> With dishes piled, and meats of noblest sort
> And savour, beasts of chase, or fowl of game,
> In pastry built, or from the spit, or boiled,
> Grisamber-steamed; all fish from sea or shore,
> Freshet, or purling brook, of shell or fin,
> And exquisitest name, for which was drained
> Pontus and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.
> Alas how simple, to these cates compared,
> Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!
> And at a stately sideboard by the wine
> That fragrant smell diffused, in order stood
> Tall stripling youths rich-clad, of fairer hue
> Than Ganymede or Hylas, distant more
> Under the trees now tripped, now solemn stood
> Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
> With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
> And ladies of the Hesperides, that seemed
> Fairer than feigned of old.
>
> (II.340–358)

With its Ganymede types and ladies of the Hesperides (recalling the court masques), this feast in 'regal mode' could easily be mistaken for a Stuart banquet. But Jesus' 'temperance invincible' (II.408) is, of course, confirmed as he rejects Satan's 'regal' hospitality in no uncertain terms: 'thy pompous delicacies I contemn' (II.390). Later, confronted with a tempting panoply of Roman style luxury and riches, Jesus powerfully articulates an alternative 'regal diadem':

> To him who wears the regal diadem,
> When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
> For therein stands the office of a king,
> His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
> That for the public all this weight he bears.
> Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
> Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;
> Which every wise and virtuous man attains:
> And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
> Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
> Subject himself to anarchy within,
> Or lawless passions in him which he serves.
>
> (II.461–72)

This is godly regiment, inimical to the regiment of Satan, the latter being premised, like Stuart 'magnificence', on excess and outward display. Godly rule is a burden, an office on behalf of the people, and only the strictly regimented person, who 'reigns within himself', is capable of ruling multitudes. Inner governance is true kingship, and, crucially 'every wise and virtuous man' can attain this and 'is more a king'. 'More a king' than whom, the text grooms us to ask, than the Stuart monarchs perhaps?

In 1642 Charles I had been accused of bringing in 'an arbitrary and tyrannical government, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm'.[95] Shortly afterwards in 1643 the Parliamentarian Philip Hunton posed the crucial question, 'Who shall be the judge of the excesses of the monarch?' and responded confidently:

> The superior law of reason and conscience must be judge, wherin every one must proceed with the utmost advice and impartiality. For if he err in judgement, he either resists God's ordinance or puts his hand to the subversion of the state. (*A Treatise of Monarchy*)[96]

In the 1640s God's regiment ('ordinance'), accessible via reason and conscience in 'every wise and virtuous' regimented man, overrode the king's and one consequence was the justification for regicide.

The Body's Cure: Fitting the Action to the Metaphor

> How can that head live and continewe, wher the body is consumed and dissolved? And how can that body be lustie, wher the

> sinowes (the laws) are broken, and justice (the marie that should nourish it) utterly wasted and decaied?
>
> John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise* (1556) sig. D6r

> Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor.[97]
>
> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980)

In his famous tract arguing against censorship, *Areopagitica*, Milton declared: when God gave him [Adam] reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing'.[98] In the civil war years Cromwell's followers utilized their God-given reason and asserted their freedom to 'choose': purporting to be intent on restoring the health of the commonwealth, they rejected Charles I's 'unbridled appetites' and cut off the body's glutted head. In order for this drastic action to fit the corporeal metaphor, and thus be underpinned by medical authority, the king's body had, of course, to be perceived as a princely paunch, prone to consuming excesses, brimming with corrupt humours, and with sensual appetite rather than reason in control. Importantly, such a glutted monarchical body could be construed as rendering the commonwealth body more prone to dangerous contagion, especially from Spain and the Roman Catholic Antichrist.

At first glance this might appear to be the situation represented by the consuming decapitated paunch of Plate 8. In fact, as the accompanying verse fable reveals, it illustrates an opposing scenario:

> Reason, once King in Man, Depos'd, and dead,
> The Purple Isle was rul'd without a head:
> The Stomach a devouring State swaid all,
> At which the Hands did burn, the feet did gaule;
> Swift to shed blood, and prone to civill stirs
> These Members were, who now turn Levellers:
> The vast Revenue of the little World
> Is in the Exchequer of the Bellie hurld,
> And toyl on them impos'd by Eternall laws;
> With a drawn Sword the Hands thus pleads the cause.
> Freeborne as you, here we demand our right;
> Reason being vanquish'd, the proud Appetite
> In Microcosmos must no tyrant be,
> The idle Paunch shall work as well as we.

  The Stomach promis'd, and so gaind our loves,
Our King dethron'd, we should in Kid-skin Gloves
Grow soft again, and free from toyl, the Feet
In Cordovant at leasure walk the Street,
Who now toyl more than when the monarch swaid:
Then we did works of wonder

(ll. 1–20)

. . .
Now we dresse Meat, Change it some God to Gold.
Skies, Seas, we spread with Nets, vast Earth with Gins,
To Banquet you, who feast seaven deadly Sins.
Did we for this storm the bold Breast, and raze
Joves Image in the Heaven-advanced Face?

(ll. 28–32)

This witty verse, penned by the Royalist writer and printer, John Ogilby, in 1651, functions skilfully to undermine the dangerous and seductive Republican rhetoric (the 'deluding Dream', 48) that had helped to justify regicide just a few years before.[99] Its opening lines invite the reader's confusion about where Reason is, or was once located. Is it 'King in Man' (1), that is the Reason paramount in 'every virtuous and wise' regimented man – as Milton and his political like claimed – or is/was it in 'The Purple Isle's . . . head' (2): the anointed monarch? The implication anyway, is that Reason, in 1651, is nowhere to be found – it is 'Depos'd, and dead' (1) – and its demise is linked intimately with that of Charles I. Here the 'Bellie' (8) is not a monarchical paunch but predictably, 'a devouring State' (3). Cromwell and his fellows in Parliament are now the 'idle Paunch' (14) who had promised the Body's members (the people now turned rebellious Levellers) less 'toyl' (17) and more luxury in return for their support ('our loves', 15). The disillusioned members, incensed by the Stomach's banqueting, broken promises and tyrannical behaviour, refuse to feed the 'Bellie' and the whole body of the commonwealth is consequently in consumptive decline ('A pale Consumption Lording over all', 73). The motto of the piece resonates ironically with republican egalitarian sentiment: 'All that are Members in a Common-wealth, / Should more than Private, aim at Publick health' (81–2); and a clinching couplet confirms that the body's severing of its own head was the ultimate unreasonable and self-destructive act: 'But the chief cause did our destruction bring, / Was, we Rebell'd gainst Reason our true King' (91–2). The ambiguous constructions of the verse work obliquely but unequivocally to suggest that Reason

had resided in Charles I, 'our true King', now replaced by a consuming, tyrannical paunch of Parliamentarians. In fact, a very similar message was contained in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*, also published in 1651, which pointedly challenged the possession of reason by those who most laid claim to it: 'if men had the use of reason they pretend to, their commonwealths might be secured, at least from perishing by internall diseases'.[100]

That Ogilby's verse and sculpture engage so thoroughly with the medico-political mythology of dietary regimen (as told by the anti-absolutists) in order to recast the plot and subvert it, suggests the importance of this 'deluding Dream' to the republican mind-set and polemic, especially in relation to the justification of regicide. In addition, elegies written by Royalist sympathisers following the execution of Charles I, seem sometimes to go to extreme lengths, like this one, to stress and defend the erstwhile king's temperance:

> His Temperance might an Anchorite rigour tell,
> And make the Pallace Standard to the Cell.
> Not that its Lawes from the thin boord proceed,
> Where to abstaine is Avarice or Need;
> Or that the coursenesse of the cates might please,
> But from the strict chastising Plenties wings,
> And the severest use of highest things.
> His Table grasp'd the seas, the earth, the aire,
> Yet ne'r His surfet was, nor others snare.
> His Bowles massacred none, nor did inrage,
> Till Subjects blood the Princes wine asswage.
> No Orphans swam about his riotous cup,
> Like his who kill'd, but first dranke Clytus up.[101]

The evident desire here to locate 'surfet', rioting and feasting massacres ('His bowles massacred none') in alternative culprits, suggests again that such charges had been popularly levied against the monarch with a dire consequence: the justification for the body's drastic 'cure'. A cure which is recast in this elegy as bloody Epicurean murder, as cannibalistic 'dieting' on kings, implying savage tyranny:

> Your curious Treason thirsts your Princes blood:
> And flesht in under-slaughter, boldly brings
> Rais'd appetite to diet on your Kings.
> No epicure like thriving murder's found;
> Her Streame tasts foule, unlesse her Spring be crown'd.
>
> (p. 1)

But what was the truth about Charles I's appetite? Was he the intemperate surfeiter, the monarch of 'excess' like his ancestor Richard II, that his enemies claimed?[102] If we believe a lone Puritan voice which strikes something of a familiar chord with Royalist elegies such as the above, probably not. Lucy Hutchinson described Charles as a marked improvement on his predecessor, as 'temperate and chaste and serious', and commended his appreciation of paintings and sculpture as preferable to his father's love of 'bawdry and profane abusive wit'.[103] Nevertheless the medico-politics underpinning tyranny demanded that an absolutist monarch claiming his authority from God, and acting illegally and without the consent of Parliament, be daubed with the disfiguring brush of dietary excess. In fact what mattered more than the truth of the matter was undoubtedly the fit of the trope and the currency of its circulation. Metaphors (like bodily schemata) may not reflect realities but, because they shape social vision and influence decision making, they can help create them.

In this chapter we have seen how imagining England's 'pathological crisis' of the 1620s and 1630s involved thinking the whole socio-political-economic order as an improperly regimented, glutted, unvented body in which, furthermore, the blameworthy disease perpetrators were – likewise – prodigal consuming bodies. Such types – construed by those of Milton's ilk as following the regiment of Satan rather than of God – were failing to subdue the 'enemie' within the bodily castle (original sin and the animal passions), producing endogenous disease in the kingdom and rendering the commonwealth body prone to dangerous contagion by the Roman Catholic Antichrist. The conformity between the dominant disease paradigm established in Chapter 1, and the one outlined above, is striking and, I would argue, no mere coincidence: it would certainly appear that attempting to solve the problem of disorder in the national body in this period involved thinking disease in the individual body. Similarly, the ideal, unified commonwealth imagined by reformers like Ponet, Buchanan and Milton was predicated on the humoral principles of balance and harmony. Luxurious monarchs who wielded too much power and consumed the nation's food and wealth also consumed its health and were incompatible with the national body – like dangerous superfluous humours they had to be expelled.

However, in the 1650s there was by no means a consensus about Charles I's dietary intemperance. Once again we have witnessed a struggle for rhetorical ownership of disease; one in which, following Charles's beheading, Royalists hit back at Parliament, claiming that the unreasonable 'Rump' of the commonwealth was the focus of endogenous, consuming, even cannibalistic disease. These fraught seventeenth-century discursive battles

over the belly traversed a range of writings that we tend today to separate into discrete categories – medical, economic, literary and political. By juxtaposing them and focusing on their somatic representations I hope I have demonstrated that they were functioning in a much more interconnected way in their own historical moment than is generally assumed. But a further point needs to be made. Although the glutted, unvented body reveals itself to us today as a value-laden myth of the belly, to early modern people with a cultural imaginary inhabited by such types it likely seemed 'natural', 'true' – even indisputable. Because somatic fictions, and the arguments they give rise to, are grounded in the flesh, their subjectivity tends to be camouflaged. Undoubtedly this is a major reason why corporeal analogies and body logic grounded in medical authority can have particularly profound and far-reaching social consequences – as the events of the mid-seventeenth century confirm.

Conclusion: Thinking through the Body

> Christ's body alludes to numerous oppositions: inner and outer, transcendent and immanent, spirit and flesh . . . public and private, hierarchical and collective. Each set of terms invokes the others; they imply a loose coherence, but this is actually constituted by a 'redundant, circular and rhetorical universe of values and terms whose significance keeps flowing into other values and terms'. Each set of categories transcodes and refers to the others, and meaning is constructed and deferred through these interrelationships.
>
> Sarah Beckwith, 'Ritual, Theater, and Social Space' (1996)[1]

Beckwith's rich evocation of Christ's body as the bearer of social and cultural meaning on the late medieval stage is an extremely helpful springboard for apprehending the aesthetic deployment of symbolic diseased bodies in the Reformation years and beyond. Consider, for example, the blotchy, rotting body sitting on its grave in *The Daunce and Song of Death* (see Plate 1). Like Dalila's deformed, pock-marked body in *Nice Wanton*, to the sixteenth-century mind-set this could simultaneously represent an individual diseased body, the sick Church, the decaying nation and a corrupt soul tainted by sin: in this 'circular and rhetorical universe of values', characterized by flow and instability, 'each set of categories . . . refers to the others, and meaning is constructed and deferred through these interrelationships'. A body spectacularly marked by its affliction (recalling Christ's wounds) was thus an inscribed document of social and cultural understanding and as such it could function as a densely symbolic text, both reflecting and modifying circulating meanings.

As we have seen through the course of this study, early modern representations of plaguy, pocky and glutted bodies encoded layers of tradition and myth making – native, Christian and classical – and were freighted with social and political significances. In fact, *The Daunce and Song of Death* illustrates superbly the dense imaginative framework into which

these diseases were absorbed, and which formed the homiletic basis for their sixteenth-century appropriations. In the centre, 'Sycknes Deathes minstrel' orchestrates a macabre dance that involves the entire social and intellectual range (death being the great leveller), and which functions as a 'warning to be ware', singling out two particularly sinful types. In the top left-hand corner a covetous usurer counts out his piles of money (recalling the 'stinkying muckle hills' of Bullein's tract, and Nashe's and Dekker's rich extortioners who abuse the poor), whilst in the lower right-hand corner 'pleasures usurer' (recalling Wager's Infidelity, and Dekker's and Heywood's prodigal types) indulges his passion for food, drink and the delights of 'Venus'. The furry, griffin-like paws of the table/enticing woman, suggest harlotry, deceit, and the 'sting in the tail' of hidden syphilitic infection (compare with Plate 6).[2] The two usuries, then, are intimately connected with intemperance, sin, body-disfiguring sickness and death: excessive pleasure (construed as lechery and gluttony) and the accumulation of riches in the absence of charity were this period's moral disease bugbears, which found their physical analogues in two of the most fearful contagions of the sixteenth century. Traditionally associated with greed for money, plague/pestilence maintained its well-established association with the exploitative rich, whilst Pox – 'the new leprosy' – inherited and built upon the meanings of the old, rapidly disappearing disease.

Partnered in the dance of death and presiding over the depravity, rot and impending terminal decline of the body of the nation which sixteenth-century humanists piped about incessantly in their writings – 'who can be so blynd or obstynate to deny the grete dekey, fautys & mysordurys . . . of our commyn wele' (Starkey, *A Dialogue*, p. 47) – the two usuries, their diseases, and the blame associated with them, were pressed into the service of bodily regeneration and reform. They evolved the politically specific meanings and resonances detailed throughout this book, which encoded deep misgivings about a changing world ('the warlde is sare chaunged');[3] tensions about unstable boundaries (national, religious, social, gender); and pronounced anxieties about the potential of 'other' bodies to harm. The nation's renewal was construed as requiring healthy, disciplined and personally responsible individual bodies, a reformed religious body (with social, economic and political goals), a reasoning (appetite-constrained) monarch at its head, and skilled 'physicians'.

But one of the most striking things about the fantastical pathological landscape encountered in this study is how frequently those 'others' whose contagions threaten the integrity and health of individual selves, the English Church and the commonwealth, are actually hypocritical insiders – wolves in sheep's clothing. Those (masters, spiritual advisers, governors) who should be setting an example to the 'baser sort' are recurrently exposed – particularly

in dialogue and stage deployments – as the most 'diseased' types. The apotheosis of this trend is, of course, the oblique figuring of the monarch and his favourite as luxurious, glutted paunches. Indeed, such allusive representations, occurring as they often do in discourses of exotic locations and trade, are redolent of another extraordinary textual landscape: that of travel narratives like Mandeville's *Travels* and Ralegh's *Discoverie of Guiana*. Here we encounter the ultimate 'others': the headless 'most mightie men of all the lande' with faces in their torsos (princely paunches?), called the Ewaipanoma, illustrated in a 1568 edition of Mandeville's *Travels* (see Plate 9) and discussed in Ralegh's *Discoverie* of 1596;[4] and the well-dressed cannibals of a 1483 edition who could just as easily be feasting off a London street (see Plate 10). It takes but a short imaginative leap to connect these 'savages' to the 'consuming' types encountered in Chapter 6: from the 1620s the distinctions between some notable English 'insiders' and threatening foreign 'outsiders' were decidedly blurred, and in highly suggestive ways.

The invocation of Mandeville's *Travels* in this pre-revolutionary context is not as strange as it may at first seem. After all, the radical pronouncements of Carlo Ginzburg's humble inhabitant of Friuli, recounted in *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, appear to have owed much to Menocchio the miller's ruminations on a vernacular edition of that text. The Inquisition documents reveal that he was profoundly affected by the descriptions of the corruption of Christianity he found there, and that the details of exotic locations and their bizarre inhabitants constituted a 'relativistic shock' which prompted non-orthodox ways of interpreting the cosmos.[5] For example, Menocchio believed that:

> A miller may claim to be able to expound the truths of the faith of the pope, to a king, to a prince, because he has within himself that spirit which God has imparted to all men. For the same reason he may dare 'to speak out against his superiors about their evil deeds'.[6]

Furthermore, he claimed that the pope 'is a man like us' and that all the sacraments and laws of the church were 'merchandise . . . upon which the priests grew fat'.[7] These sentiments appear remarkably close to those of English and Scottish reformers like Ponet and Buchanan, and to those of later reformer-republicans like Milton and Gerrard Winstanley;[8] the important difference being that Menocchio's beliefs lacked the crucial authority of Reason accorded them by their medical underpinning in the seventeenth-century English context. Interestingly, Ginzburg ponders whether the miller's 'radical statements' might 'belong within an autonomous current of peasant radicalism, which the upheaval of the Reformation had helped to bring

forth, but which was much older'.[9] It is enticing to conjecture that the shocking revelations and uncanny bodies of Mandeville's *Travels* contributed to a European-wide 'current of . . . radicalism'.

Whilst we can only speculate on that front, this study does confirm that disease was an integral feature of popular radical traditions of the type outlined by Annabel Patterson in a seminal essay about modern theories of order and disorder in the period prior to the English civil wars. Patterson argues that:

> Symbolic memories of Roman political history and of European popular insurrections ran stronger, deeper and more knowingly through the minds of people much like ourselves than either conservative historians or structural Marxists would have us believe.[10]

She suggests that the 'cultural memory functions with myths' and 'popular protest in England was marked from the beginning by powerful cultural or symbolic formulas. . . . But the native tradition differed from the republican one in being . . . both Christian and grounded in issues of land ownership.'[11] As we have seen, plague, as God's punishment for sin (especially the sins of enemies of the Commons), was deployed as a symbolic formula in radical protests surrounding land ownership and access to food in the Reformation years and the middle decades of the sixteenth century. Undoubtedly outbreaks of diseases like bubonic plague intensified food shortages and suffering, which sometimes resulted – for obvious reasons – in unrest and riots. Epidemics thus exerted considerable agency in both producing, and provoking, disorder.

Furthermore, the textual inscriptions of pestilence and its metaphors traced in this book reveal a self-conscious current of radicalism, directed against extortioners of the poor, which grew out of the medieval 'warning to beware' tradition of Complaint and culminated in the seventeenth-century plague pamphlets of Thomas Dekker. The plaguy settings and echoes back 'to earlier links in the chain',[12] in works as generically diverse as Bullein's *Dialogue*, Wager's Interlude, Nashe's pamphlets, Spenser's *Prosopopoia* and Dekker's *Worke For Armorours*, function as coded signature tunes to herald a political text highlighting and detailing the grievances of the poor and the iniquities of wealthy parsimonious types (in particularized ways), and warning about God's pestilential punishment for it. As we have seen, too, strategic deployments of Pox on the Jacobean stage encoded sensitive political messages (often alongside symbolic allusions to Roman history), including criticism of the monarch. Contrary to what is often assumed, discourses of disease are not necessarily 'owned' by hegemonic forces: this study reveals a lively medieval and early modern

tradition of dissent articulated through disease constructs. Indeed, because they mediate and thus expose to view the particular social tensions of their times, discourses of the diseased body and its management have the capacity to throw an additional light on 'elements in the social process' about which, in the words of Norbert Elias, 'we possess . . . very little direct information'.[13]

But why did the body and its metaphors dominate so much debate and occupy so much textual space in such a wide range of writings in this period? Mary Douglas maintains that cultures which 'frankly develop bodily symbolism' may be using it to confront, make sense of, and order, perplexing and difficult experiences ('pains and losses').[14] The work of those trope theorists who argue for the bodily basis of meaning, according metaphors a central role in human cognition, would appear to support such a thesis. Indeed, if fictions of disease mediate social tensions, any increase in their prevalence might indicate a rise in social anxiety and instability. Furthermore, when social structures are experienced as chaotic and in need of re-ordering, somatic thinking is called into play because 'all national formations, all "societies" must imagine their conditions of unity, their boundaries, internal structures and the relationships between parts, in much the same way that . . . subjects must imagine their body's conditions of unity'.[15] In the light of these observations it seems no coincidence that the body and its metaphors were pressed especially strongly into locutory service at a moment in history noted for the 'confusion and ferment' of its 'intellectual life': a phase between two great epochs, when 'The vision of reality that had supported the rational consciousness of man for a thousand years was fading.'[16] In this fertile 'transitional situation' following the collapse of feudalism, when imagining new 'conditions of unity' was imperative, bodily tropes formed the basis for hypotheses that resulted in real social and political initiatives.[17] Interrogating bodies, refashioning them, envisaging radically alternative ones, decrying old, decaying and diseased models, were integral features of this period's 'confusion and ferment', of its anxious and painful transition to the modern.

Postscript: Somatic fictions of the future

> In 1899, Ernst Heinrich Haeckel wrote 'The cells are truly independent citizens, billions of which compose our body, the cellular state.' Perhaps images such as the 'assembly of independent citizens' constituting a 'state' were more than just metaphors. Political philosophy seems to dominate biological theory. What man could say that he was a republican because he believed in cell theory or a believer in cell theory because he was a republican?[18]

Bodily correspondences and somatic politics did not die out in the seventeenth century when 'masculine' science and Cartesian philosophy banished decorative analogies from the field of 'reason'.[19] On the contrary, integral to the reasoning process of embodied human beings, metaphors are here to stay and attempts to shun them are futile. The frequent positivist but well-intentioned calls today for their eradication – 'we must rid our politics of somatic metaphors' – based on what lurks threateningly behind them – 'what is remarkable . . . is how much social control can be gained when value conflict is somatized' – are misconceived in this context.[20] Rather than decrying their existence, we might do well to focus our attention on the operations of the bodily fictions that enmesh us now, shaping our lives and futures.

As I suggested at the close of my final chapter, a prominent feature of fictions of the body in any age is their ability – through grounding themselves in the flesh – to camouflage their subjectivity. For this reason it is often easier to pierce through the mask of medical authority, and apprehend accounts of disease as value-laden constructs, when they relate to previous eras with obviously different conceptions of what the body 'is' and how it works. As Menocchio's poignant story reveals, the shock of difference – of relativity – can promote a heightened sceptical awareness in relation to the present and even provoke calls for alternative paradigms and structures. This is why listening attentively to past as well as current somatic fictions is so important; and seminally so today as gene technology (aptly phrased), with its ability to transform the world as we know it, increasingly dominates biomedical horizons.

Anxious rallying calls for vigilance in genetic science actually began with the specialists. This is how one speaker at an international conference of geneticists, held in 1970, phrased his concerns:

> To conquer a disease is to reflect a view of the world. It is also to create a partially new world and a new view of human possibilities. How we go about dealing with genetic disease . . . the professional consensuses which emerge, the attitudes developed toward carriers of defects and toward the children many of them will bear, the kinds of choices which emerge and the positions taken on the nature of those choices – will both reflect one world and bring another into being. This is a heavy burden and we had better be aware of it.[21]

The problem is that although biomedical situations often appear clear-cut, transparent, and beyond the realm of argument and debate – especially to those lacking the professional gaze – human choices are called for at virtually every level. Take, for example, immune theory, which has dominated

approaches to disease for many decades; here is a popular textbook explanation of the system:

> Every hour of every day, our bodies are under attack from alien lifeforms. Some just use our skin, mouth or gut as a convenient home, and cause little trouble. Others are intent on hijacking the whole system for their reproductive needs. . . . The invaders are bacteria, viruses and fungi, and without an effective immune system we would soon be overwhelmed.[22]

The body under attack must defend itself from invasion: these metaphors are so familiar that, in spite of this slightly exaggerated journalistic rendition, the story appears 'normal', even unquestionable or 'true'. Yet there are other ways of conceiving the immune system, which do not rely on bio-military concepts of boundary. The immunologist Richard Gershon has described an 'immunological orchestra' with a 'commanding conductor' and clearly defined 'parts' for the immune-system cells to 'play'. Meanwhile, Neils Jerne has described the immune system 'as an interpretative network', whose capacity to internally recognize a dangerous substance depends upon the organism's 'continuity with its environment, rather than its defence against it'. A notable feature of both these image systems is that they stress 'communicativeness and continuity with environment' over 'separateness, mobilization and war'.[23] The panic produced by the arrival of AIDS in the 1980s seems, however, to have accorded greatest currency to the bio-military model: we can only ponder on how selecting this, rather than an alternative, less confrontational image system, has affected the management of HIV and AIDS and the experience of the illness for its sufferers. As Catherine Waldby has stressed, the iconography of immune theory is highly illuminating of how biomedicine translates 'broader cultural concerns and anxieties into its own technical narratives'.[24]

But the 'concerns and anxieties' that will surface as gene technology spirals will be on a rather different scale, and the choices made, and who makes them, will be of even more profound importance. Again it is instructive to tune into the quandaries as expressed by a geneticist at the 1970 conference:

> I expect that it is not the prospect of the application of the new knowledge to the biological world in general that frightens thoughtful men. If we can clone prize cattle to improve our food supply; if through designed genetic change we can produce more nutritious crops which make more effective use of sun and water; if we could, for instance, greatly expand the range of plants with the capacity to serve as hosts for nitrogen-fixing

> bacteria; if we can engineer viruses or microbes to curb pests or to destroy cancer; these innovations might produce ecological concern, but not dire doubt. It is the possible application of genetic intervention to man that generates the shock wave. For this possibility – remote as it may yet be – illuminates from a new direction all that is encompassed in the word 'human', and thereby challenges traditional concepts in every area of human activity. And much of the alarm is that we scientists – with our clever new tools – could crudely disrupt much of our social order, imperfect as it may be, with scant regard for its replacement.[25]

Thirty years ago this startling list of 'ifs' remained a speculative dream but, at the cusp of the twenty-first century, science has accomplished most of these goals, a compelling new discourse of bio-technology and bio-engineering has evolved, and the fraught public arguments have commenced. In Britain the implications of Dolly the sheep (and now her bovine and pig accomplices) and genetically modified crops are of considerable concern and are hot media topics. Fields of GM (genetically modified) crops have been illegally uprooted, and calls for an alternative organic way forward for the nation are increasing. But, as the speaker above warns, it is human gene modification and cloning that will raise the most fundamental and disturbing question of all: what it means to be 'human'.

But perhaps the anxious debates on this front have already begun. It is surely no coincidence that the body has emerged from behind closed doors over the past few decades and has become an object of 'extensive critical scrutiny' in recent years, even daring to promote itself as 'a new [intellectual] organising principle'.[26] In a manner not dissimilar to the early modern, the postmodern condition is experienced in the academy today as a registering of doubt in relation to old epistemological frameworks, as a quest for new theoretical approaches, for new meaning – as an interrogation of the 'body'. What is it that determines gender, sexuality, class, race? What is the nature of language and knowledge? What is history? What is medicine? How is power maintained by authority? These fundamental questions about what it is to be human and to inhabit human social structures invite the interdisciplinary, boundary-crossing approaches facilitated by a corporeal idiom. The sheer accelerated pace of significant technological and scientific advances, and the social and intellectual shifts and transformations these compel, are undoubtedly implicated, too, in this heightened recourse to a somatic organizing principle.

Over the next few decades the struggle to combat 'disease' will involve hazardous questions about social and genetic 'fitness', about 'defectiveness' and its 'costs', and about 'human perfection'.[27] Crucial issues of power

involving economic, political, ethical, religious and social choices are obviously at stake here. Literary writing, and the arts generally, will undoubtedly contribute to, and help shape, the important discursive battles over ownership of the 'body' and its diseases, as they did in the early modern period. The scientists' 'clever new tools' for engineering alternative environmental, human and social orders are poised for activity. The human genetic code is mapped. Through the course of the twenty-first century what 'broader cultural concerns and anxieties' will biomedicine weave into its 'technical narratives'? What new conditions of somatic unity will be imagined?[28] What brave new world will emerge?

Appendix: Regimens Analysed in Chapter 1

1. *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* (*STC2* 21596, 9 editions between 1528 and 1634). Thomas Paynell: Austin friar, Oxford scholar, translator of literary and medical studies, chaplain to Henry VIII, diplomat.
2. *The Castel of Helth* (*STC2* 7642.5, 17 editions beween 1534 and 1610). Sir Thomas Elyot: knight, lawyer, civil servant, diplomat, 'man of letters'.
3. *A boke, or counseill against the disease commonly called the sweate, or sweatyng sicknesse* (*STC2* 4343, one edition, 1552). John Caius: Fellow of the College of Physicians.
4. *A newe booke Entituled the Governement of Healthe* (*STC2* 4039, 4 editions: 1558, 1558, 1559, 1594). William Bullein: church minister, physician.
5. *Bulleins Bulwarke of defence* (*STC2* 4033, 2 editions: 1562, 1579). William Bullein: see 4 above.
6. *The Touchstone of Complexions* (*STC2* 15456, 3 editions: 1576, 1591, 1633). Thomas Newton: lawyer, poet, physician, divine.
7. *A Short and profitable Treatise touching the cure of the disease called (Morbus Gallicus) by Unctions* (*STC2* 5447, 2 editions: 1579, 1585). William Clowes: London surgeon, appointed to the queen.
8. *The Haven of Health* (*STC2* 5478, 6 editions between 1584 and 1636). Thomas Cogan: Oxford Fellow, physician, master of Manchester grammar school.
9. *A Defensative against the Plague* (*STC2* 14917, one edition, 1593). Simon Kellwaye: humanist 'man of letters'.
10. *Naturall and artificial directions for health* (*STC2* 24612, 7 editions between 1600 and 1633). William Vaughan: lawyer, poet, colonial pioneer.
11. *A Treatise of the Plague* (*STC2* 16676, one edition, 1603). Thomas Lodge: humanist 'man of letters', physician.
12. *A New Booke intituled, I am for you all, Complexions castle* (*STC2* 17257, one edition, 1604). James Manning: 'minister of the word'.
13. *The Englishmans Doctor OR, the Schoole of Salerne* (*STC2* 21605, 5 editions between 1607 and 1624). Sir John Harington: lawyer, wit and 'man of letters'.
14. *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (5 editions between 1621 and 1638). Robert Burton: Oxfordshire Vicar, 'man of letters'.

Notes

Notes to the Introduction

1. Lucretius, *The Nature of Things*, trans. Frank Copley (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977) VI, 1090–4, 1098–9.
2. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler (London: Longman, 1979) XI, 471–7.
3. Susan Sontag, *Aids and its Metaphors* (London: Penguin, 1989) p. 93.
4. See Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (1970; London: Routledge, 1996); Catherine Waldby, *Aids and the Body Politic: Biomedicine and Sexual Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
5. See Michael Arbib and Mary Hesse, *The Construction of Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 43; Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).
6. Waldby, *Aids and the Body Politic*, p. 6.
7. Ibid., p. 15. See also P. Strong, 'Epidemic Psychology: a Model', *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 12:3, (1991) pp. 249–59; and Deborah Lupton, *Moral Threats and Dangerous Desires: AIDS in the News Media* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994).
8. E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974) p. 107.
9. On seventeenth-century 'Royal Science' and language 'reformers' see Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995) pp. 230–70.
10. See David G. Hale, *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance England* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971). On significant 'survivals' see Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) esp. pp. 141–6.
11. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980) repeatedly stress this positivist imperative.
12. Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Body, Image, Text in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of the Social History of Medicine*, 12:1 (1999) p. 143. See also David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (eds), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1997): 'the body has become an object of such extensive critical scrutiny in recent years' (p. xii).
13. P. Wright and A. Treacher (eds), 'Introduction', in *The Problem of Medical Knowledge* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982) pp. 8, 10, 15. In fact, anthropologists were describing the cultural construction of medicine before this: a seminal work in this area is J. B. Loudon (ed.), *Social Anthropology and Medicine* (1976; London: Academic Press, 1979). See also Cecil G. Helman, *Culture, Health and Illness: An Introduction for Health Professionals* (Bristol: Wright, 1984).
14. See, for example, the following important texts which argue the discursive, constructed nature of science and/or medicine, and (for the most part) emphasize

the tropological language at the heart of all discourse: Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By;* A. Benjamin, G. Cantor and J. Christie (eds), *The Figural and the Literal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Arbib and Hesse, *The Construction of Reality*; Johnson, *The Body in the Mind*; James J. Bono, 'Science, Discourse, and Literature: the Role/Rule of Metaphor in Science', *Literature and Science*, ed. Stuart Peterfreund (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1990); L. J. Jordanova (ed.). *Languages of Nature* (London: Free Association Books, 1986); Kathryn Montgomery Hunter, *Doctors' Stories: The Narrative Structure of Medical Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); James W. Fernandez (ed.), *Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); Waldby, *Aids and the Body Politic;* Lupton, *Moral Threats and Dangerous Desires*.

15 See, for example, Gregory Bentley, *Shakespeare and the New Disease: The Dramatic Function of Syphilis in 'Troilus and Cressida', 'Measure for Measure', 'Timon of Athens'* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989); F. David Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992) – this is an immensely rich storehouse of medical information; Johannes Fabricius, *Syphilis in Shakespeare's England* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 1995).

16 Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*; Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic*.

17 See Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, and Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic*, respectively. Schoenfeldt's finely nuanced study acknowledges the complexities of physiological models in this period.

18 Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, *In Sickness and in Health: The British Experience, 1650–1850* (London: Fourth Estate, 1988) p. 7, stress that 'serious lay/professional divisions' postdate their period, which is considerably later than mine.

19 James Shirley, *The Triumph of Peace*, *English Masques*, ed. Herbert Arthur Evans (London: Blackie & Son, 1897) p. 215.

20 Claudine Herzlich and Janine Pierret, *Illness and Self in Society* ([*Malades d'hier, malades d'aujourd hui* (1976)], trans. Elbory Forster (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987) p. xi.

21 J. B. Loudon (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Social Anthropology*, p. 42.

22 Simon Kellwaye, *A Defensative against the Plague* (London, 1593) f. 39r.

23 Helman, *Culture, Health and Illness*, p. 17: 'humoral theory . . . has its roots in China and India, but . . . was elaborated into a system of medicine by Hippocrates'.

24 Henry Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease* (Phoenix paperback, (1943; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) pp. 185–6.

25 George Cheyne, *The English Malady, or, a Treatise of Nervous diseases of all kinds* (London, 1733) sig. A1r–v.

26 Andrew Wear, 'Early Modern Madness', lecture at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, 23 January 1992.

27 Meyer Fortes, 'Foreword', in *Social Anthropology*, ed. Loudon, p. xii; E. H. Ackerknecht, *Medicine and Ethnology: Selected Essays*, ed. H. H. Walser and H. M. Koelbing (1945; Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971) p. 114.

28 Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, argue that because of human 'embodiment', 'much of a person's conceptual system is either universal or widespread

across languages and cultures. Our conceptual systems are not totally relative and not merely a matter of historical contingency', (p. 6).

29 Cited in Meyer Fortes, 'Foreword', p. xix.
30 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) pp. 12–13, 17.
31 Meyer Fortes, 'Foreword', pp. xix–xx.
32 Loudon, 'Introduction', in *Social Anthropology*, pp. 36–7.
33 See Meyer Fortes, 'Foreword', p. xvii.
34 Gil Harris has argued, for example, that the mid-seventeenth century witnessed 'a decisive break with Galenic tradition': an 'irrevocable breakdown not only of the logic of correspondence, but also of the endogenous pathological discourses which modelled disease as an internal bodily state rather than as a determinate foreign body' (pp. 142, 143). I would argue, rather, that most diseases always have had, and continue to have, both endogenous and exogenous components, and that there are many today (such as cancer, hypertension and heart disease) which are construed as having major endogenous components.
35 Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1988) p. 3.
36 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (1939; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978); Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; London and New York: Routledge, 1996), and her *Natural Symbols*.
37 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 116.
38 See Lyndal Roper, 'Introduction', *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1994), esp. pp. 26–7. See also Jenner, 'Body, Image, Text in Early Modern Europe', p. 154.
39 Johnson, 'Preface', *The Body in the Mind*, pp. xiv–xv.
40 Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, p. 70.
41 Ibid., pp. 83–4.
42 See, for example, Caroline Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (1935; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939). A very cogent account of the cathartic purge in Renaissance drama is contained in C. di Miceli, 'Sickness and Physic in Some Plays by Middleton and Webster', *Cahiers Elizabethan*, 23–6 (1983–4) pp. 41–78.
43 Bentley, *Shakespeare and the New Disease*, pp. 2–4.
44 E. A. M. Colman, *The Dramatic Use of Bawdy in Shakespeare* (London: Longman, 1974) p. 112; Fabricius, *Syphilis in Shakespeare's England*.
45 The relation between satire, medicine and disease was first extensively explored by Mary Claire Randolph in 'The Medical Concept in English Renaissance Satiric Theory: its Possible Relationships and Implications', *Studies in Philology*, 38 (1941): pp. 125–57.
46 Valerie Traub, *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (London: Routledge, 1992); Catherine Belsey, 'Desire's Excess and the English Renaissance Theatre', *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York: Routledge, 1992) p. 98.
47 Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic*.
48 Gilman, *Disease and Representation*, pp. 1, 2, 3.
49 Barbara Fass Leavy, *To Blight with Plague: Studies in a Literary Theme* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1992).
50 Herbert G. Wright, 'Some Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Writers on the

Plague', *Essays and Studies*, 6 (1953) pp. 41–55. Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers* (London: Athlone Press, 1983) p. 112. Mary Leland Hunt, *Thomas Dekker: A Study* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911), had similarly seen the plague pamphlets as 'records' of 'horror and panic' (pp. 124–5); and E. D. Pendry, *Thomas Dekker* (London: Edward Arnold, 1967), felt they caught 'the very three-dimensional sense of what it was like' (p. 21).

51 Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951).

52 Christopher Ricks, '*Doctor Faustus* and Hell on Earth', *Essays in Criticism*, 35 (1985) p. 118; see also Raymond Stephanson, 'The Plague Narratives of Defoe and Camus', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 48 (1987): 'the plague in a sense compels an imaginative response' (p. 227).

53 On the 'white plague' and Romanticism see Jeffrey Meyers, *Disease and the Novel, 1880–1960* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985) pp. 4–11. Ricks, '*Doctor Faustus* and Hell on Earth', p. 115.

54 Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (*c.* 1529), ed. T. F. Mayer (London: Royal Historical Society, University College, 1989), p. 47. Starkey's *Dialogue* is discussed below, Chapter 2, pp. 66–7.

55 Waldby, *Aids and the Body Politics*, p. 88. By 'natural' I mean a corporeal entity somehow divisible from the mental processes that construct it.

Notes to Chapter 1: The Humoral–Paracelsan Body

1 Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London, 1584) f. 2r.

2 William Bullein, *Bulleins Bulwarke of defence against all Sicknes, Sornes, and woundes* (London, 1562).

3 See Meyer Fortes, 'Foreword', in *Social Anthropology and Medicine*, ed. J. B. Loudon (London: Academic Press, 1979) p. xvii.

4 Roy Porter (ed.), *The Popularization of Medicine* (London: Routledge, 1992) p. 3.

5 Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London: Routledge, 1996); p. 74. See also Marcel Mauss, 'Les Techniques du corps', *Journal de la Psychologie*, 32 (March–April 1936).

6 Henry Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) p. 149.

7 Ibid., p. 149; Vivian Nutton, 'Social History of Graeco-Roman Medicine', *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays*, ed. Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p. 23.

8 L. Clendening, *Source Book of Medical History* (New York: P. B. Hoeber, 1942) p. 13. G. E. R. Lloyd, 'Introduction', in *Hippocratic Writings*, trans. J. Chadwick and W. N. Mann, ed. G. E. R. Lloyd, paperback edn (1978; London: Penguin Classics, 1983) p. 10. Vivian Nutton, 'Humoralism', *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, vol. 1, ed. W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (2 vols; London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 281–91.

9 Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease*, p. 150. Hippocrates, 'The Sacred Disease', in Lloyd (ed.), *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 240: as this text about epilepsy makes clear, this was not a rejection of the supernatural, but rather an unwillingness to implicate its operations (particularly malevolent ones) in the medical understanding of disease processes. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (California: University of California Press, 1973) p. 68.

10 Hippocrates, 'Airs, Waters, Places', in Lloyd, *Hippocratic Writings*, pp. 148–69.
11 Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease*, p. 151; F. David Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance* (Newark: Univeristy of Delaware Press, 1992) p. 82.
12 On humoral medicine see Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: an Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) pp. 104–6. Andrew Wear (ed.), 'Making Sense of the Environment in Early Modern England', *Medicine in Society*, pp. 119–47; Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease*, pp. 149–51.
13 See Introduction, pp. 1–2.
14 Hippocrates, 'Epidemics Bks I, II, III', in Lloyd, *Hippocratic Writings*, pp. 87–138; Vivian Nutton, 'The Seeds of Disease: An Explanation of Contagion and Infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance', *Medical History*, 27 (1983) pp. 1–34; Andrew Wear, 'The History of Personal Hygiene', *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, vol. 1, pp. 1283–308.
15 Galen, 'On the Different Types of Fever', 1.6: VII 289–91k, quoted in Nutton, 'The Seeds of Disease', p. 6.
16 Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure: the History of Sexuality*, vol. 2 [*L'Usage des plaisirs* (1984)], trans. Robert Hurley (1985; London: Penguin Books, 1992) p. 101.
17 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Arthur Golding, in *Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Arthur Golding Translation, 1567* ed. John F. Nims (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965) p. 179.
18 Thomas Paynell, *Regimen sanitatis Salerni* (London, 1528) title-page.
19 Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (London, 1534) title-page.
20 On the early modern popular dissemination of medical knowledge see Porter, 'Introduction', in *The Popularization of Medicine*, pp. 1–16; Andrew Wear, 'The Popularization of Medicine in Early Modern England', in *The Popularization of Medicine*, pp. 22–4.
21 This corresponds with Slack's 'category 7' although I have included discursive regimens focusing on specific diseases; see Paul Slack, 'Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: the Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England', *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) p. 245.
22 Elyot commends Linacre's translation in *The Book Named the Governor* (1531), ed. S. E. Lehmberg (London: Dent, 1962) p. 60.
23 The ideological ramifications of gluttony are explored in Chapter 6.
24 Vesalius' famous anatomical treatise *De humani corporis fabrica* was published in 1543. On the impact of the new anatomy see Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995).
25 Charles Webster, 'Paracelsus: Medicine as Popular Protest', *Medicine and the Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1993) p. 62. Barbara Gutmann Rosenkratz, 'Case Histories – An Introduction', *In Time of Plague*, ed. Arien Mack (New York and London: New York University Press, 1991) p. 75, rightly draws attention to the 'measure of confidence lent to new voices of authority in time of plague'.
26 Webster, 'Paracelsus' pp. 57–60; Charles Webster (ed.), 'Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine', *Health, Medicine and Mortality*, pp. 301–31.
27 L. Clendening, 'Paracelsus', *Source Book of Medical History* (New York & London: P. B. Hoeber, 1942) p. 95. Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease*, pp. 155–6.

28 R. Bostocke, *Auncient and Later Phisicke* (London, 1585) p. 127.
29 Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) argues a decisive shift to a Paracelsan bodily paradigm in this period.
30 Nobert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: the History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (1939; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), see my Introduction, p. 13.
31 John Caius, *A boke, or counseill against the disease commonly called the sweate, or sweatyng sicknesse* (London, 1552) f. 39r.
32 William Bullein, *A newe booke Entituled the Government of Healthe* (London, 1558) f. xlii.v.
33 On the Quadruplex Exposition see Woodburn O. Ross, Introduction, *Middle English Sermons*, ed. W. Ross from British Museum MS. Royal 18B xxiii, for the Early English Text Society, Original Series No. 209 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940) p. vi.
34 Thomas Newton, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (London, 1576) f. 4r.
35 See John Calvin's instruction regarding the doctrinal centrality of knowing 'our selves' (below, p. 44).
36 William Vaughan, *Naturall and artificial directions for health* (London, 1600) p. 51.
37 James Manning, *A New Booke Intituled I am for you all, Complexions castle* (London, 1604) p. 2.
38 Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) ed. Holbrook Jackson (London: J. M. Dent, 1972) p. 374.
39 On the religious and political significance of signs (including astronomical and astrological ones) in the Lutheran medical schema of the body and its environment, see Sachiko Kusukawa, 'Melanchthon and Astrology for Lutheran Medics', *Medicine and the Reformation*, ed. Grell and Cunningham, pp. 33–47.
40 Simon Kellwaye, *A Defensative against the Plague* (London, 1593) f. 2r.
41 Anon., *The Englishman's Doctor* (London, 1607) sig. A8r. *STC2* attributes this translation to Sir John Harington.
42 William Clowes, *A Short and profitable Treatise touching the cure of the disease called (Morbus Gallicus) by Unctions* (London, 1579).
43 The relation between poverty, disease and perceived disorder is explored in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.
44 Clowes's locutions appear imitative of Calvin's in *The Institution of Christian Religion*, see below pp. 43–4.
45 See below, p. 132.
46 Thomas Lodge, *A Treatise of the Plague* (London, 1603) sig. F1v.
47 See below, p. 95.
48 Webster, 'Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine', p. 313. Charles Webster opposes the erroneous view expressed by Paul H. Kocher in *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (California: Huntington Library Publications, 1953) pp. 256–7, that by the end of the sixteenth century mystical explanations of disease 'had been pretty well washed out of the medical books'. On the relation between science and demonology in the seventeenth century, see Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
49 See Michael MacDonald, *Witchcraft and Hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover Case* (London: Routledge, 1991).
50 John Woolton, *The Christian Manuell, or the life and maners of true Christians* (London, 1576) sig. L4r.

51 Francis Bacon, *Of the proficience and advancement of learning, divine and humane* (London, 1605) f. 46r.
52 Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, p. 151.
53 See Margaret Healy, 'Plausibility in Renaissance Domestic Tragedy', *At the Borders of the Human*: *Beasts, Bodies and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert and Sue Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1999).
54 Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, in *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies*, ed. K. Sturgess (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1985); Catherine Belsey, 'Desire's Excess and the English Renaissance Theatre', *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York: Routledge, 1992) p. 95; Rick Bowers, '*A Woman Killed with Kindness*: Plausibility on a Smaller Scale', *Studies in English Literature*, 24 (Spring 1984) p. 298.
55 John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion* (London, 1561), Bk. II, Ch. 1.8, f. 4r. See Andrew Wear, 'Puritan Perceptions of Illness in Seventeenth-century England', *Patients and Practitioners*, ed. R. Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) pp. 55–99.
56 Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) p. 114.
57 *The Bible* (Geneva, 1562), 'The Argument', Leviticus, f. 46r.
58 James Balmford, *A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues Infection* (London, 1603) pp. 7–8.
59 Vivian Nutton, 'Wittenberg Anatomy', in *Medicine and the Reformation*, ed. Grell and Cunningham, pp. 21, 23.
60 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World* (Moscow, 1965), trans. Helen Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968) p. 359.
61 Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, p. 166.
62 William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine, or The Description of Theologie written in Latine, and translated by R. Hill* (Cambridge, 1597) p. 33.
63 John Donne, 'Expostulation 22', *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975) p. 119, ll. 21–8.
64 Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).
65 Slack, 'Mirrors of Health', p. 249; Allan Chapman, 'Astrological Medicine', in *Health, Medicine and Mortality*, ed. Webster, p. 277.

Notes to Chapter 2: The Plaguy Body: Part I

1 Thomas Dekker, *London Looke Backe* (London, 1630) sig. A4v.
2 Thomas Dekker, *The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie* (London, 1604) sig. A3r; Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderfull yeare* (London, 1603) sigs. D1v, D2v, D3v, D4r; Thomas Dekker, *Newes from Graves-end* (London, 1604) sig. F1v.
3 William Bullein, *A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pietifull, wherein is a godlie regiment against the Fever Pestilence, with a consolation and comforte againste death* (1564); (London, 1573) pp. 53, 56. Citations throughout are to this third edition which contains Bullein's emendations and additions, including the utopia.
4 See Introduction, pp. 1–2.
5 Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS* (Ithaca: NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1988).

6 Charles T. Gregg, *Plague: An Ancient Disease in the Twentieth Century*, revised edn (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985) pp. 113–28. Gregg is a microbiologist researching *Y. Pestis*.
7 Ibid., pp. 166–9.
8 Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (paperback rpt from 1st edn, 1969; New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1971) pp. 13–29.
9 Thomas Dekker, *The Blacke Rod and the White Rod* (London, 1630) sig. A4r; *London Looke Backe*, sig. A3r; Thomas Dekker, *A Rod for Run-awayes* (London, 1625) sigs. B1r, C4r, D2v.
10 Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (paperback imp. 1985; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) p. 13.
11 *The Bible* (Geneva, 1562) f. 52r. On the significance of Leviticus for understanding contagion, see Chapter 1, pp. 44–5.
12 Thomas Nashe, *Christs Teares Over Jerusalem* (1593), sig. Y2r.
13 Thomas Paynell, *A Moche Profitable Treatise Against the Pestilence* (London, 1534) sig. A2r.
14 *Dives and Pauper, Part I*, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum, Early English Text Society, no. 275 (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), Commandment I.xxviii, ll.74–5.
15 *Corporation of London Record Office*, Journal xv, ff. 47v–49v.
16 See Richard Palmer, ‘The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe’, in *The Church and Healing*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982) pp. 79–99.
17 Slack, *Impact*, pp. 68, 151.
18 Ibid., p. 23.
19 Raymond Crawfurd, *Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914).
20 Ibid., p. 8.
21 Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984) p. 2.
22 Marvin W. Anderson, *Evangelical Foundations: Religion in England, 1378–1683*, American University Studies, series VII: Theology and Religion, vol. 33 (New York: Peter Lang, 1987) p. 330.
23 See Siegfried Wenzel, ‘Pestilence and Middle English Literature: Friar John Grimestone’s Poems on Death’, in *The Black Death: The Impact of the Fourteenth-Century Plague*, ed. Daniel Williman (New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1982) p. 145.
24 Cited in ibid., p. 145
25 Ibid., p. 149. See my Introduction, p. 16.
26 *Dives and Pauper, Part II*, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum, The Early English Text Society, no. 280 (London: Oxford University Press, 1980) Commandment IX.ix, ll.12–21.
27 William Langland, *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman in Three Parallel Texts*, ed. W. W. Skeat, vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), see B Passus V. 13, C Passus VI, ll. 114–16, and C Passus IX 348–50.
28 *Everyman*, in *Everyman with other Interludes*, ed. Ernest Rhys (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1909) p. 5.
29 John Lydgate, ‘A Dietary, and a Doctrine for Pestilence’, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, Early English Text Society, Original Series no. 192, vol. 2 (2 vols; London: Oxford University Press, 1934) stanzas 1–3, p. 702.

30 On the sermon 'exemplum' see G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 149–209; and Woodburn O. Ross, Introduction, *Middle English Sermons* from British Museum MS Royal 18B xxiii, for the Early English Text Society, Original Series no. 209 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940) p. x.
31 Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Pardoner's Tale', in *The Complete Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) l. 675.
32 Anderson, *Evangelical Foundations*, p. 330.
33 Gil Harris has attributed this confusion to the coexistence of competing Galenic and Paracelsan models of disease in this period; the Galenic giving way entirely to a Paracelsan paradigm in the seventeenth century. I argue that there was no decisive break with humoralism in the seventeenth century, but that various theories were often superimposed one upon another in a compendious and complementary manner.
34 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Rex Warner (1954; Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1966) p. 124.
35 Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. G. H. McWilliam (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) p. 54.
36 Dekker, *A Rod for Run-awayes*, sig. C1r.
37 See Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 150.
38 On personification and cognition see George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980) p. 33. The burgeoning field of discourse analysis surrounding AIDS reveals that construing the disease as an enemy, 'a monster', as 'death' – ;the grim reaper' – has been a regular feature, particularly of news reporting, but also, interestingly, of health education campaigns. See, for example, Deborah Lupton, *Moral Threats and Dangerous Desires: AIDS in the News Media* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994) pp. 51–90.
39 Zeigler, *The Black Death*, p. 97
40 'A Warning to be ware', in *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, Part II*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, vol. 2 (2 vols; London: Kegan Paul, 1901) verse 8, p. 719.
41 Paul H. Kocher, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England* (California: Huntington Library Publications, 1953) p. 243. Catherine Cole Mambretti, 'William Bullein and the "Lively Fashions" in Tudor Medical Literature', *Clio Medica*, 9.4 (1974) p. 289. Webster, 'Alchemical and Paracelsian Medicine', p. 305.
42 William Mitchell, 'William Bullein, Elizabethan Physician and Author', *Medical History*, 3 (1959): p. 198.
43 Henry Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease* (Phoenix paperback, 1943; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) p. 184.
44 In 'Montaigne, Cannibals and Grottoes' – a lecture at University College London (16 October 1992) – Carlo Ginzburg discussed the phenomenon of 'Mannerism' in relation to the literature and architecture of the sixteenth century. Ginzburg described literary Mannerism in terms of 'a badly joined wooden inlay', characterized by variety, extravagance and aesthetic transgression.
45 Thomas Nashe, 'Address to the Reader', *Have with you to Saffron Walden* (London, 1596).
46 David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1984) p. 14. This point was also stressed by Alan Sinfield in *Literature in Protestant England, 1560–1660* (London: Croom Helm, 1983).

47 Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, ed. T. F. Mayer (London: Royal Historical Society, University College, 1989) p. 56.
48 See Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (Basingstokes: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1993), pp. 1–37.
49 John Bale, *Complete Plays II*, ed. Peter Happé (Bury St Edmunds: St Edmundsbury Press, 1986), I,l.148. Interestingly, Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* deploys pestilence rhetoric in a manner specific to this historical period.
50 Thomas More, 'Letter to Firth', *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. F. Rogers (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947) p. 441.
51 Henry VIII, *A copy of the letters wherin . . . Henry the eight . . . made answer unto a certayn letter of Martyn Luther* (London, n.d.) sig. A6.
52 'A Supplycacion to our moste Soveraigne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght' (1544), in *Four Supplications*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, Extra Series no. 13 (London: N. Trubnen, 1871) p. 47. All citations from the Commons Supplications are to this edition.
53 Slack, *Impact*, p. 292. Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 52, has drawn attention to the fact that many of the rebels in the 1540s were actually protesting against religious reform rather than (as the Supplications imply) endorsing it.
54 T. F. Mayer, Introduction, in Starkey, *A Dialogue Between Pole and Lupset*, p. xv.
55 Cited in John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it*, vol. 1 (3 vols; London, 1721) Appendix lxxxiii, p. 208.
56 See David G. Hale, *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance England* (The Hague: Moutan, 1971) p. 57.
57 Thomas Phayre, *The Regiment of Life* (London, 1545), sig. L3v.
58 See David F. Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992) p. 24.
59 DNB, pp. 244–6.
60 John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. S. R. Cattley, vol. VI (8 vols; London, 1841) p. 57. On the 'triple bulwark', see Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 36; and John King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982) p. 277.
61 Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'William Bullein's *Dialogue Against the Fever Pestilence*: A Sixteenth-Century Anatomy', in *Miscellanea moreana: Essays for German Marc Hadour*, ed. Clare M. Murphy, Henri Gibaud and Mario A. D. Cesare, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 61 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989) pp. 341–59.
62 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957) pp. 310–11.
63 Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* employs comparable 'alienation effects' to problematize the act of reading; see Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 111.
64 See Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, pp. 529–39; and John Peter, *Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956) p. 80.
65 Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p. 4.
66 Sermon 31 in Ross, *Middle English Sermons*, p. 157, is interesting on the bad smell of sinful people.
67 See above, p. 69.
68 For a discussion of the Wittenberg attack on atheism and Epicurean atomism, see Vivian Nutton, 'Wittenberg Anatomy', in *Medicine and the Reformation*, ed.

Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1993) p. 20. Paracelsans argued in an even stronger vein that curing powers were granted by God only to those Christians 'genuinely subscribing to the apostolic faith', see Charles Webster, 'Paracelsus: Medicine as Popular Protest', in ibid., p. 65.

69 Thomas G. Benedek, 'The Influence of Ulrich Von Hutten's Medical Descriptions and Metaphorical Use of Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 66:1 (Spring 1992) pp. 355–75.

70 On this point regarding Bale and Foxe, see Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 41.

71 See Julia Gasper, *The Dragon and the Dove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) pp. 158–9.

72 See above, p. 62.

73 See, for example, R. Bostocke, *Auncient and Later Phisicke* (London, 1585).

74 Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975).

75 Cited in John S. Farmer (ed.), *The Dramatic Writings of John Bale* (London: Early English Drama Society, 1907) pp. 300–4.

76 M. G. Davies, *The Enforcement of the English Apprenticeship, 1563–1642* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956) p. 31; W. H. Price, *The English Patents of Monopoly* (London: Constable, 1906) pp. 9, 15–16.

77 Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 32. William McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976) p. 236, has drawn attention to the intimate relation between pilgrimages (as spiritual quests and quests for physical health) and plagues: the poor hygiene arrangements and close confinement of people associated with pilgrimages also attracted epidemic disease.

78 D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth* (New York: Longman, 1983) p. 19.

79 These two strands of polemic are prominent, too, in John Ponet's *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (1556), which is discussed below in Chapter 6.

80 Quoted in Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) p. 35.

81 Quoted in ibid., p. 39.

82 Edmund Spenser, *Prosopopoia: or Mother Hubberds Tale*, in *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. William A. Oram, Einar Bjorvand, Ronald Bond, Thomas H. Cain, Alexander Dunlop and Richard Schell (New Haven Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 335–79.

83 William Wager, *Inough is as Good as a Feast* (London, 1565), sig. E2r.

84 See Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 63. Bullein, like Humphrey, appears to have been a staunch supporter of hereditary aristocracy. The authoritative persona, Humphrey, in *The Governement of Healthe*, is possibly modelled on Lawrence Humphrey.

85 Unfortunately, details of God's Plague's costume are not contained in the text; his sword is, however, mentioned by Worldly Man (sig. F3r).

86 Susan Sontag, *Aids and its Metaphors* (London: Penguin, 1989) p. 93.

Notes to Chapter 3: The Plaguy Body: Part II

1 All the Royal Proclamations cited in this chapter are in one unpaginated volume in the British Library: *Proclamations etc. (1602–9)*, BL, C.112.h.1.

2 Royal Proclamations, 16 September 1603 and 12 October 1607.

3 On city spaces and embodiment see Richard Sennet's important book *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization* (London: Faber, 1996). On metaphor theory, cognition and spatial relations, see George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Book, 1999), especially p. 6.
4 Catherine Waldby has provided a convincing account of this in relation to AIDS in *Aids and the Body Politic: Biomedicine and Sexual Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
5 See Introduction, pp. 15–16.
6 Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) p. 154.
7 Ibid., 71.
8 Ibid., p. 154.
9 See Valerie Pearl, *London at the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 23–9.
10 John Stow, *The Survey of London, 1598* (London: Dent, 1956) p. 376.
11 Roger Finlay and Beatrice Shearer, 'Population Growth and Suburban Expansion', in *The Making of the Metropolis, London 1500–1700*, eds A. L. Beier and R. Finlay (London: Longman, 1986) p. 45.
12 Slack, *Impact*, p. 73.
13 Thomas Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: A Series of Original Letters*, vol. 1 (2 vols; London: Henry Colburn, 1838) pp. 166–7.
14 See Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1988) p. 49. Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. 2, part 1 (3 vols; London: Routledge, 1963) p. 86, confirms that riots occurred often enough to cause anxiety to officials.
15 See James VI and I, *Basilicon Doron, Political Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 26–7.
16 Cited by Slack, *Impact* p. 229.
17 Roger B. Manning, *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) p. 187.
18 Cited in Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p. 1.
19 Ibid., p. 7.
20 Ibid., p. 198.
21 On late sixteenth-century vagrancy see also A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640* (London: Methuen, 1985).
22 Paul Slack, 'Poverty and Social Regulation in Elizabethan England', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. Christopher Haigh (1984; London: Macmillan, 1991) p. 226.
23 Cited by Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 223.
24 H. Townshend, *Historical Collections: an Exact Account of the Last Four Parliaments of Elizabeth* (London, 1680) p. 325.
25 Cited by Slack, *Impact*, p. 305.
26 See above pp. 36, 40–2.
27 Slack, *Impact*, pp. 303, 215, 213. My discussion of the plague Orders is indebted to Slack's unsurpassed account.
28 Ibid., p. 211.
29 The phrase is Dekker's in *The Wonderfull yeare* (London, 1603) sig. D1r.
30 Notably, Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). See also Jeremy

Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: a London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

31 Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 259.

32 Paul Slack, 'Metropolitan Government in Crisis', in *The Making of the Metropolis*, ed. Beier and Finlay, p. 64.

33 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; London and New York: Routledge, 1996) p. 4.

34 Ibid., p. 5.

35 Slack, *Impact*, p. 302.

36 On the metropolitan elite, see Frank Freeman Foster, *The Politics of Stability* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977) p. 92.

37 Thomas Dekker, *Worke For Armorours: Or, The Peace is Broken* (London, 1609).

38 Even those historians who favour a positive picture of living conditions and social relations in London in this period, concede that epidemic disease was independently productive of hardship and suffering, especially in the 1590s and early 1600s. See, for example, Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, p. 289.

39 Julia Gasper, *The Dragon and the Dove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) p. 14. See also Margot Heinemann, '"God Help the Poor: the Rich can Shift": the World Upside-down and the Popular Tradition in the Theatre', in *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After*, ed. G. McMullan and J. Hope (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 151–65; and John Twyning, *London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1998).

40 See E. D. Pendry, Introduction, *Thomas Dekker* (London: Edward Arnold, 1967).

41 See above p. 77.

42 Pendry provides the fullest guide to these 'facts' (see n. 40 above).

43 See *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, IV.i in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 1 (4 vols; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953–61).

44 See Lorna Hutson, *Thomas Nashe in Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) p. 200.

45 Thomas Nashe, *Christes Teares over Jerusalem* (London, 1594) f. 83r.

46 See Hutson, *Thomas Nashe in Context*, p. 200.

47 Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Devil* (1592) in G. R. Hibbard (ed.), *Three Elizabethan Pamphlets* (London: George Harrap, 1951) p. 88.

48 Entry in The Stationer's Register, 5 December 1603.

49 Woodburn O. Ross (ed.), Introduction, *Middle English Sermons* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. lviii.

50 I am thinking particularly of Lucian's *Menippus or the Descent into Hades*.

51 See, for example, *The Wonderfull yeare*, sig. C4r; *A Rod for Run-awayes*, sig. B4r.

52 See, for example, Dekker, *The Wonderfull yeare*, sig. C4r, sig. C4v; *Newes from Graves-end*, sig. E4r.

53 Lucian, *Menippus or the Descent into Hades*, in *Lucian*, trans. A. M. Harmon, vol. 4 (8 vols; London: William Heinemann, 1961) pp. 77–8, 105.

54 See Gasper, The Dragon and the Dove, p. 48.

55 Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment* (London, 1604) sig. B3r.

56 See below p. 174.

57 See Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 1, 2, 3.

58 Christopher Hooke, *Sermons Preached in Paules Church* (London, 1603) sig. C3v.

59 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do' (Luke, 23:34).

60 Frederick O. Waage, *Thomas Dekker's Pamphlets, 1603–9, and Jacobean Popular Literature*, vol. 2 (2 vols.; Salzburg: Institut Für Englische Sprache, 1977) p. 492. Waage's useful economic analysis is based on readings of State Papers.
61 Kenneth Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement (1460–1630)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p. 313.
62 Thomas Milles, *The Mistery of Iniquity* (London, 1609) sig. D1r.
63 E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 50 (1971): pp. 76–136.

Notes to Chapter 4: The Pocky Body: Part I

1 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, ed. and trans. C. R. Thompson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) pp. 408–9. All modern translations of Erasmus's *Colloquies* are cited from this edition.
2 Claude Quetel, *History of Syphilis* (*Le Mal de Naples: histoire de la syphilis* [1986]) trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990) p. 2. HIV and AIDS are now associated with a vast and increasing body of writings, which exceeds those on syphilis.
3 M. A. Waugh 'Venereal Diseases in Sixteenth-century England', *Medical History*, 17 (1973): Waugh remarks that there are only four British medical authors on venereal disease before 1600, compared with 200 other European sources; English medical writers lagged behind by some 50 years, pp. 192, 194.
4 Ulrich Von Hutten, *De Morbo Gallico*, trans. Thomas Paynell (London, 1533) f. 1r.
5 Richard Davenport-Hines, *Sex, Death and Punishment* (London: Collins, 1990) p. 20.
6 I find the approach adopted by the authors of *The Great Pox*, which refuses to connect the modern disease with 'the Pox', rather rigid. Whilst conceding that diseases – as genetic material – do transmute slightly over time, the modern disease *is* likely a descendant of 'the Pox', providing us with some invaluable clues about the experiences of sufferers in the past. See Jon Arrizabalaga, John Henderson and Roger French, *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1997) p. 1. I would agree with Margaret Pelling's observation in *The Common Lot: Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), that denying biological links between present and past 'seems radically to underestimate the potential for biological constancy', (p. 7).
7 J. Gibson, *Modern Medicine* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972) pp. 46–50.
8 See Erasmus, *A Marriage in Name Only*, pp. 410–11 and *Inns*, p. 150; William Clowes, *A Short and profitable Treatise touching the cure of the disease called (Morbus Gallicus) by Unctions* (London, 1579) sig. B3r.
9 Peter Lowe, *An Easie, certaine, and perfect method, to cure and prevent the Spanish sicknes* (London, 1596) sig. B3r; Valerie Fildes, *Wet Nursing* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988) p. 74, discusses the consequences of the knowledge of this hazard for the practice of wet nursing.
10 As early as 1500 the Valencian physician Pintor wrote that coitus with an infected woman was the principal cause of the infection; Quetel, *History of Syphilis*, p. 17. See also Von Hutten, *De Morbo Gallico*, f. 3r.
11 Thomas Dekker, *The Dramatic Works*, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 2 (4 vols; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955). All quotations from *The Honest Whore*, Parts 1 and 2, are from this edition.

12 See particularly Davenport-Hines, *Sex, Death and Punishment*, p. 21.
13 Von Hutten, *De Morbo Gallico*, f. 2v, f. 5r; Lowe, *An Easie, certaine, and perfect method*, sig. B1v.
14 Anon., *Nice Wanton* (London, 1560) sig. B2r.
15 On syphilitic dementia see Quetel, *History of Syphilis*, p. 160.
16 On the possible relation between witch-hunts and syphilis see, especially, S. Andreskei, *Syphilis, Puritanism and Witch Hunts* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1989).
17 Richard Palmer, 'The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in *The Church and Healing*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982) p. 91.
18 Waugh, 'Venereal Disease', p. 192.
19 Cited in Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, vol. 1 (2 vols; London: Frank Cass, 1965) p. 417. The word 'eschevin' probably derives from 'eschive', meaning to eschew; to shun: *Dictionary of Archaic Words*, ed. James Halliwell (1850; London: Bracken Books, 1989) p. 339.
20 Creighton, *A History of Epidemics*, p. 418.
21 E. J. Burford, *Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels* (London: Peter Owen, 1976) pp. 130–8.
22 Waugh, 'Venereal Disease', p. 195. Syphilis's inheritance of the biblical meanings of leprosy-like skin diseases (as can be inferred from the choice of 'sweat' ward names at St Thomas's) is discussed below, see p. 135.
23 Margaret Pelling, 'Appearance and Reality: Barber-surgeons, the Body and Disease', in *The Making of the Metropolis, London 1500–1700*, ed. A. L. Beier and R. Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), p. 92.
24 Ben Jonson, Epigram 7, *Poems*, ed. Ian Donaldson (London: Oxford University Press, 1975) p. 10.
25 Ambrose Paré, *Workes*, trans. T. Johnson (London, 1634) p. 736.
26 Sir William Davenant, 'To Doctor Cademan, Physitian to the Queene', *The Shorter Poems* (Oxford: Gibbs, 1972) pp. 51–2.
27 See Pelling, 'Appearance and Reality', p. 92.
28 For a useful discussion of this see Raymond A. Anselment, 'Seventeenth-Century Pox: the Medical and Literary Realities of Venereal Disease', *Seventeenth Century*, 3–4 (1988) pp. 189–211.
29 Andrew Boord, *The Breviary of Helthe* (London, 1547).
30 Raymond Anselment's *The Realms of Apollo: Literature and Healing in Seventeenth-century England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995) argues for 'the profound and mysterious union between the healing powers of language and medicine'. I would concur in so far as that, in the absence of cures, the role of myths and the physician's authoritative words in containing 'horror' and providing some comfort, might not have been inconsiderable (p. 11).
31 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) pp. 115–29.
32 Ibid., pp. 30–41.
33 Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum or A Naturall History in ten Centuries* (London, 1627) century: 1, note 26, unpaginated.
34 Girolamo Fracastoro, *Syphilis sive morbus gallicus* (1530), in *Fracastoro's Syphilis* trans. and ed. Geoffrey Eatough (Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1984).
35 Barnaby Rich, *The Honestie of this Age* (London, 1614).
36 Captain John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality*

(1662), cited in Creighton, *A History of Epidemics*, pp. 428–9.

37 Pietro Mainardi, *Epistola II and Michaelem Sanctannam* (1525), col. 606, cited in Anna Foa, 'The New and the Old: the Spread of Syphilis (1494–1530)', in *Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective*, ed. Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, trans. A. M. and C. Gallucci (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990) p. 39.

38 Cited in Foa, 'The New and the Old', p. 39.

39 On foreigners and poison in relation to syphilis see Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

40 Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (1985; Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988) pp. 177–9; *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kipple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp. 310–11; J. Verano and D. Ubelaker, *Disease and Demography in the Americas* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1992) p. 162.

41 Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1988) pp. 1–6.

42 J. D. Rolleston, 'Venereal Disease in Literature', *British Journal of Venereal Diseases*, 10 (1934) pp. 147–73.

43 Davenport-Hines, *Sex, Death and Punishment*, p. 26; Bruce T. Boehrer, 'Early Modern Syphilis', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 1: 2 (1990) p. 203.

44 Palmer, 'The Church', provides a comprehensive account of these.

45 John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion* (1536; London, 1561) I.I.3, f. 1v.

46 See Gilman, *Disease and Representation*, pp. 248–54.

47 Davenport-Hines, *Sex, Death and Punishment*, p. 16.

48 Robert Henryson, *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson*, ed. H. Harvey Wood, 2nd edn (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1958).

49 Ibid., Introduction, p. xi. Saul Nathaniel Brody, *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (London: Cornell University Press, 1974), has described how medieval literature consistently represents leprosy as the disease of deceit. The 'false deceptioun' associated with leprosy appears to have been inherited by syphilis.

50 Quoted in Harvey Wood, Introduction, p. xii.

51 'Luce Irigaray' in *New French Feminisms: An Anthology*, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (Brighton: Harvester, 1981) p. 101.

52 On the erotic combination – sex, pain, death – see George Bataille, *Eroticism* (1962; London: Marion Boyars, 1987).

53 Quetel, *History of Syphilis*, p. 54.

54 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 3.

55 U. Naich, 'Per Dio, Tu Sei Cortese', *The Anthologies of Black-note Madrigals*, ed. D. Harran (Hansler-Verlag: Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 73, 1978) p. lxi.

56 E. Panofsky, 'Homage to Fracastoro in a Germano-Flemish Composition of about 1590', *Nederlands Kunthistorisch Jaarboek*, xii (1961) pp. 1–33.

57 The distressed figure clutching his head in agony (behind Cupid) is a victim of syphilis. The female figure with reptilian posterior, proffering a honeycomb, is Deceit. For a detailed account of the iconography of this painting see Margaret Healy, 'Bronzino's London "Allegory" and the Art of Syphilis', *The Oxford Art Journal*, 20:1 (1997) pp. 3–11.

58 On the reception and translation of the *Colloquies* in England, see: P. S. Allen, *Selections from Erasmus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918) p. 15: T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greek*, vol. 1 (Urbana: University of

Illinois Press, 1944) pp. 118–19, 129 and 735. Baldwin asserts, 'These dialogues evidently had a powerful influence on English literature, and demand much more than the cursory attention they have yet received' (p. 735). Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (London: Frank Cass, 1968) pp. 328–9 stresses the importance of colloquies, generally, and particularly of Erasmus's *Colloquies*, as pedagogic tools in the grammar schools. M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain, 1500–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) p. 47. Sir J. Sandys, *Shakespeare's England*, vol. 1 (2 vols; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917) p. 234.

59 Dickie A. Spurgeon, Introduction, *Tudor Translations of the Colloquies of Erasmus, (1536–1584)*, ed. Spurgeon (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1972) p. vii. Where a Tudor translation of the dialogue under discussion is available, I have quoted from it. Included in Spurgeon's volume are facsimiles of *The Epicurean* and *The Young Man and the Harlot*: *A Very Pleasaunt & Fruitful Diologe Called the Epicure* (1545), trans. Philip Gerrard; *Of the yong Man and the evill disposed Woman* (1568), trans. Nicholas Leigh. All citations, unless otherwise stated, are to these editions. Page numbers in the text refer to Spurgeon's volume.

60 Erasmus, 'De Utilitate Colloquiorum', quoted in Thompson's introduction to *The Young Man and the Harlot*. 'De Utilitate' was Erasmus's defence against a charge of lasciviousness for writing this colloquy.

61 Desiderius Erasmus, *Seven Dialogues Both Pithie and Profitable*, trans. William Burton (London, 1606), sig. L2r.

62 In F. J. Furnivall, *Four Supplications, 1529–1553*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society (London: N. Trubner, 1871) p. 6.

63 William Turner, *A newe booke of Spirituall Physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande* (1555) f. 72v.

64 Cited in Davenport-Hines, *Sex, Death and Punishment*, p. 33.

65 John Milton, *The readie and easie way to establish a free Commonwealth* (2nd edn, 1660), in *Complete Prose Works*, revised edn, vol. 7 (8 vols, New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1980) pp. 452–3.

66 Cited in *A Companion to Medical Studies*, ed. R. Passmore and J. S. Robson, vol. 3 (3 vols; Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publishers, 1974) section 13.

67 See, for example, Barbara Fass Leavy, *To Blight with Plague: Studies in a Literacy Theme* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1992) p. 87.

68 Jean Alfred Fournier, *Syphilis and Marriage*, trans. A Lingard (London: D. Bogue, 1881) p. 5.

69 Anon., *A Preaty Interlude called 'Nice Wanton'* (London, 1560); and Lewis Wager, *A New Enterlude . . . entreating of the Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene* (London, 1567). Although neither of these plays was licensed for printing until Elizabeth I's reign, Lewis Wager's reference to 'the kynge' in his Prologue, and the alteration of the conventional epilogue in praise of the monarch in *Nice Wanton*, indicate that both plays were almost certainly originally performed at the Edwardian court.

70 On the creative tension and pleasure inherent in narratives of misdemeanour and repentance, see Kathleen McLuskie, 'Lawless Desires Well Tempered', in *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York and London: Routledge, 1991) p. 106.

71 John King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982) p. 283.

72 Ibid., p. 283.

73 See above p. 140.
74 Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) discusses this Interlude's dramatization of Protestant doctrine but does not comment on the significance of the Pox symbolism which is so vital to its design and impact.
75 Sarah Beckwith, 'Ritual, Theater and Social Space in the York Corpus Christi Cycle', in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) p. 69. See my Conclusion, p. 229.

Notes to Chapter 5: The Pocky Body: Part II

1 Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1608, 2nd edn 'newly corrected and amended' (London, 1609) sig. G6v.
2 Gregory Bentley, *Shakespeare and the New Disease: The Dramatic Function of Syphilis in 'Troilus and Cressida', 'Measure for Measure', 'Timon of Athens'* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989) pp. 2–4. Frankie Rubinstein, 'They Were Not Such Good Years', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 40 (1989): p. 70.
3 Valerie Traub, *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (London: Routledge, 1992) p. 73; Catherine Belsey, 'Desire's Excess and the English Renaissance Theatre', in *Erotic Politics*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York and London: Routledge, 1992) p. 92.
4 Johannes Fabricius, *Syphilis in Shakespeare's England* (London: Jessica Kingsley, 1995), pp. 247, 231, 241. See also Caroline Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells us* (1935) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939) p. 4; Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (London: Routledge, 1956) p. 20; Wolfgang Clemen, *The Development of Shakespeare's Imagery* (London: Methuen, 1987) p. 173.
5 Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politics: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
6 Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1988) p. 1.
7 This perception builds on Gilman's seminal insights in *Disease and Representation*, esp. pp. 1–8.
8 Hugh Latimer, 'Sixth Sermon Preached before King Edward the Sixth', *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, ed. George Corrie, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844) p. 196.
9 Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (1970; London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1971) pp. 210–11. Greer assumes that *The Batchelar's Banquet* (1603), a translation of a work by Antoine de la Sale, was by Dekker; Julia Gasper, *The Dragon and the Dove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) p. 12, points out that this attribution was rejected by F. P. Wilson in 1929.
10 The exaggerated Elizabethan 'blazon' and 'contreblazon' – catalogues of female attributes or detractions – ostensibly emerged from the fashion for Petrarchism and parodies of it; for an incisive critique of the male rhetorician's 'shield of eloquence' see Nancy Vickers, '"The Blazon of Sweet Beauty's Best": Shakespeare's *Lucrece*', in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, ed. P. Parker and G. Hartman (New York: Methuen, 1985) pp. 95–112. See also Patricia Parker, *Literary Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London: Methuen) pp. 126–54.
11 Stephen Gosson, *Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen, Or a Glasse to*

View the Pride of Vainglorious Women (London, 1595) sig. A4r.

12 Examining the 'sexually-preoccupied satire' of the 1590s, William Keach provides a useful discussion of this problematic form which necessitates the detailed engagement with, and portrayal of, the very activities and type of rhetoric that the writer is attacking: William Keach, *Elizabethan Erotic Narratives* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1977) pp. 125–32.

13 Barnaby Rich, *The Excellency of Good Women* (London, 1613) p. 32.

14 See Chapter 1, p. 38.

15 Cited in the appendix to *Stubbes, Anatomy of the Abuses in Shakespeare's Youth,* ed. F. J. Furnivall (London: New Shakespeare Society, 1877–9) p. 281.

16 Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p. 232.

17 See ibid., p. 229.

18 See, for example, H. Townshend, *Historical Collections: An Exact Account of the Last Four Parliaments of Elizabeth* (London, 1680) p. 325.

19 Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 211.

20 Thomas Dekker, *Dekker His Dreame* (London, 1620) f. 33r.

21 *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) p. 209.

22 For a discussion of textual scholars' views regarding attribution see Cyrus Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to Texts in 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker'*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) pp. 3–8.

23 *STC2* entries 6501–06.

24 William Burton, Preface, *Seven Dialogues Both Pithie and Profitable* by D. Erasmus (London, 1606) sig. A5r.

25 Hoy, *Introductions*, pp. 10–11.

26 On Bedlam and Bridewell in *Honest Whore 1 and 2* see John Twyning, *London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1998) pp. 20–53.

27 See 'The Unjust Man', *The Republic of Plato* XXXII, trans. Francis MacDonald Cornford (1941; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) p. 299: 'Soon he will be borrowing . . . and when all resources fail, the lusty brood of appetites will crowd about him clamouring. Goaded on to frenzy by them. . . . Money he must have, no matter how.'

28 Hoy, *Introductions*, pp. 12, 13, 70–1 provides a synopsis of earlier critics' views on this point and explains what he perceives as the 'change' and 'reversal' in Hippolito's character entirely in terms of the plot requirements of Part 2.

29 The troubling implications of desiring to be 'pleasure's usurer' are highlighted by the image in the lower right-hand corner of *The Daunce and Song of Death*, (see Plate 1).

30 These lines refer to the peculiar wide, rising gait ('tabes dorsalis') of tertiary syphilis.

31 See above, pp. 147–8.

32 See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 57.

33 Kathleen McLuskie argues in *Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1994) p. 118, that in *The Honest Whore,* 'ultimately the blame for sexuality is placed on women'.

34 McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood,* p. 125.

35 Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* (London, 1635) pp. 4–5.

36 Wither's emblem no. 73 is an example of this type: George Withers, *A Collection of Emblemes Ancient and Modern* (London, 1635).
37 John Webster, *The White Devil*, in *Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedies: A New Mermaid Anthology* ed. Elizabeth Bennan (Tonbridge: Ernest Benn, 1984).
38 See Margaret Healy, 'Bronzino's London *Allegory* and the Art of Syphilis', *The Oxford Art Journal*, 20:1 (1997) p. 8.
39 James Grantham Turner, *One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).
40 Martin Luther *Lectures on Genesis, Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, vol. 1 (8 vols; St Louis: Concordia Press, 1958) p. 161.
41 Turner, *One Flesh*, p. 121.
42 On the contentious issue of the increasing 'effectiveness', or not, of early modern women and the relation of this to male verbal abuse, see particularly Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1983) p. 93; Kathleen McLuskie, *Renaissance Dramatists* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvested Wheatsheaf, 1989) pp. 225, 228; Robert Brustein, 'The Monstrous Regiment of Women', *Renaissance and Modern Essays*, ed. G. R. Hibbard (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966) pp. 37–8; Joan Kelly-Gadol, 'Did Women have a Renaissance?', in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. R. Bridenthal and C. Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977) pp. 137–64; Jean E. Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1994).
43 Jane Anger, *Jane Anger: her Protection for Women* (1589), in *The Women's Sharp Revenge*, ed. Simon Shepherd (London: Fourth Estate, 1985) pp. 29–46.
44 See ibid., p. 30; and *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print*, ed. Anne Haselkorn and Betty Travitsky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990) p. 352.
45 See, for example, Elaine Showalter, 'Syphilis, Sexuality, and the Fiction of the Fin de Siecle', in *Sex, Politics, and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Novel*, ed. Ruth B. Yeazell (Baltimore, Md: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) pp. 88–115.
46 Cited in Gurr, *Playgoing*, p. 92.
47 Alexander Leggatt, *Jacobean Public Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1992) p. 152, describes Hippolito's 'extended flights of oratory' as functioning to satisfy a Jacobean audience's 'taste for sermons'.
48 *The Elder Seneca I 'Controversiae i–vi'*, trans. and ed. Michael Winterbottom (London: William Heinemann, 1974). Among the titles are: 'The Unchaste Woman Thrown Down the Rock'; 'The Prostitute Priestess'; 'The Man who Raped Two Girls'; 'The Ravisher who Failed to Win over his Father'.
49 Cited in Joel Altman, *The Tudor Play of Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) p. 34. Altman provides a helpful discussion of the Renaissance interest in, and use of, the declamatory art, pp. 32–4.
50 Winterbottom, *Seneca*, introduction pp. xi–xxiv; see also editorial comments in *Ancient Literary Criticism*, ed. D. Russell and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) pp. 344–81.
51 See, for example, Lorraine Helms, 'The Saint in the Brothel: Or, Eloquence Rewarded', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 41:3 (1990) pp. 319–32.
52 On the relation between disease and eroticism, see Jonathan Dollimore, *Death, Desire and Loss in Western Culture* (London: Penguin, 1998) pp. 275–327; George Bataille, *Eroticism* (1962; London: Marion Boyars, 1987); and Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830* (London: Routledge, 1987).

53 Theorists of eroticism such as Bataille tend to argue the opposite: that the association of religious contexts with trangressive possibilities heightens the erotic charge (for some people). See Bataille, *Eroticism*, p. 36.
54 McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood*, p. 179, has drawn attention to the fact that *The Honest Whore* was produced in Raymond's Revue Bar in 1992. It is significant that two early, highly accomplished, plays about AIDS (Larry Kramer's *The Normal Heart*, 1985, and Tony Kushner's *Angels in America, Parts 1 and 2*, 1991) made much of the fear and medico-moral politics surrounding the new, poorly understood 'plague'.
55 See above, p. 146.
56 Gilman, *Disease and Representation*, p. 1.
57 Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: the Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) p. 6; Gilman, *Disease and Representation*, p. 2. Traub, *Desire and Anxiety*, p. 80, discusses the idea of disease 'projection' in relation to the circulation of 'desire and anxiety' in *Troilus and Cressida*, p. 80.
58 James Balmford, *A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plague's Infection* (London, 1603), p. 82.
59 The Petition is printed in full in J. P. Kenyon (ed.), *The Stuart Constitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) pp. 132–4.
60 James Godskall, *The Arke of Noah* (London, 1604), sig. A2v.
61 The political events of 1604 are detailed in several excellent essays in Howard Tomlinson (ed.), *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1983).
62 See Ronald H. Fritze and William B. Robison (eds), *Historical Dictionary of Stuart England, 1603–1689* (London: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 500; and Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I*, vol. 1 (10 vols; London: Longman, 1905), pp. 342–3.
63 Any resultant children from the marriage would be raised Catholic for the first 12 years of their life – see Fritz and Robison, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 500.
64 Leah S. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and its Discontents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 162.
65 See above, pp. 156–7.
66 Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, pp. 163, 174.
67 Donna Hamilton's thesis that the play dramatizes the dangers of the two extremes of religious justice as represented by Puritanism and Papistry, thereby underpinning James's dictums and flattering the monarch, is appealing and not inconsistent with my argument that it also harnesses the London audiences' anxieties about a Catholic resurgence. See Donna Hamilton, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 1992).
68 Anon., *A Larum For London, OR the Siedge of Antwerpe with the ventrous actes and valorous deeds of the lame soldier* (London, 1602).
69 Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1991) p. 194.
70 John Wilders, Introduction, *The BBC TV Shakespeare: Pericles* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1984) p. 14.
71 Gilman, *Disease and Representation*, p. 8.
72 Ben Jonson, 'Ode to Himself' (1629) inveighed against the palate of contemporary audiences who preferred 'Some Mouldy tale / Like *Pericles*', to plays such as his *The New Inn*.
73 See above, pp. 126.

74 Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (Lyons, 1550) contains a horrific emblem – 'Nupta contagioso' – which was almost certainly informed by Erasmus's colloquy. It depicts an ancient tyrant's punishment of a man by tying him to a corpse; the accompanying poem compares this action with that of a father who marries his daughter to a syphilitic.
75 James VI, *Basilicon Doron*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 38–41.
76 Constance Relihan, 'Liminal Geography: *Pericles* and the Politics of Place', *Philological Quarterly*, 71:3 (Summer 1992) pp. 281–99.
77 See above, pp. 113, 117, and below, p. 120.
78 See Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. 2, pp. 22–3; and *CSP: Venetian*, 15 August 1607, Public Record Office.
79 Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, Revels edition ed. T. Howard-Hill (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).
80 See documents relating to *A Game at Chess*, Appendix I, Revels edition.

Notes to Chapter 6: The Glutted, Unvented Body

1 Illustration 47 accompanying John Ogilby, 'The Seaven and Fortieth Fable: of the Rebellion of the Hands and Feet', *The Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in Verse, and Adorn'd with Sculpture* (London, 1651) pp. 13–16.
2 That is, an actual body somehow split off from the mental and social processes that construct it.
3 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) p. 156.
4 For a very cogent and persuasive account of the centrality of the belly in this period see Michael Schoenfeldt, 'Fables of the Belly in Early Modern England', *The Body in Parts*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (London: Routledge, 1997) pp. 243–61.
5 *Certain Sermons*: *Appointed by the Queen's Majesty To Be Declared and Read by All Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, Every Sunday and Holiday in Their Churches; And By Her Grace's Advice Perused and Overseen for the Better Understanding of the Simple People* (London: John W. Parker, 1574), pp. 298–9.
6 See below, p. 219.
7 See above, pp. 43–7.
8 Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977). See letter to 'Sir Walter Raleigh knight': 'The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline' (p. 737). On Spenser's body narratives see Susanne Scholz, *Body Narratives*: *Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 2000).
9 John Jewel, *Works* (London, 1610), Dedicatory Epistle to James.
10 Collection of Additional Manuscripts Preserved in the British Museum 34324, fol. 179, cited in B. E. Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600–1642: A Study in the Instability of a Mercantile Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) p. 53.
11 Ben Jonson stressed the 'profit' to be had from his masques as well as pleasure. See the prologue to *The Masque of Queens* (1609) ll. 7–8, and *Love's Triumph* (1631) ll. 6–7. All references to Jonson's masques are to *Ben Jonson: The Com-*

plete Masques ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1969).

12 Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967) pp. 155–6. John Milton, 'A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle', *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (London: Longman, 1971). The Ludlow masque features a Comus closely associated with 'swinish gluttony' (l. 775). All references are to this edition.

13 David Norbrook makes this point in 'The Reformation of the Masque' in David Lindley (ed.), *The Court Masque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) p. 104.

14 Protestant England was sometimes termed the garden of the Hesperides.

15 Thomas Carew's *Coelum Britannicum*', in *Court Masques*, ed. David Lindley (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1995). All references to masques, other than those by Ben Jonson, are to this edition.

16 James VI and I, *Basilicon Doron* (1599), p. 12.

17 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), trans. Lester K. Born (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968) p. 210; Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue Between Pole and Lopset*, ed. T. F. Mayer (London: Royal Historical Society, University College, 1989) pp. 3, 9.

18 Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor* (1531), ed. S. E. Lehmberg (London: Dent, 1962) p. 183.

19 Margaret Healy, *Richard II* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1998). Richard II also appears as a monarch of excess in Ponet's important political treatise, which will be discussed later, and in civil war polemics accusing Charles I of tyranny. See note 102 below.

20 Thomas Heywood, *The English Traveller*, pp. 153–248 in *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: Thomas Heywood*, ed. A. Wilson Verity (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903). All references are to this Mermaid Series edition. Heywood draws attention to the strangeness of his play in the Prologue, p. 155.

21 *The Commons Debates, 1621*, ed. W. Notestein, F. H. Relf and H. Simpson, 7 vols (New Haven, Conn., 1935) vol. II, p. 75, cited in Supple, p. 54.

22 Supple, *Commercial Crisis*, p. 6.

23 See Edward Misselden, *The Circle of Commerce* (London, 1623) p. 3; and Misselden, *Free Trade, Or, the Meanes to Make Trade Flourish* (London, 1622) pp. 7–10, 18, 28–9 and Gerrard De Malynes, *A Treatise of the Canker of England's Common wealth* (London 1601).

24 William Sanderson, *A Treatise of the State Merchant* (London, 1629) f. 227, cited in Supple, *Commercial Crisis*, p. 1.

25 Published Acts of the Privy Council of England: 1621–3, cited in Supple, *Commercial Crisis*, pp. 131–3.

26 Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (London, 1664); written 1622–3, p. 34.

27 Thomas Mun, *A Discourse of Trade, From England unto the East-Indies, Answering to diverse Objections which are usually made against the same* (London, 1621) p. 41.

28 East India Company Court Minutes, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, 1574–1660*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury et al. (40 vols; London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860–1939; reprint Vaduz: Krauz Reprint, 1964) vol. 4, pp. 256–7, cited in Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991) p. 186.

29 Mun, *A Discourse of Trade*, pp. 8–9, and *England's Treasure*, p. 72; Lewes Roberts, *The Treasure of Traffike or a Discourse of Forraigne Trade* (London, 1641) p. 76.
30 Mun, *A Discourse*, pp. 8–9, and *England's Treasure*, p. 60.
31 *State Papers Domestic*, James I, PRO 131/55, cited in Supple, *Commercial Crisis*, p. 213.
32 Supple, *Commercial Crisis*, pp. 55, 58.
33 Ibid., p. 58.
34 Ibid., p. 15.
35 Craig Muldew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1998) p. 18.
36 Ibid., p. 15
37 Ibid., p. 20.
38 Jean-Christophe Agnew, *World Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 9.
39 See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (1966; London and New York: Routledge, 1996); Catherine Waldby, *AIDS and the Body Politic* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) especially p. 39; Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987) xiv–xv; Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, esp. 25.
40 Waldby, *AIDS and the Body Politic*, p. 6.
41 Waldby observes the intertexture of biomedical with other cultural discourses including economic ones in relation to AIDS, esp. p. 57: 'Biomedicine translates broader cultural concerns and anxieties into its own technical narratives'.
42 Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, p. 178.
43 The quote is from Thomas Newton's medical regimen, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (London, 1576) f. 10v.
44 Richard Rowland, '"Thou teachest me humanitie": Thomas Heywood's *The English Traveller*', *English Comedy*, ed. Michael Cordner, Peter Holland and Jon Kerrigan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 137–57, p. 148.
45 The date of this play's first staging is uncertain: it was not entered into the Stationer's Register until 1633, but it was written for Queen Henrietta Maria's Company post 1625. Alfred Harbage (*Annals of English Drama, 975–1700*) suggested 1625. Rowland prefers 1627 for a first staging, but an earlier date seems more likely.
46 These lines seem consciously to echo those of the Black Knight (Gondomar) to the White Knight (Charles) and White Duke (Buckingham) in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*: 'You that are wound up to the height of feeding / By clime and custom', V.iii.64–5). *A Game at Chess* is discussed below, pp. 211–12, in relation to *The English Traveller*.
47 See Newton, *The Touchstone*, f. 10v.
48 William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1587) ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968) p. 129.
49 *Neptune's Triumph* was extensively rehearsed but never performed at court, probably because of a dispute over Spanish and French ambassadorial precedence. See Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque*, p. 91.
50 This 'prodigal' representation of Charles lends weight to the arguments of those critics who maintain that Dekker and Ford's *The Sun's Darling* – a masque staged at the Cockpit in 1623–4 (but probably extensively reworked in 1638–9) – represents Charles, in the guise of Raybright, very unflatteringly as a

foolish and fickle prodigal son (in the first four acts). See Julia Gasper, *The Dragon and the Dove* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) pp. 194–5; and Jerzy Limon, *Dangerous Matter: English Drama and Politics in 1623–4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) pp. 93–7. In *The Sun's Darling* Raybright only seems to learn temperance on arrival at the Winter Court: in terms of the allegory this makes perfect sense as the Protestant court of Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia. Dekker certainly had the daring, as Heywood seems to have had after him, to be 'devastatingly satiric' in the manner that Cyrus Hoy declared was 'not to be imagined'. See Cyrus Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to Texts in 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker' edited by Fredson Bowers*, vol. 2 (4 vols; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) p. 2.

51 See above, pp. 75,114. Nashe's pamphlets also share a pronounced anti-merchant rhetoric.

52 *State Papers Domestic*. Charles I, PRO 244/1, 278/107, 282/130, cited in Supple, *Commercial Crisis*, pp. 120–1.

53 See Beckles Willson, *Ledger and Sword; or, The Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East-Indies (1599–1874*), 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green, 1903) vol. 1, p. 146; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series, 1574–1660*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury et al. 40 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860–1939; reprint Vaduz: Krauz Reprint, 1964), vol. 4: 64, 120, 126, 127, 144.

54 Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, pp. 187–95.

55 See Willson, *Ledger and Sword*, vol. 1, p. 147.

56 Fumerton has argued that a critique of 'consuming' trade under the Stuarts is obliquely present in Jonson's masque: 'Jonson deliberately spoils the masque's allegory of gift culture' (*Cultural Aesthetics*, p. 200).

57 Francis Osborne, *Traditional Memoirs of the Raigne of King James the First*, in *The Secret History of the Court of James the First*, 2 vols, ed. Walter Scott (Edinburgh, 1811), vol. I, pp. 150, 270. Cited in Albert H. Tricomi, *Anti-Court Drama in England, 1603–1642* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989) p. 8.

58 Osborne, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 271, cited in Tricomi, p. 9.

59 Osborne, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 271, cited in Tricomi, p. 3.

60 Conrad Russell, 'Parliament and the King's Finances', *The Origins of the English Civil War* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1973) p. 99. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) p. 75. Tricomi, *Anti-Court Drama*, pp. 7, 8.

61 John Holles, Historical Manuscripts Commissions Reports: *Duke of Portland Manuscripts*, vol. IX (London, 1905) pp. 41–2; cited in Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (1990; London: Routledge, 1993) p. 28.

62 R. Lockyer, *James VI and I* (London: Longman, 1998) p. 83.

63 Orgel, (ed.), *The Complete Masques*, suggests a masque cost about £3000, (p. 3).

64 Francis Bacon, 'Of Masques and Triumphs', *Essays* (1625), in *A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) p. 416.

65 *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington* ed. N. E. McLure (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp. 119–20. See also Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986) pp. 10–11.

66 Cited in Orgel, (ed.), *The Complete Masques*, p. 30.
67 Cited in Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics*, p. 162.
68 On the didactic function of the court masque see Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power* (Berkeley: University of California, 1975) pp. 38–44, 60 and Norbrook, 'The Reformation of the Masque', p. 95. See also Marcus, *Politics*, p. 13: 'Jonson confronted the king with himself, but in a way that challenged the monarch to become his own best self.'
69 The 'arch-gormandiser' referred to here is probably Heliogabalus, a Roman emperor who died in AD 222.
70 *A Game at Chess*, footnote, p. 180.
71 Thomas Ball, 'The Life of Doctor Preston' (died 1628), in *A Generall Martyrologie* ed. Samuel Clarke (London: Thomas Underhill, 1651) pp. 473–520. This episode is discussed in Alinda Summers, 'The Banqueting Scene in Paradise Regained: Milton's Temptation to the Anti-Puritan Appetite', *in Praise Disjoined: Changing Patterns of Salvation in Seventeenth-Century English Literature*, ed. William P. Shaw (New York: Peter Lang, 1991) pp. 282–3.
72 John Pym, *Hampshire Record Office: Jervoise MSS 07* impeachment charges against the Duke of Buckingham; cited in Peck, *Court Patronage*, p. 192. Pym presented the articles of impeachment.
73 Pym, cited in Peck, *Court Patronage*, p. 193.
74 Aforenamed States are 'Venice, Florence, Genova, the United Provinces of the Low Countreys', p. 62.
75 See J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuarts: A Study in Kingship* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1958) pp. 94–8; and Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621–9* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) pp. 269–303.
76 Quoted in ibid., p. 111.
77 T. B. Howell, *A Complete Selection of State Trials* (London, 1816) vol. II, p. 1093; cited in Peck, *Court Patronage*, p. 186.
78 Kevin Sharpe, *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England* (London: Pinter, 1989), p. 104. For a detailed discussion of the language of corruption in this period see also Peck, *Court Patronage*, pp. 195–8.
79 See J. R. Tanner, *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, 1603–1689* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971) pp. 60–1.
80 John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1970) sig. K3v. All references are to this facsimile edition.
81 The quote is from *Coriolanus*, I.i.98. See the discussion above, p. 119, of Menenius' belly fable in relation to the food shortage of 1609.
82 The quotes are from John Pym about the Duke of Buckingham, see note 72 above.
83 John Strype cited in prefacing note to Scolar edition (unpag.).
84 It is undoubtedly significant that broadsides featuring deformed children proliferate in the years following the publication of Ponet's treatise. Fifteen examples survive, virtually all from the 1560s. See Tessa Watts, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) p. 165.
85 From the late 1550s Calvinism, too, advocated radical action against a tyrannical ruler: after 1559 John Calvin added a passage to *The Institution of Christian Religion* (London, 1561) which, in the manner of Ponet, set obedience to 'the ordinance of God' against the rule of 'the outraging licentiousnesse of Kinges' (IV.XX.31, f. 170v). The 'office' of 'Magistrates for the behalfe of the people'

obliged their concerted action against unbridled rulers (IV.XX.31, f. 171r). This is also argued in George Buchanan's *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos* (1579).

86 George Buchanan, *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos* (1579) trans. Charles F. Arrowood, *The Powers of the Crown in Scotland* (Austin, Tex.: University of Austin Press, 1949) p. 50.

87 'Of Reformation', *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, revised edn (8 vols; New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1980), vol. I, p. 599. This passage is discussed in David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p. 113.

88 Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Diary of John Rous*, Camden Society, vol. 66, pp. 50–1, 62. Cited in Peck, *Court Patronage*, p. 198.

89 On *Comus* and 'The Reformation of the Masque' see David Norbrook's essay of that title in David Lindley (ed.), *The Court Masque*, pp. 94–110.

90 See Supple, *Commercial Crisis*, pp. 120–5 on the stagnation in the West in the 1630s.

91 It has been argued that James Shirley's masque for the Inns of Court, *The Triumph of Peace* (1634), was trying to persuade the king to act against the monopolists. See Norbrook, 'The Reformation of the Masque', pp. 94–5.

92 Interestingly, a masque written to be performed before the Earl of Essex *c.* 1618, *The Coleorton Masque* (anon.), addressing Essex, declares 'Thou whose greatness does not swell thee / To forget thou art a man, (338–9). It is careful, therefore, to distance itself from the ideology of the court masques by eschewing any connection between special divinity and 'greatness'. In its discussion of hospitality, it makes much of the reforming Protestant virtues applauded in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, especially temperance.

93 All references are to John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler (London: Longman, 1979). On the 'alimental vision' in *Paradise Lost* see Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 131–68.

94 John Milton, *Paradise Regained*, in *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (London: Longman, 1971). All references are to this edition.

95 Quoted in Conrad Russell, *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) p. 131.

96 Philip Hunton, *A Treatise of Monarchy* (1643), in *Divine Right and Democracy* ed. David Wootton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986) p. 188.

97 Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 156.

98 John Milton, *Areopagitica*, in *Complete Prose Works*, revised edn. (8 vols; New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1980) vol. II, p. 527.

99 *The Fables* are prefaced by an address from the imprisoned Royalist 'W. D'Avenant from the Tower, Sep. 30, 1651', 'To My Friend Mr Ogilby'. Ogilby was later entrusted with the poetical part of Charles II's coronation.

100 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan or the Matter, Forme & Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968) p. 363.

101 Anon., *An Elegie on the Meekest of Men, the Most Glorious of Princes, the Most Constant of Martyrs, Charles the I* (1649), Thomason Tracts, British Library E553 (1). Cited in Summers, 'The Banqueting Scene', p. 291.

102 The 1640s spawned numerous pamphlets comparing Charles I's reign with Richard II's, and arguing that the present monarch was even more excessive

and degenerate than his ancestor. See, for example, Anon., *The People Informed of their Oppressors and Oppressions with a Remedy against both* (London, 1648), pp. 3, 4; Anon., *The Kings Articles and the Parliaments Honour* (London, 1642), p. 3.

103 Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. James Sutherland (London, 1973) p. 46.

Notes to the Conclusion

1 Sarah Beckwith, 'Ritual, Theater and Social Space in the York Corpus Christi Cycle', in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1996) p. 69.

2 Deceit in Dante's *Inferno* (Canto XVII) has furry paws; and the image of Deceit in Bronzino's *Allegory* has griffin-like paws and a scorpion-like sting in her tail.

3 Bullein, *A Dialogue*, p. 7.

4 Sir Walter Ralegh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, ed. Neil L. Whitehead (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) p. 178.

5 His first trial for heresy was in 1584.

6 Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tradeschi (1980; Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) pp. 17, 21.

7 Ibid., p. 17.

8 Winstanley believed that God lived inside all created objects and that God was Reason, see Nigel Smith *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press) p. 174.

9 Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, p. 21.

10 Annabel Patterson, 'The Very Name of the Game: Theories of Order and Disorder', *Literature and the English Civil War*, ed. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) p. 36.

11 Ibid., pp. 36, 29.

12 Ibid., p. 28.

13 Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (1939; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978) pp. 83–4.

14 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; London and New York: Routledge, 1996) p. 121.

15 Catherine Waldby, *AIDS and the Body Politic: Biomedicine and Sexual Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) p. 88.

16 Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution*, paperback rpt. from 1st edn (1965; New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) pp. 7–8; Hill quotes M. H. Carré, *Phases of Thought in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949) on this point.

17 Elias discusses 'the fertility of this loosening transitional situation', *The Civilizing Process*, p. 77.

18 Georges Canguilhem, *A Vital Rationalist: Selected Writings from Georges Canguilhem*, ed. F. Delaporte, trans. A. Goldhammer (New York: Zone Books, 1994) p. 171.

19 For a very full account of the new 'virile' science and metaphor see Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance*

Culture (London: Routledge, 1995) pp. 230–70.

20 See Sontag, *Aids and its Metaphors* (London Penguin, 1989); and Joan Burbick, *Healing the Republic: The Language of Health and the Culture of Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 305, 303.

21 Daniel Callahan, 'The Meaning and Significance of Genetic Disease: Philosophical Perspectives', in *Ethical Issues in Human Genetics*, ed. Bruce Hilton *et al*. (New York: Plenum Press, 1973), p. 90. Proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the John E. Fogarty International Center for advanced study in the health sciences, 10–14 October 1971.

22 Anthony Smith, *The Human Body* (London: BBC Books, 1998) p. 142.

23 These image systems are discussed in Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991) p. 207; and in Waldby, *AIDS and the Body Politic*, p. 56.

24 Waldby, *AIDS and the Body Politic*, p. 57.

25 Robert L. Sinsheimer, 'Prospects for Future Scientific Developments: Ambush or Opportunity', *Ethical Issues*, p. 342.

26 David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (eds), Introduction, *The Body in Parts* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. xii; Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Body, Image, Text in Early Modern Europe', *The Journal of the Social History of Medicine*, 12:1 (1999) p. 143.

27 See Callahan, 'The Meaning and Significance of Genetic Disease', pp. 86–90.

28 See above, p. 233.

Index

Ackerknecht, E. H., 9
Agnew, Jean-Christophe, 198
AIDS, 3, 123, 134, 179, 235
in *Angels in America 1 and 2*, 259 n. 54
cultural theory of, 5
in *The Normal Heart*, 259 n. 54
alchemy, 27, 40
American Indian Medicine, 9
Anger, Jane, *Her Protection for Women*, 169–70
Anselment, Raymond, 253 n. 30
anthropology (medical), 9–10
apocalypse, 82
'apology for woman' literature, 168
Arbib, Michael, 3, 239 n. 5
'Arcana', 27
Archer, Ian, 92, 97, 116
Aristotle, 3, 22, 27, 32, 79
astrology, 40
Avicenna, 20, 24, 25, 79
Aylmer, Bishop, 91

Bacon, Francis, 132, 211, 213
The Advancement of Learning, 40–1
Sylva Sylvarum, 133
Bakhtin, Mikhail, 45
Bale, John, 70, 71, 80, 146
Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum catalogus, 77, 99
Image of Both Churches, 83
The Temptation of Our Lord, 177
Three Lawes, 67, 177
Balmford, James, *A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues Infection*, 45, 173–4
barber surgeons, 129
Barroll, Leeds, 179
Barrough, Phillip, *Method of Physick*, 190
Beckwith, Sarah, 150, 229
Becon, Thomas, *The Pomander of Prayer*, 35
belly (paunch, pouch, stomach), 34, 188–92, 214, 228, 231
fables of, 119, 224–6
see also consumption; digestion; gluttedness; gluttony; hospitality; luxury; regimen
Belsey, Catherine, 152
Bentley, Gregory, 152
Bethencourt, Jacques de, 138
Bible (books of), 58, 135
Deuteronomy, 33, 55
Ecclesiasticus, 26, 32, 79
Genesis, 165–8
Leviticus, 33, 44, 45, 55, 89, 131
Luke, 135
Numbers, 135
Psalms, 56, 102
Revelation, 27, 80
Samuel, 62
biomedicine, language of, 234–7
Black Death, 16, 52, 56, 63
Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Decameron*, 59, 60–1, 73, 135
bodies, 18–49
anthropological models of, 10
boundaries of, 40, 41, 48, 93–4, 96–7, 131
Christ's body, 150, 229
commodification of, 160
embodiment and cognition, 3–4, 13–14, 16–17, 19, 89, 112, 150, 189–91, 197, 199, 217, 227–8, 233, 236–7
and environment, 35–7, 93–4
foreign bodies, 152, 181, 187
interrogation of, 45, 47, 233, 236
body of London and 'infections', 93–4, 153–8
medical schemas of, 10, 18–28, 40, 47–9, 121–2, 189–91, 228
reform of (transformations), 16–17, 43–9, 89, 122, 150, 190–1, 199, 227, 230, 233–4, 236
and socio-geographical space (spatial relations), 89, 93–7, 112, 118, 121
and socio-political vision, 3, 16–17, 49, 189–91, 199, 217, 227–8, 230, 233–4

and soul/mind (relations among), 29–34, 46–7
and the state (relation between), 37–40
symbolic bodies on the stage, 150, 229
of trade, 194–9
see also body politic; bubonic plague; disease; gluttedness; humoralism; metaphor; Paracelsan medicine; Pox; prostitution; Protestantism; regimen
body politic, 3–4, 7, 14, 16–17, 189, 217, 233–4
bombast, 200, 207, 209, 211, 221
Boord, Andrew, *The Breviary of Helthe*, 130, 137
Bostocke, R., *Auncient and Later Phisicke*, 27
Boulton, Jeremy, 95, 251 n. 38
Bridewell, 93, 156, 157, 160, 165, 177
Brieux, Eugene, *Damaged Goods*, 145
Bronzino, Agnolo, *An Allegory with Venus and Cupid*, 139, 168, 254 n. 57
Browne, Thomas, 4
bubonic plague, 35–9, 50–4, 60–1, 64–87, 88–122
aetiology of, 51–4, 55, 154
angels and spirits in, 35–6, 53, 55, 110
and City topography, 89, 93–7, 98, 112, 117–18, 121, 153–5, 157, 158
(discourses of) contagion and, 36, 39, 41–2, 45, 51, 58, 63, 79, 89, 91, 94, 109–11, 118
and disorder, 39, 62, 91–7, 103, 113, 232
epidemic years of, 54
fear of, 62, 94, 104, 112
and landscape, 35–7, 79, 90, 95
literary heritage and, 55–62, 89
models of understanding of, 61–3, 86–7, 121–2
and poverty, 39, 88, 92–7, 108–12, 116–22
Protestant appropriations of (Reformation propaganda), 64–87, 106–122, 173–4
and punishment, 39, 93, 95, 98, 116
and radical writing tradition, 99–101, 121, 232
and rumour, 36
'runaways', 107–10
'shutting up' policy of plague control, 94–5, 98, 101, 104, 111, 118, 154
signs and symptoms of, 50–3, 62, 78–9
signs and tokens of in macro- and microcosm, 35, 52
and evil smells, 35–6, 75, 95
and social division, 74–5, 85–7, 98, 104, 109–114, 117–22
and social levelling, 105
tales and, 61, 74, 79, 104
transmission, modes of, 35–6, 39, 41–2, 45, 51–4, 58, 63, 121–2
and usury, 75, 105, 110, 230
compare plagues (general); *see also* metaphors; 'miasma'; plague Orders; regimen; Protestantism
Buchanan, George, *De Jure Regni Apud Scotos*, 215, 217
Buckingham, Duke of, 206, 207, 209, 211–13, 220, 231
Bullein, William, 69–71, 215
Bulleins Bulwarke of defence, 24, 30, 70–1
A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence, 12, 14, 50, 51, 64–5, 71–88, 140, 146, 208, 230, 232
Governement of Healthe, 29, 35
Burbick, Joan, 234
Burton, Robert, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 34, 36, 42, 188
Burton, William, 143
Busino, Orazio, 211

Caius, John, 26, 40
A boke, or counseill against the sweate, 28–9
Callahan, Daniel, 234
Calvin, 168
The Institution of Christian Religion, 43–4, 67, 83, 135, 147, 148–9
Canguilhem, Georges, 233
cannibalism, 133, 204, 207, 209, 226, 227, 231
Carew, Thomas, *Coelum Britannicum*, 14, 193, 194, 220–1
'carpet knights', 204

Cecil, Robert, 95
Celsus, 55
Charles I, 193, 206, 207, 211, 213, 214, 218, 219, 221, 223–7
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 71, 77, 79, 99, 136
  The Pardoner's Tale, 57–8
Cheyne, George, 8
Chinese medicine, 7
'chlorosis', 8
civility, *see* regimen
civil wars, 189, 191, 215
  see also gluttedness; Milton; republicanism; tyrannicide; tyranny
Clapham, Henoch, 108
Clark, Stuart, 42
Clowes, William, 85, *A Short and Profitable Treatise*, 37, 45, 126, 128, 156, 161
Cogan, Thomas, 18, 24
  The Haven of Health, 32, 36, 54
The Coleorton Masque (anon.), 265 n. 92
Columbian transaction theory, 133
Commons Supplications, 68, 75
Complaint literature, 56, 65, 72, 73, 84, 104, 232
Comus, 192, 219–20
consumption (appetite), 147, 160–1, 176, 181, 186, 187, 188–99, 200–28
  self-consumption, 176, 178, 199, 214, 215, 216, 223, 225
  see also Buckingham; Charles I; gluttedness; gluttony; hospitality; luxury; Milton; Ponet
contagion, 2, 39, 40–5, 52, 109, 126, 179, 224
  and the biblical Word, 45
  gatherings of people and, 67, 91
  moral contagion, 67, 69, 94
  projections and myths of contagion (function of), 134
  psychic contagion, 39, 41–2, 94
  and spatial relations, 89, 111, 112
  see also individual diseases; gluttedness; metaphor; plagues; *compare* 'miasma'
Counter Reformation, 46
Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease, 9–10
Cromwell, Thomas, 67
Dante, *The Inferno*, 2, 168
  The Daunce and Song of Death (**Plate 1**), 56, 73, 105, 229–30
Davenant, William, 129
declamation, 170–2, 179, 181
Defoe, Daniel, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, 15, 60
Dekker, Thomas, 12, 15, 52, 58, 89, 97, 99, 120–1, 173, 210, 230, 232
  The Belman of London, 117
  The Blacke Rod and the White Rod, 56, 102
  Dekker His Dreame, 157–8
  The Honest Whore 1, 14, 146, 153, 158–65, 170–2, 186–7
  The Honest Whore 2, 14, 158–165, 170–2, 186–7
  Lanthorne and Candle-Light, 117, 154–8
  London Looke Backe, 50, 53, 102
  The Magnificent Entertainment, 99
  The Meeting of Gallants, 102
  Newes from Graves-end, 14, 102, 108–12, 153–4
  A Rod for Run-awayes, 102–12
  The Shoemaker's Holiday, 99
  The Sun's Darling, 262 n. 50
  Sir Thomas Wyatt, 100
  The Virgin Martyr, 100
  The Whore of Babylon, 100
  The Wonderfull yeare, 14, 61, 102–8, 179
  Worke For Armorours, 14, 98–9, 102, 106, 112–21, 154, 232
Descartes (Cartesian philosophy), 3–4, 190, 234
desire, *see* Pox
diet, *see* regimen
digestion, 189, 190
  see also belly; gluttedness; humoralism; Milton
disease (general)
  anthropological models of, 9–10
  the cultural imaginary of, 3, 13, 16–17, 134, 189, 191, 224, 228, 230
  and the dirty poor, 37, 88–96
  and disorder, 37–9, 88–97, 134, 232
  and embodiment, 3, 13, 16–17, 22, 121, 189, 227–8
  'endogenous' and 'exopathic', 10, 22, 121, 187, 227

and epic poetry, 1–2, 221–3
and fashion, 7–8
fear of and projections, 15, 134, 153
and gender, 137–8, 150, 158, 165–6, 169
medical models of, 6, 10, 22–3, 27–8, 40, 43, 48, 122, 189, 227–8
modes of transmission, 2, 21, 29, 36, 39, 41–3, 45, 126
and myth, 9–10, 18, 27, 51, 131, 232
and nation, 37, 49, 230
and original sin, 43
and politics, 8, 16, 40, 122, 232
and popular radical tradition, 232
and reform, 16, 28, 43–9, 67, 82, 150, 230
and republicanism, 1–2, 14, 191, 224, 227–8
seeds of, 2, 21, 27
socio-cultural construction of, 1–11, 233
and socio-political instability, 1–2, 16–17, 49, 63, 90, 106, 232
and the soul, 28, 31–3, 46–7
and the supernatural, 19–20, 28–9, 32, 40–3
as transitional condition, 7–8
and witchcraft, 9, 40, 42, 127–8
and 'womb poison', 7–8
see also individual diseases; bodies; gluttedness; humoralism; metaphor; Paracelsan medicine
Dives and Pauper (anon.), 53, 56–7, 73, 105, 107, 115–16
Dolly the sheep, 236
Donne, John, 47, 71
Douglas, Mary, 3, 11, 19, 46, 96, 131, 138, 143, 233, 239 n. 4
dream visions, 76, 114–17
Dürer, Albrecht, 136

East India Co., 195–6, 209
economic depressions, 194–9, 218, 220
Edward II, 217
An Elegie on the Meekest of Men (anon.), 226
Elias, Norbert, 13, 28, 233
Elizabeth I, 106, 173
Elyot, Thomas
The Book named the Governor, 193
The Castel of Helth, 23–6, 32, 39, 46–7, 48, 188, 190
emblems, 76, 116, 129, 176, 184, 185, 260 n. 74
Empedocles, 19
'The English Malady', 8
Enlightenment, 2, 4, 43
Epicureanism, 2, 79, 86, 226
Erasmus, Desiderius, 14, 159, 171
Colloquies, 14, 126, 139–45, 147: *The Epicurean*, 140; *Inns*, 135; *The Unequal Match*, 123, 144, 148, 180, 181, 183; *A Woman in Childbed*, 140; *The Young Man and the Harlot*, 140, 141–3, 148, 153, 159
The Education of a Christian Prince, 65, 193, 216
eroticism, *see* Pox and eroticism
Essex, Earl of, 106
Evans-Pritchard, 9
Everyman (anon.), 57
Ewaipanoma, 231
excess, *see* consumption, gluttedness

Fabricius, Johannes, 152
Fallopio, G., 133
'fascination', 42
feasting and banquets, 15, 201–4, 208, 210, 211, 212, 218, 219–23, 225, 226
see also gluttedness; gluttony; hospitality; luxury; Milton
Fish, Simon, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, 142
Fludd, Robert, 7
Forman, Simon, 7
fornication, 146–7, 176–7, 186, 188, 208
Fortes, Meyer, 9
Foucault, Michel, 5, 22
Fournier, Eugene, *Syphilis and Marriage*, 145
Foxe, John, 69, 77, 85, 215
Actes and Monumentes of the Church, 69, 71, 83
Fracastoro of Verona, 39, 132
French disease, *see* Pox
Friar Grimestone's lyrics, 56
Fumerton, Patricia, 199, 209, 263 n. 56

Galen, 6, 20–1, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 79, 110
  see also humoralism
Gasper, Julia, 78, 99
gender tensions, 137–8, 150, 158, 165–6, 169
gene technology, 234–7
Geneva Bible, 43, 44, 56
Gerrard, Philip, 140
Gershon, Richard, 235
Gilman, Ernest, 83
Gilman, Sander, 11, 15, 51, 107, 134, 173, 179, 181
Ginzburg, Carlo, 231, 247 n. 44
gluttony, 15, 187, 188–90, 192, 194, 211, 230
  in medical regimens, 26, 30–4, 190
  see also consumption; feasts and banquets; gluttedness; hospitality; luxury
gluttedness (excess, repletion), 14, 31, 34, 188–228, 231
  and civil war politics, 191, 215, 219–28
  and contagion, 224
  and digestion, 189, 214
  as disease, 189, 221, 224, 231
  in the economic body, 195–9, 214
  and (loss of) reason, 189, 204, 214, 221, 224–5
  of the religious body, 191
  and self 'consumption', 190, 199, 214, 225
  see also consumption; feasts and banquets; gluttony; hospitality; luxury
Gosson, Stephen, 156
Gower, John, 77
Graunt, John, 132
Greenblatt, Stephen, 173
Greer, Germaine, 155, 256 n. 9
Grindal, Edmund, 91

Hamilton, Donna, 259 n. 67
Harding, Thomas, 83
Harington, John Sir, 37, 211
Harraway, Donna, 267
Harris, Jonathan Gil, 6, 152, 239 n. 10, 240 n. 17, 241 n. 34, 244 n. 29, 247 n. 33
Harrison, William, 203
Hay, William, 145
Healy, Margaret, 4, 194, 254 n. 57
Helman, Cecil, 240 n. 23
Henry VIII, 66–7
Henryson, Robert, *The Testament of Cresseid*, 136–7, 149
Herzlich, Claudine, 7
Hesse, Mary, 3, 239 n. 5
Heywood, Thomas
  The English Traveller, 15, 194, 200–9, 220
  A Woman Killed with Kindness, 42–3
Hill, Christopher, 233
Hillman, David, 236, 239 n. 12
Hippocrates, 19–20, 24, 25, 26, 79
  see also humoralism
Hobbes, Thomas, 4
  Leviathan, 226
Holland, Henry, *Spirituall Preservatives against the Pestilence*, 42
Holles, John, 210
Homer, *Iliad*, 55–6
Hong Kong, 7–8
Hooke, Christopher, 111
hospitality, 200, 201, 203, 212, 219–23
  see also consumption; feasts and banquets; gluttony; gluttedness
Hoy, Cyrus, 159, 257 n. 28
humanism, 23, 26, 49, 54, 66, 230
  and 'profit', 72, 83, 116, 192, 200, 201, 209
  and grammar school education, 69
humoralism, 11, 19–49, 227
  classical humoralism, 19–23
  'complexions', 20, 25, 34, 59
  early modern humoralism, 23–49, 110, 138, 189–91; and the 'balanced' state, 217; and regicide, 224
  medieval humoralism, 20
  with Paracelsanism, 6, 23–49, 110, 152
  see also individual diseases; bodies; disease (general); Galen; gluttedness (excess, repletion); Hippocrates; plagues
Humphrey, Lawrence, 85
Hunton, Philip, 223
Hutchinson, Lucy, 227
hypocrisy, 72
  see also Pox and disguise

Ibsen, *Ghosts*, 145
iconoclasm, 82–3

immune theory, 234–5
infidelity, 80, 147–8, 162, 164, 175, 176, 177, 186, 230
iniquity, 175, 181–2, 186
Interludes, Protestant (morality plays), 44, 57, 85–6, 145–51, 175
Irigaray, Luce, 137

James I and VI, 178, 184, 192, 206, 209, 210
  Basilicon Doron, 183, 185, 193
  plague discourse and, 110, 173–4
  positive fashioning of image, 106–7, 173
Jenner, Mark, 4, 236
Jerne, Neils, 235
Jewel, John, 83, 191
Johnson, Mark, 3, 12–13, 189, 224, 239 n. 5, 240 n. 28
Jonson, Ben, 99
  epigrams, 129
  The Masque of Blackness, 205
  Neptune's Triumph, 206–9
  Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue, 14, 192, 211, 220
  Sir Cod the Perfumed, 166

Kellwaye, Simon, *A Defensative against the Plague*, 7, 35, 36, 39, 51, 94
Kern Paster, Gail, 6
Kinaston, Sir Francis, 136
King, John, 146
Knox, John, 215

Lakoff, George, 3, 12–13, 189, 224, 239 n. 5, 240 n. 28
Langland, William, *Piers Plowman*, 57, 77
  A Larum for London, or the Siedge of Antwerpe (anon.), 178
Leigh, Nicholas, 140, 142
Lemnius, Levinus, 30
  see Newton, Thomas
leprosy, 63, 128, 130, 133, 135, 136–7, 230
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 10
Linacre, 25, 26
Livy, 58, 60
Lodge, Thomas, 6, 14, 94
  A Treatise of the Plague, 36, 39, 41, 51, 52, 54–64, 122
Louden, J. B., 7
Lowe, Peter, 138
Lucian, *Descent into Hades*, 105
Lucretius, 51
  De Rerum Natura, 1, 21, 59, 62, 63
Lupton, Deborah, 3
Luther, Martin, 44, 45, 67, 83, 168
luxury, 161, 182, 193, 197–8, 202–3, 220, 221, 222, 231
  see also consumption; feasts and banquets; gluttedness; gluttony; hospitality
Lydgate, John, *Dietary and Doctrine for Pestilence*, 57–8
Lyly, John, 155

Mainardi, Pietro, 133
Malynes, Gerrard, de, *A Treatise of the Canker of England's Common wealth*, 194
Mandeville, Sir John, *Travels*, 231–2
Manning, James, *I Am for you all, Complexions Castle*, 34, 39, 40, 54, 190
Manning, Roger, 91
Marcus, Leah, 176, 264 n. 68
Marlowe, Christopher,
  Doctor Faustus, 42, 141, 146
  Tamburlaine, 107
masques, 192–3, 200, 205, 206–7, 211, 218, 219–21
  see also Carew; *The Coleorton Masque*; Dekker; Jonson; Milton; Shirley
Mazzio, Carla, 236, 239 n. 12
McCutcheon, Elizabeth, 71
McLuskie, Kathleen, 165, 257 n. 33
measles, 7
medical regimens, 13, 19, 23–49, 54, 73, 77
  occult language of, 48
  parodies of, 109–10
  see also individual authors of regimens
medicine, *see* bodies; disease; humoralism; Paracelsus; *and individual diseases*
medico-moral politics, 172, 179, 186
Meiss, Millard, 15–16
Melanchthon, 44, 45, 67, 76
menstrual blood, 7–8
metaphors, metonyms, tropes,
  and cognition, 12–13, 14, 22, 41, 49, 89, 189, 197, 198–9, 224, 227–8, 233, 236

corporeal, 4, 5, 12, 49, 150, 189, 197, 198–9, 215, 218, 224, 227–8, 233, 236
and disease, 29–30, 38, 41, 189, 199, 214, 215, 218, 224, 227, 233
and the Enlightenment, 2, 4, 234
of healing, 174, 227, 233
of the immune system, 235
of plague and pestilence, 65–9, 74, 75, 93
and symbolic discourse, 49
'miasma', 2, 38, 53, 109–10, 134
miasmic environments, 21, 22, 36, 220
cf. contagion; *see also* bubonic plague; disease (general); plagues
Middleton, Thomas,
A Game at Chess, 15, 186, 187, 211–12
The Honest Whore 1, 14, 153, 158–64
militant Protestantism, *see* Protestantism
Millenary Petition, 173–4
Milles, Thomas, *The Mistery of Iniquity*, 114, 208
Milton, John, 143, 191, 215, 231
Areopagitica, 224
Comus, or *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle*, 15, 219–21
Paradise Lost, 1, 10, 15, 221
Paradise Regained, 15, 222
Of Reformation, 217
Misselden, Edward
The Circle of Commerce, 194, 196
Free Trade, Or, the Meanes to Make Trade Flourish, 194
monopolies, 81, 208, 210, 213, 218, 221
monstrous births, 127, 133, 214–16, 218
morality plays, *see* Interludes
More, Thomas, 67
Muldew, Craig, 198
Mun, Thomas
A Discourse of Trade, 195, 196, 197, 209
England's Treasure by Forraign Trade, 195, 196, 197, 207, 213, 214, 218
myth, 10, 18

Naiche, Ubert, 139
Nashe, Thomas, 15, 99, 230, 232
Christes Teares Over Jerusalem, 53, 100, 117, 118
Have With You to Saffron Walden, 65
Pierce Penilesse, 101
Neoplatonism, 3, 27, 31, 40, 45, 48, 191
New Comedy, 171, 172, 175
Newton, Thomas, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, 30, 35–6, 39, 48, 189
Nice Wanton (anon.), 14, 127, 145–51, 175
Norbrook, David, 247 n. 46, 248 nn. 53 and 63, 261 n. 13, 265 n. 89
Northbrook, John, 170
Northern Rebellion, the, 81, 93
Nutton, Vivian, 248 n. 68

Ogilby, John, 'The Seaven and Fortieth Fable: of the Rebellion of the Hands and Feet' (**Plate 8**), 188–9, 224–6
Orgel, Stephen, 192, 262 n. 49
Ormuz, sack of, 209
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 59, 62, 107

Palmer, Richard, 127
Paracelsus, 27–8
Paracelsan medicine, 6, 27–49, 110
Paracelsan physicians, 79
Volumen Paramirum, 27
Paré, Ambrose, 129
Patterson, Annabel, 232
Pauline theology, 3, 30
Paynell, Thomas,
Regimen sanitatis Salerni, 23–6, 39
A Moche Profitable Treatise Against the Pestilence, 53
Peck, Linda Levy, 212
Pelling, Margaret, 129, 252 n. 6
Perkins, William, 46
pestilence, *see* bubonic plague; contagion; disease; plagues
Petition of Right, 214
Phayre, Thomas, 69, 76, 112
Pierret, Janine, 7
Pilgrimage of Grace, 68, 81
plagues (general), 1–2, 14, 15–16, 21, 55, 107, 120, 123, 152, 230
aetiology of, 55
Commons rebellions and, 63, 67–8, 86, 103, 113, 115

'eyewitness' accounts of, 59–60, 61, 73, 107
fear of, 60, 62, 73, 104
models of understanding, 61–3, 73, 86–7, 121–2
myths of, 55, 62, 232
pilgrimages and, 74, 81
playhouses and, 91, 107
scapegoating and, 63
seeds of plague, 21
sermon 'exemplums' and, 57, 104
'white' tubercular plague, 16
and radical writing tradition, 14, 63, 87, 89, 99–101, 121, 232
see also bubonic plague; contagion; disease; 'miasma'; Pox
Plague Orders, 39, 58, 94–5, 97
plague pamphlets *see individual authors*
Plato, 27, 30, 193
The Republic, 22, 257 n. 27
Pole, Cardinal, 66–9
Ponet, John, 215; *A Shorte Treatise of Politicke Power*, 15, 214–19, 223–4, 231
Popham, Sir John, 114
Popham, Lord Chief Justice, 156, 177
Porter, Roy, 6, 240 n. 18, 243 n. 20
Pox ('morbo gallico', 'pockes', syphilis, French disease), 14, 15, 123–51, 230
and aesthetic empowerment, 153, 173, 178
aetiology of, 125–30, 133, 154
anxiety and fear in relation to, 136, 141, 150, 153, 162, 173, 178, 179, 186
and boundaries, 124, 178, 181, 187
and City space, 112, 153–4
'controversiae' (art of declamation) and, 171, 172, 180, 181
discourses of contagion and, 126, 138, 143, 155, 162, 167, 183, 185
and corruption, 15, 134, 135, 139, 140–1, 143, 149, 150, 154, 158, 162, 166, 176–8, 183, 184, 185
the cultural imaginary (significance of), 150–1, 177–8, 179, 186–7
and desire, 15, 130, 139, 152, 172, 186
and disguise and hypocrisy, 129, 133, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 150, 155, 175, 177, 181, 184, 254 n. 49
and disorder, 38, 131, 150, 178
education against, 123, 125, 140, 144, 160, 163
and eroticism, 139, 172, 173, 179
and foreigners, 15, 128, 130, 132–3, 152, 154, 181, 185, 186, 187
and gender politics, 158, 160, 169, 179, 181
and gender tensions, 136–8, 145, 150, 165, 169
literary heritage and, 135–9, 152–3
marriage and, 144–5, 148, 183, 186
misogyny and, 155, 164, 168
myths and fictions of, 132, 133, 134, 153, 178, 185, 187
naming of, 124, 130–1
and the national body, 124, 133, 177–8, 187
original sin and, 135, 147, 162, 164, 165–8, 185
and Paracelsan medicine, 27–8
and perfumes, 37, 129–30, 148
and political dissent, 153, 185, 232
polluters in, 137–8, 142–4, 150, 157–8, 163, 167, 180–1, 184, 187
and punishment, 128, 132
anti-Rome propaganda and, 139–44, 145–51, 160, 163, 178
and sexual promiscuity, 38, 128, 136, 145, 163, 176, 180
signs and symptoms of, 125–30
and bad smells, 37, 38, 129–30, 148
social class and, 132, 154, 182, 185
and socio-medical control, 38, 128, 132
stereotypes of, 130, 136, 138, 142, 155–6, 166, 181, 185, 187
transmission of, 37, 38, 126, 128, 133
treatments for, 129, 132
victims of, 135–6, 139, 180–1
visual representations, 135–6, 139; *see also* **Plates 3, 4, 5 and 6**
and witches, 127–8, 137
see also bodies; contagion; disease; metaphor; plagues; Protestantism
Preston, Doctor, 212, 220
Privy Council, 53–4, 95, 113
Proclamations, Royal, 88, 113, 118
prostitution, 138, 141–2, 146, 180, 185

in Jacobean London, 153–8, 160, 161, 164, 177
Protestantism
the godly physician, 76, 79, 86
Marian exiles, 29, 69, 71, 80, 143, 215
and medicine, 29, 33, 43–7, 49, 69, 76, 79, 190, 191, 230
militant (radical) Protestantism, 100, 106, 117, 121, 174, 179
and plague policy, 54
plague and Protestant polemic and propaganda, 64–87, 73–87, 106, 112–13, 117, 121, 174, 232
Pox and anti-Roman Catholicism, 139–43, 145–51, 160, 162, 178, 184, 186
and radical plague writing tradition, 89, 99, 101, 121, 232
and reading strategies, 140–1
and (polemic against) rich extortioners, 72–86, 88, 101, 121
and the sick poor, 69–70, 79
see also bodies, regimen
Pym, John, 212
Pythagorean philosophy, 19

quadruplex exposition, 29
Quarles, Francis, 166–7

Ralegh, Sir Walter, *Discoverie of Guiana*, 231
rape, 78, 80, 100, 171, 178, 179
Raymond's Review Bar, 172
regimen(t), 13, 21, 70, 191, 194, 215, 218–23
and degenerate behaviour, 30, 33, 34, 47, 189, 194, 204, 215, 225–6
dietary, 15, 31, 47, 189–191, 219–23, 225–6
of God, 30, 40, 46, 70, 223
against plague, 26, 54, 59, 79, 94, 221
for princes ('mirrors for princes'), 66, 193–4, 223
and reform, 46–7, 49, 190, 193, 215, 230
and the soul, 31–4, 46
and the nation, 40, 49, 230
and Puritan-republican politics, 219–28
see also bodies, medical regimens, gluttedness
repletion, *see* gluttedness
republicanism, 191, 219, 233
see also gluttedness; Milton; tyrannicide
Rich, Barnaby, 132, 156
Richard II, 217, 227, 266 n. 102
riots (in London), 91–2
Roberts, Lewes, *The Treasure of Traffike*, 197
Rolleston, J. D., 135
Roper, Lyndal, 11
Rous, John, 218
Rowland, Richard, 200
Rowlands, Samuel, 156

'The Sacred Disease', 20
Salerno School of Medicine, 24, 32, 37, 57
Sanderson, William, *A Treatise of the State Merchant*, 261
satire, 15, 37, 65, 84, 104, 118, 140, 158, 175, 182
Menippean, 71, 99, 102, 105
Sawday, Jonathan, 6, 234, 239 n. 9, 240 n. 17
Schoenfeldt, Michael C., 6, 240 n. 17, 260 n. 4, 265 n. 93
self-government, *see* regimen
Shakespeare, William, 152
Coriolanus, 119
Henry V, 37
King John, 36
Macbeth, 42
Measure for Measure, 14, 124, 173–8, 186–7
Pericles, 14, 124, 179–87
Richard II, 194
Sharpe, Kevin, 213–14
Shirley, James, *The Triumph of Peace*, 7
Sigerist, Henry, 8, 64
Sinsheimer, Robert, 236
Slack, Paul, 52, 246 n. 17, 248 n. 53
smallpox, 7
Smith, Anthony, 235
Smith, Nigel, 266 n. 8
Sontag, Susan, 3, 234
Spain, English polemic against, 179, 186, 212, 224
Spanish 'matches', 174, 184, 186, 206, 210

Spenser, Edmund, 99
The Faerie Queene, 141, 191
Prosopopia (*Mother Hubberds Tale*), 84–5, 232
Spurgeon, Dickie, 139
Starkey, Thomas, 67
A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset, 16, 66–9, 190, 230
Stock, Richard, 47
Stow, John, *Survey of London*, 90, 96
Supple, B. E., 194
'sweating sickness', 28–9, 90
Swift, Jonathan, 118
syphilis, *see* Pox

temperance, 31, 32, 49, 190, 192–3, 210, 211, 212, 219–23, 226
see also consumption; gluttedness; regimen
Thompson, E. P., 120
Thucydides, 58–60, 73
Tillyard, E. M. W., 3
Treacher, A., 5
Traub, Valerie, 152, 259 n. 57
Turner, James Grantham, 168
Turner, William, 143, 146
tyranny, 77, 78, 116, 117, 185, 194, 211, 214, 216, 217, 218, 223–6, 260 n. 74
personified plague, 107
tyrannicide, 15, 215, 216, 223–6

utopias, literary, 84

vagabonds (masterless men, vagrants), 39, 41, 84, 92–3, 95, 117
Vaughan, William, *Naturall and artificial Directions for Health*, 33, 48
Vesalian anatomy, 6, 26
Vives, Juan Luis, 144, 171
Von Hutten, Ulrich, 77, 137, 156
De Morbo Gallico, 125, 132

Wager, Lewis, *Marie Magdalene*, 14, 145–51, 172
Wager, William, *Inough is as Good as a Feast*, 85–6, 230, 232
Waldby, Catherine, 3, 6, 199, 233, 235, 239 nn. 4 and 6
A Warning to be ware (anon.), 63, 67, 103
literary tradition of, 81, 102, 114, 120, 230
Wear, Andrew, 9, 243 n. 20
Webster, Charles, 79, 244 n. 48, 248 n. 68
Webster, John, *The White Devil*, 167–8, 179
Wenzel, Siegfried, 56
Westminster, J. T., 130
Whore of Babylon, 80, 146, 163, 192, 208, 216
Wilders, John, 179
Williams, Raymond, 48
Winstanley, Gerrard, 231, 266 n. 8
Wittenberg medicine and anatomy, 45, 76
Wolsey, Cardinal, 86, 97
Woolf, Rosemary, 56
Wright, P., 5

A Yorkshire Tragedy (anon.), 42