UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

FEELING, FEEDING, AND FEIGNING HUMORS: SHAKESPEARE, JONSON, AND EARLY MODERN HUMORAL THEORY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

KATY KRIEGER

Norman, Oklahoma

2022

Downloaded from SHAREOK. Persistent Handle URL: https://hdl.handle.net/11244/335399

FEELING, FEEDING, AND FEIGNING HUMORS: SHAKESPEARE, JONSON, AND EARLY MODERN HUMORAL THEORY

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. David Anderson, Chair

Dr. Daniela Garofalo

Dr. Justin Sider

Dr. Joseph Mansky

Dr. Jane Wickersham

© Copyright by KATY KRIEGER 2022

All Rights Reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is all too often lost (or better yet buried) on women in the academy how much they give of themselves without claiming any of it as their own. To honor that fact, this dissertation and my doctoral degree are for me.

In this same space, I provide a deep level of gratitude to my extensive network (inside and outside of academia) throughout the past five years of my doctoral degree progress. I greatly appreciate the love, unconditional support, and presence you all have offered. Below are special people that represent a mere fraction of my ecosystem (and they unfold in this list in a personally meaningful manner).

My parents: Mom and Dad.

My partner and best friend: Alex.

My bébés: Tyrion Lannister and Minerva.

My sister and her partner: Emily and Pedro.

My extended family including my grandmother, Mary Lou.

My personal and professional mentor of badassery: Kerry (with a special shoutout to her beautiful family and her shared network).

My dear friends that now span the world: Keiko, Hilary, Sarah, Morgan, Christian, Shana, Alyssa, Ashleigh, and so many more.

My closest cohort mates: Kalyn, Kasey, and Brittney.

My partner's cohort and IO program friends who brought me into their circle.

My FYC mates: Amanda, Courtney, Anna, Sara, Silke, Roxanne, Kasey and all the other instructors and graduate students in the program that are my predecessors and successors.

Our amazing friend group(s) in Oregon including the tennis team (now turned F1 fantasy league).

My Center for Literary Studies intellectuals including standout stars like Ellen and Sarah and of course my reading group connections.

Quite obviously my incredibly supportive faculty advisor: David.

My committee: Justin, Joseph, and Jane.

My good friend, mentor, and also committee member: Daniela.

My previous mentors from Oregon State that still empower me: Rebecca and Tara.

My new support system at the University of Oregon in the Office of the Provost.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iv
ABSTRACT vii
INTRODUCTION 1
CHAPTER ONE: 30
The (Geo)humoral Other in Shakespeare's Macbeth 30
Scottish Geohumorality 45
Evil's Influence: Air and Water 63
Curing the Geohumoral Imbalance in *Macbeth* 83
Geohumoral Conclusions 103
CHAPTER TWO: 105
Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, Sanguine Excess, and Material Consumption 105
A Sanguine Framework 106
A Bloody and Excessive History 111
Character Congestion: Excessive Bodies on Stage 114
Costly Staging and Conspicuous Consumption 121
Overconsumption of Verbal Vending 127
Food Consumption 133
Blood and Drink 143
Blood, Fire, and Fat 145
Blood, Air, and Vapors 151
Illness and The Body Theatric 153
Temperate Conclusions 155
CHAPTER THREE: 157
Fashionably Irrational: Jonson's Young Choleric Men in Every Man in His Humour 157
Choleric Heat and Irrational Behaviors 160
Young Choleric Men 163
Fashionable Choleric Behaviors 168
Choleric Comparisons to Melancholic Old Men 173
Breeding Choler in London 180
Trends in Tobacco 187

Popular Violence and Fashionable Fencing 191
Choleric Conclusions on Medicine and Fashion 193
CHAPTER FOUR: 201
Caring for the Melancholic Body and Mind: Royal Tending Practices for King and Country in The Winter's Tale 201
Melancholy and Madness 208
Paulina's Rotating Roles 222
Paulina's Cure: A Blend of the New and Old 234
Carekeeping Conclusions 243
REFERENCES 244
APPENDIX A: INTRODUCTION, HUMORAL MODELS 265
Figure 1. Four humors from The Book of Alchemy by Thurn-Heisser in Leipzig, Germany (1574). Credit: Jean-Loup Charmet, Science Photo Library. 265
Figure 2. William Marshal's "The foure complexions." Engraving, 1662. Folger Shakespeare Library. https://shakespeareandbeyond.folger.edu/2015/12/04/the-four-humors-eating-in-the-renaissance/ 266
Figure 3. Humoral table from the University of Oregon's "Galenic Physiology." https://pages.uoregon.edu/dluebke/WesternCiv102/GalenicPhysiology.html 267
APPENDIX B: CHAPTER ONE, GEOHUMORAL COGNITIVE DISSONANCE 268
Figure 4: Process of English cognitive dissonance widening and narrowing through the geohumoral theory. 268
APPENDIX C: CHAPTER TWO, *BARTHOLOMEW FAIR* CALCULATIONS 269
Graph 1. A Mapping of the Number of Characters in *Bartholomew Fair* Per Act and Scene (Six Scenes Per Act) 269
Figure 5. Budget information from Revels documents 270
Table 1. Verbal Vending and Consuming in *Bartholomew Fair* 271

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I argue that the humors are a productive way to read early modern drama and that using them as a productive means of analysis allows for much richer cultural knowledge about medicine to come through the chosen plays. As a result, I undertake a deep exploration into how dramatists were using the humoral theory to understand larger and more abstract medical and social movements like the expansion of England's national identity through the geohumoral theory, the fashionability of medicine, the growth of the economic markets in London, the connection between a singular body and the body politic, and the diversification of carekeeping practices. Specifically, I chose to engage with Shakespeare and Jonson to understand the greater spectrum of the humoral theory on stage and to capture the similarities between the two playwrights' approaches. I also draw on Jonson and Shakespeare to demonstrate larger patterns of commentary and critique around medicine, the humoral theory, and the cultural manifestations of the humors.

To embody the humoral theory, I crafted the four chapters of this dissertation to represent each of the major humoral dispositions: phlegmatic, sanguine, choleric, and melancholic. Along the way, I attempt to thread the humors together to show the inner workings of Galen's ideas and to demonstrate their flexibility throughout the period. Further, I take inspiration from the early modern period to employ a host of methodological and theoretical techniques. The dissertation begins with a look at Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and the historical tension between the Scottish and English and how Shakespeare draws on the larger geohumoral theory to firmly characterize the Macbeths as phlegmatic Scots who are influenced by their equally phlegmatic environment, a supernatural force of evil, and the invading, moderate English. The second chapter focuses on Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, the excess of blood, sanguineness, and the shifting economic marketplace in London. The third chapter also focuses on Jonson and the marketplace, but with a keen eye on the fashionability of the choler humor that the young men perform in *Every Man in His Humour*. Finally, the dissertation revisits the body politic in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and looks at the complexity of melancholy and how it requires a similarly complex, multifaceted healer—Paulina—to address the disposition in its entirety.

Throughout the dissertation, I aim to show that Shakespeare's demystification of the humors tends to be probative, frequently tentative, and often simultaneously done as he stages humoral realities for the audience, whilst Jonson's demystification is more robust and direct, which may not immediately suggest that he disregards the humoral theory, but that he aims to continuously critique its cultural displays. Both playwrights demonstrate the heterogenous dramatic interpretation of the theory but with distinct, often shared lines of inquiry, skepticism, and critique.

INTRODUCTION

ASPER. O, I crave pardon, I had lost my thoughts.
Why humour, as 'tis 'ens', we thus define it,
To be a quality of air, or water,
And in itself holds these two properties,
Moisture and fluxure: as, for demonstration,
Pour water on this floor, 'twill wet and run:
Likewise the air, forced through a horn or trumpet,
Flows instantly away, and leaves behind
A kind of dew; and hence we do conclude,
That whatsoe'er hath fluxure and humidity,
As wanting power to contain itself,
Is humour. So in every human body,
The choler, melancholy, phlegm, and blood,
By reason that they flow continually
In some one part, and are not continent,
Receive the name of humours. Now thus far
It may, by metaphor, apply itself
Unto the general disposition:
As when some one peculiar quality
Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw
All his affects, his spirits, and his powers,
In their confluctions, all to run one way,
This may be truly said to be a humour
But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,
The cable hat-band, or the three-piled ruff,
A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot
On his French garters, should affect a humour!
O, it is more than most ridiculous.

CORDATUS. He speaks pure truth; now if an idiot
Have but an apish or fantastic strain,
It is his humour.[1]

The passage above is drawn from the opening of Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599), where the character defined as "the presenter," Asper, first draws the audience's attention to the qualities of the humors, which are "air, or water" that then dictate the two

[1] Quotation drawn from Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humor*. Edited by Helen Ostovich, Manchester University Press, distributed by Palgrave, 2001.

properties of the humors themselves ("moisture and fluxure"). Asper is drawing on traditional Hippocratic/Galenic humoral theory which reigned supreme in the medical world from 216 CE until the 18th century and was a theory that thought of health and illness as a spectrum (Lindemann 13). Humoralism viewed the humors and the environment as sharing in their impact on the body and mind, which directly influenced one's behaviors and engagement with the world. It was believed that the brain, the body, and the world were all connected extensively and that "psychophysiological openness to external influences is not optional" for individuals living in this period (Sutton 15). However, early modern theorists and medical minds extended the theory beyond this medical model and attempted to situate and interpret humoral symptoms and behaviors within a broader societal context.

As Asper mentions above, it was believed that the human body contained four humors that "flow continually" and are called choler, melancholy, phlegm, and blood. It is in these four humors and how they are culturally manifested that the current project takes a deep interest and therefore dedicates a chapter to each of them.[2] In correspondence to these humors, it was thought that black bile, which is a combination of cold and dry dispositions, corresponds to a melancholic temperament, and relates to the earth element, maturity in age, the direction west, and autumn. Yellow bile, which is a combination of dry and hot dispositions, corresponds to a choleric temperament, and relates to the fire element, youth in age, the direction north, and summer. Blood, which is a combination of hot and moist dispositions, corresponds to a sanguine temperament, and relates to the air element, childhood in age, the direction east, and spring. Phlegm, which is a combination of cold and moist dispositions, corresponds to a phlegmatic temperament, and relates to the element of water, old age, the direction south, and winter. In

[2] See Mary Lindemann's book, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 11-15.

some ways, the early modern interpretation of Galen's humoral theory speaks to a loose, initial framework of psychology that began to investigate the shaping of human behavior, looked at the underpinnings of physiology, and identified how experiences interacted with someone's natural disposition. Asper's words make it clear, then, that early modern thinkers considered the humors, in addition to being a medical reality, a metaphorically-based sociocultural theory ("by metaphor, apply itself / Unto the general disposition") about human predispositions. Further, they considered the "true humor[s]" to be medically prescriptive and diagnostically useful. Gail Kern Paster argues that the true humors were considered separate from the performance-based display of habits ("by wearing a pyed feather…On his French garters, should affect a humour!") known as "adoptive humor[s]" or "performed humor[s]" (24). This meant that in the early modern world, the true humors were functional, but the performed/adoptive humors were fashionable. My dissertation extends Paster's argument with the intent to complicate this dichotomy in Shakespeare's and Jonson's works.

Such a nuanced theory that could as easily be applied to medical diagnosis and treatment as it was to one's fashion choices offers playwrights a rich pool of material to be drawn upon by playwrights for creative and critical purposes. Galen's work acts as an interpretive bedrock for the poets of the period, as they often begin their internal explorations of mind, body, and soul with a clear knowledge of their own humoral (im)balances and/or the temperaments of their characters (McCray Beier 31). The prevalence of medical and scientific theories and their applications in early modern literature suggests a widespread popularity amongst authors that are thinking through the complex concepts introduced to the culture by medical practitioners and

were producing texts in response to these ideas as a way to interpret their meaning.[3] The incorporation of this model throughout drama, poetry, and prose makes it more accessible to the masses, and yet its inclusion in these literary works also aims to problematize its popular use by the uneducated and unprofessional masses to diagnose and cure themselves and those around them.[4] The humoral theory linked bodily processes and fluids with illness and symptomatology, which were then tied to behaviors as well as larger temperaments and dispositions.[5] The critical approaches of Mary Lindemann and George Rosen suggest that all early modern texts have humoral concepts and language imbued in them to varying extents because they are crafted/printed/performed during a period in which the humoral theory was the most prevalent and utilized medical model.[6] At times, these humoral references are minimal and hard for modern audiences to pick up on, but at other times, the humoral content creates a clear layer of interpretation. Poets such as Spenser also adopt the Galenic model to explore literary forms like allegory.[7] In Book I of *The Faerie Queene,* Redcrosse, the Knight of Holinesse, witnesses a pageant of the seven deadly sins that he encounters in Lucifera's House of Pride. He merely observes the relationship between each figure, the sin that they allegorically represent, and the humoral imbalance and resulting disease they embody. For example, Wrath has, "The swelling

[3] It should be established very early on that this dissertation uses the terms "medicine" and "science" to modernize the terminology of the early modern period, which calls these fields "natural philosophy" and its practitioners "natural philosophers."

[4] Those in the Elizabethan court use the Galenic model, though they have access to physicians and other medical professionals that tend to their diagnosis and cure. The laity, however, rely on their home network of care such as friends and relatives that might be able to offer medical advice. This shifts when King James I comes to power and he starts to incorporate Paracelsian physicians into his cabinet.

[5] See Appendix A for *Figures 1*, *Figure 2*, and *Figure 3* for period specific visualizations of the humoral model.

[6] The work done by Rosen and Lindemann reflects an idea similar to Rebecca Totaro's body of scholarship that argues that all Renaissance texts are plague texts because they are crafted and printed during plague periods, which specifically shapes them in form and content. For a larger discussion, see Totaro's books *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England* and *The Plague in Print*. However, Rosen and Lindemann argue that these texts merely reflect aspects of the theory along a spectrum of noticeability, quality, and importance.

[7] Many of Spenser's characters are complex allegorical figures who emblematically represent sins and virtues but whose creation includes humoral symptoms and illnesses.

Splene, and Frenzy raging rife, / The shaking Palsy, and Saint Fraunces fire" (Spenser 1.4.35).[8] This extensive explanatory framework is merely a commonplace for the period and Spenser relies on the humors to shape the visual descriptions of the seven deadly sins. In Spenser's work, the humoralism of his allegorical characters helps represent ideas of sin, immorality, and the religious rift during the Reformation. By flattening the descriptions of the advisors and chalking them up to their humoral combinations, Spenser's allegorical and religious themes provide a fuller understanding of the nature of a given sin as it is manifested in the body, personality, and pathology of the character.

Aemilia Lanyer, in a more abstract sense, draws on the logic of the humors to explain how Jesus purges man's sin of pride. In her poem, *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, Lanyer suggests that Jesus offers his own humility at the crucifixion to purge the sin of pride. The illness here is the sinful pride of man and, which means the natural curative nature of humility is the best option for healing.[9] The piece of the poem relevant to this dissertation reads,

> Loe here thy great Humility was found,
> Beeing King of Heauen, and Monarch of the Earth,
> Yet well content to haue thy Glory drownd,
> By beeing counted of so meane a berth;
> Grace, Loue, and Mercy did so much abound,
> Thou entertaindst the Crosse, euen to the death:

[8] Erysipelas, a kind of skin inflammation.

[9] Throughout her entire published work, *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum*, Lanyer references the balms, oils, and salves that Christ's body offers to man to alleviate his pain, remove the poison, and heal the hurt caused by man's gall. See pp. 235, 244-45, and 261-263 for examples.

And nam'dst thy selfe, the sonne of Man to be,

To purge our pride by thy Humilitie. (Lanyer 241, lines 273-280)

To Lanyer, the best metaphor is the Galenic purging of pride through an oppositional curative of humility. By operating through antipathies, Lanyer applies humoral logic to Jesus' actions in the crucifixion, and she demonstrates the innate knowledge of women—signified by the folklore medical practice offered in the poem—in her writing as she lays forth a defense of women in her collection of poems. Lanyer and Spenser both incorporate Galenic ideas and complicate them with religious overtones specific to the 16th century, which provides a literary space to reflect on the utility of this medical model and to create character more effectively (Gil Harris 77-80). The poetic use of Galen's ideas also show how writers and audiences may have thought about medical processes to understand more abstract ideas such as morality.

Some dramatic works, such as Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, explicitly indicate their use of the pervasive and explanatory humoral theory to develop stock characters on the stage. Others, like Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, address and use humoral theory less directly but are nevertheless marked by it. By using humoral knowledge as a practical key to "reading" and understanding the "map" of others' humoral states, writers are able to capture the multifaceted nature of the theory and how it intersects with other period-specific understandings of gender, race, and class. Thus, early modern literature reflects the societal adoption and use of Galen's material, but also consciously critiques and interprets Galen's ideas as they encounter other medical theories in the period. Similar issues arise as literature integrates new methods of medicine such as Paracelsus' iatrochemical work and William Harvey's *Anatomical Studies on*

the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals.[10] Dramatic and literary works like those produced by Shakespeare and Jonson explore the professionalization of medicine and emphasize the spectacle of medical processes (like Harvey's theory on the heart's pump action) on the page and stage. The integration of Galen's humoral model throughout early modern literature allows authors and audiences moments of reflection on the usefulness of the theory and a critical lens to view the gross generalizations it is built upon. These texts then complicate the historical, social relationships between magic and medicine, economics and health, and trust and skepticism. As medical theories are contested and new models are created, the period's literature scrutinizes the role of the practitioner and the public impact of these health and disease measures. [11] In various literary works, the interpretation of medicine is flexible, adaptive, and firmly rooted in other contexts such as the marketplace, domestic sphere, and church (Lindemann 7-8). These medical ideas transform through descriptive language, theatrical visualization, and the adaptation of traditional information through newer methods, which leaves medical discourse firmly indebted to literary notions (Moss and Peterson *xi-xvii*).

This tension, between playwrights' appropriation of the humoral theory and their simultaneous interrogation of its reliability, is what my dissertation will explore as it begins to map out a broader shift in the early modern period around medicine. For Jonson and Shakespeare, this mapping of the broader shift includes: (a) critical commentary on early modern

[10] Paracelsus has numerous published tracts that were popularly distributed throughout England, though they were often translated, summarized, and given introductory and commentary information by English medical practitioners in the printing process. Parcelsus is prevalent in England after his death in the 1540's and he remains a notable medical source until the late 17th century as new models come into the medical system. William Harvey's seminal work is also commonly called *De Moto Cordis* and is published in 1628 and discusses the circulation of blood throughout the body. One other key figure of the period was Andreas Vesalius and his comprehensive book on human anatomy called *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, which is published in 1543.

[11] For examples of scholarly works on the subject matter of practitioners, see Pamela Long's *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400-1600*. Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2011.

humoral theory and practice for its dualities of rigidity and flexibility, (b) intellectual curiosity and writerly play around the adaptive Galenic humoral model as it expands and contracts around other operating theories like folk medicine and Paracelsian iatrochemistry and alchemy, and (c) skepticism around society's conflation of medicine, health, economics, and fashion such that the sick patient becomes the gulled buyer in both city and countryside. This dissertation relies heavily on the arguments of notable scholars like Gail Kern Paster, Mary Floyd-Wilson, Rebecca Laroche, and Allison Hobgood to build a robust foundation about the history, function, and form of the humoral theory. The dissertation then extends these critical arguments by tying together the humoral theory and early modern medical practice, the cultural manifestations of the theory and practice, and the representations of these in drama.

Specifically, I will investigate the uses of the humoral on stage and I will ultimately argue that playwrights William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson deploy this theory in their works to explore, distinguish, and critique the theory's two modi operandi. This project is interested in the dramatic works of Jonson and Shakespeare because of their popularity at the time, their positionalities as writers between two distinct monarchical lines, as well as their heterogeneous approaches to the humoral that exemplify a sustained and thoughtful interest in the subject. Jonson and Shakespeare have long been paired together by scholars, but this dissertation aims to understand their competing sensibilities in writing as well as their shared figurations of the humors and their combined efforts in the period to play with and simultaneously scrutinize such a widely regarded theory.[12] The aims of this project align more closely with recent scholars'

[12] For early examples, see Ian Donaldson's *Jonson and Shakespeare* (1983) and James Shapiro's *Rival Playwrights: Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare* (1991). For a recent example of this discussion, see James Loxley and Fionnuala O'Neill Tonning's article, "Significant Others: On the Comparison of Shakespeare and Jonson" in *Shakespeare*, 12.4, 2016.

mission to re-examine the relationship between Jonson and Shakespeare. For example, James Loxley and Fionnuala O'Neill Tonning argue that "posing these two influential, mutually shaping author-functions together can do something both other and more than the odious tandem of old achieved, and that there is illumination to be gained from a critically-alert revisiting and reworking of Shakespeare and Jonson's co-dependency" (337). For the purposes of this project, the playwrights' codependency seems to develop the humoral theory outwards in a few directions: Jonson extends the humoral as a means to characterize his cast and critique the true and adoptive humors and Shakespeare complicates the theory's application to plot and critiques the theory's adaptive structure as a reflexive model.

Allison Hobgood argues that these representations by Shakespeare and Jonson create "affective exploration(s)" of the humors by the audience in that they can perceptually take in the humoral theory of those on stage and partake in a "communal pleasure experience" by understanding their own humoral states as well as the humoral states of the players and characters (188-89).[13] As a result, behaviors and reactions of characters are, at times, pleasurably predictable in Jonson's and Shakespeare's plots because of the strong humoral grounding. Their writing also primes audiences to follow more intricate conversations unfolding in the dialogue and in the plot that critique the conflation of ideas like medicine and fashion. As Aristotle once noted of drama, the art on the stage imitated reality and represented a litany of potentials; therefore, for an early modern audience, living through humoral potentials on stage offers a safe, distanced way for individuals to indulge by watching others become imbalanced, even sickly with an abundance of a particular humor. There is an appeal, then, to dramatic representations of

[13] Part of Hobgood's argument is that the pleasure derived from the humoral is grounded in an audience's participation in the humoral processes (or possible processes) of contagion, symptomatic expression, purgation, balancing, and cure.

the humors as they allow for the audience to partake in harmful and seemingly imbalanced means of living without experiencing any of the real consequences. Shakespeare and Jonson both demonstrate how the humoral theory can anchor a dramatic work and offer a way of reading which includes the palpable skepticism around the expanding nature of early modern medicine and probe deeper questions of authority, legitimacy, and knowledge. [14]

Dramatists use the humors to develop vivid characters in the short amount of time of a play and within a rather confined space on the stage. Shakespeare's characters, after being developed humorally, can often be found on the precipice of or having just experienced a humoral shift. Like Jonson's use of the stock humoral figure, Shakespeare relies on common knowledge about the humors to classify and describe many of his most notable characters. He then creates humorally oppositional circumstances–often environmental (setting) and situational (plot)--for these characters to operate within. As a result, Shakespeare's plays often demonstrate what it is like to be "out of one's humor" because there is a disconnect between the humoral characters and their humoral surroundings, they resist and often juxtapose their humoral circumstances, and they fail to flourish (i.e., they are not in their element, literally) within the wholly oppositional humoral framework or when faced with differing humoral conditions. This dissertation will discuss Shakespeare's attention to the cool/dry and cool/moist humors–melancholy and phlegm–as they represent cultural notions of the aging body, a hard pastoral lifestyle, madness, and the supernatural.

The first chapter of the dissertation (*Chapter One: The (Geo)Humoral Other in Shakespeare's Macbeth*) takes a wider look at the humoral theory and analyzes the more

[14] The humors were also thought to provide a way to read Shakespearean dialogue in a way that is more historically accurate (Steggle 224).

pervasive implications of it on London's stages as well as in society. This first chapter looks at the geohumoral theory in *Macbeth*, which holds a particular social utility in Shakespeare's plays. The geohumoral model was used onstage to explore and critique the stigmatization and segregation of groups purely based on geographic location and predetermined humoral design. Geohumoral theory attributes specific predispositions to groups based on their northern, middle, and southern location and their environmental surroundings and is a more expansive application of the humoral theory.[15] It was so widely recognized and used that it even appeared heavily in the *Farmer's Almanac*, which was one of the most popular texts of the period (Feerick 87).[16] Thus, the geohumoral was an accessible way to quickly build personality traits and behavioral attributions into characters and to signal specific elements of the play that the audience should attend to.[17]

Shakespeare draws on the phlegmatic complexion inherent to the Scottish Macbeths and positions it against a phlegmatic environment teeming with supernatural influences and miasmic air. The heavy use of the geohumoral in *Macbeth* makes both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth clearly Scottish and their naturally phlegmatic temperaments manifest to the audience. Their geohumoral markers are established through their cultural references, the specific environmental staging, and the linguistic patterns of their dialogue (especially with each other). The excessiveness of the phlegmatic temperament in *Macbeth* actively works against the invading moderate disposition described as warmer and drier and embodied in the English soldiers coming into Scotland. These external humoral influences gradually impact Macbeth and Lady Macbeth's

[15] Often described as the climatic regions known as torrid, temperate, and tropical (Feerick 85).
[16] There were numerous versions of the *Farmer's Almanac* in print for people to access during this period.
[17] As Gail Kern Paster puts it, the geohumoral gives individual qualities to "whole peoples" to define their humoral attributes (14).

temperaments and make them more choleric (i.e., drier and hotter) and more melancholic (i.e., drier), respectively.

The geohumoral theory was certainly a way for individuals to assess each other rapidly and predict action and reaction outcomes as it related to developing themes and plot lines of a production. If someone has a natural predisposition to react angrily based on their humoral makeup, then characters and audience members alike can likely imagine what will take place in a scene when that character confronts his cheating lover. The geohumoral theory also allowed for violent and oppressive action to take place based on a theoretical understanding of that specific racial and ethnic groups have imbalanced humors or incorrect humoral makeup. For example, in Shakespeare's *Othello,* coded descriptors are used to suggest that Othello's race is intrinsically linked with a choleric humoral temperament and explains his violence and rash behavior in the play through this theory. Shakespeare uses the geohumoral theory to support the audience's stereotypical understanding of Othello's nature "as a Moor" as well as to justify Othello's actions within the play. Thus, the geohumoral theory is a socially acceptable way of "othering" in the early modern period and reflects a general anxiety over the geographically, racially, and ethnically different. The geohumoral theory serves a flexible utility to playwrights in this period; it can easily help them define characters and create nuance plot lines, but it can also be leveraged to critique the social manifestation of the theory.

Early modern drama reflected this growing fear of the "other" by examining other people, other religions, other cultures, and even other illnesses. For example, Shakespeare's *Macbeth* is an important example of contagion literature as it links the potential contagion of mental and physical illness to infectious "othered" sources and the vulnerable bodies on and off stage. Shakespeare uses the Weird Sisters and their black magic to suggest that the air is

infected (commonly known as miasma) and that the Devil, whom the New Testament describes as the prince of the air, specifically uses these vapors to spread his evil.[18] This open contagion easily moves through the air—a source that everyone needs to survive—and becomes a focal point throughout the play in Shakespeare's use of language and staging (Closson 63).[19] The witches are defined by their phlegmatic natures and those who encounter them are then influenced by their spell-like chants and vaporous words. The witches end their first onstage appearance with a chant: "Fair is foul, and foul is fair, / Hover through the fog and filthy air" (1.1.11-12).[20] The constant attention that Shakespeare pays to bad air reconceptualizes the idea of contagion into an unobservable and unavoidable thing and leads to what Eric Langley calls a "verbally transmitted disease" (2). The concepts of exposure and cure are complicated when contextualized alongside larger discussions of geohumoral theory, colonization, economic expansion, and trade route development.

Allison Hobgood argues that "*Macbeth* is a play both about fear and driven by fear" (35). In *Macbeth*, Shakespeare specifically provides "aesthetic distance between us and diseased, dying bodies" (Hobgood 37) so that the audience can be made anxious about the evil and miasma in the play, but it should likewise be able to recognize the staged nature of these moral and medical issues. As previously mentioned, Shakespeare critiqued the overapplication of the humors and his inclusion of the geohumoral in *Macbeth* challenges the theory's proneness to

[18] It was believed that the North Berwick witches in 1589 attempted to raise numerous storms to try to drown King James I and Anna of Denmark, which only increased James' suspicions about women and witchcraft in the period (Chiari 238).

[19] Contagion is also thought of as being the biggest possible risk in societal practices such as attending feasts or dinners with other people, seeing shows in the theater, and interacting with undesirable people such as witches, prostitutes, and the sick.

[20] For all Shakespeare references, this dissertation uses *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015.

overestimation and investigates the roots of fear that drive the play. As part of the humoral lexicon, Shakespeare draws on the actual geohumoral language that King James I used in this period as he ascends to the throne and brings Scotland into the fold alongside England. The phlegmatic and hard peoples of the North are strikingly compared to the more moderate English, and the evil growing in Scotland is only tempered through caustic practices and similarly based curatives (Pollard 29-41). As Macbeth and Lady Macbeth are characterized by their phlegmatic nature, so too, is Scotland humorally imbalanced and prone to evil through the cold, devilish air and vaporous-mouthed witches. The natural temperaments of those in specific geographical regions relies on the expected variance in humors that groups of people possessed, and *Macbeth* demonstrates this geohumoral reciprocity in its characterization of the environment (Closson 63-65). In doing so, the geohumoral theory functions in *Macbeth* and in many of the period's plays to dramatically and comedically interrogate the "other" in a public, staged manner. Much like a surgical theater, the dramatic theater made visible the unknown, put it on full display for investigation, and attempted to understand and analyze humans, their bodies, and their minds.

Also made visible in early modern theatre was society's penchant for excess and indulgence. Jonson's plays *Bartholomew Fair* and *Every Man in His Humour* (his first humors comedy) create examination spaces for both the sanguine and choleric temperaments. These humors are characterized by their hot qualities, but sanguineness is often viewed as a moist heat and choler is viewed as a dry heat. Both hot humors, thought, provoke a passionate emotional response in individuals and often relate to youth, bad decisions, and irrational thoughts and behaviors. Though some scholars like William Kerwin view Jonson as using the humoral theory to craft uncomplicated characterizations through a set of humoral balances that achieve little in the text, I argue that he uses the humoral to develop far more complex social commentaries

around class, gender, and religion.[21] At times, the character's words and behaviors seem constrained by the humoral, and yet these very constraints open up a litany of avenues for Jonson to explore particularly in his city and humors comedy genres.

Historically, early modern economics shifted out of a scarcity model where individuals purchased only what they needed to survive and into a thriving model of (early) consumerism rooted in the idea that individuals were purchasing beyond necessity and instead spending money on luxuries, fancies, and an overabundance of fashionable goods. The growing middle class and the development of urban London can also be understood through Shakespeare and Jonson's use of the humoral logic since there is a clear dramatic critique of the over-consumptive practices of society and the growing sanguine and choleric behaviors in London as its correlate. The second chapter of this dissertation (*Chapter Two: Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, Sanguine Excess, and Material Consumption*) focuses on Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* and its representations of the sanguine to explore the religious tension of the post-Reformation period. This tension is evident in the alignment of Catholicism and excess, Puritanical asceticism and restriction, and the balance reflected by the moderate Protestantism of the national church.[22] Jonson describes Ursula, the main (pork) vendor at the fair, through the sanguine humor through her excessive nature, her heat, and the greasy moisture that surrounds her and her stall (Thomas Neely 56-60).[23] Jonson situates Ursula easily in a stock humoral imbalance of sanguineness, which allows him to expand on more vital things like the clash between ascetic Puritan fairgoers and Ursula's booth of excess.

---

[21] See Kerwin, pp. 54-55.

[22] This post-Reformation period and Jonson's own religious tensions are often linked by critics to his play *Bartholomew Fair*.

[23] Often the kingly body was thought to be "perceived as [a] princely paunch" prone to consuming excess and brimming with corrupt humors that places sensual appetite over reason in control (Healy 22).

Long explanatory matter is unnecessary in Jonson's work for characters like Ursula because the mechanisms that make her operate can be easily explained through the humors (Thomas Neely 56-60). Jonson is free to reflect on the complicated nature of the humors and corporeal terms as they interact with psychological inwardness and emotions in contexts like the fair and the growing marketplace for luxury goods and services (Schoenfeldt 8). With this play, the audience can enjoy the grease and glut of the excess in front of them, they can indulge in the dripping language of Ursula and the overly fatted performance of her character. The sensory palimpsests of *Bartholomew Fair* thus offer the audience an indulgent experience without the real repercussions that giving in might await them outside of the theater (Harris 110). Proper regiment and controlling appetite reflect the political and economic issues that excessiveness, luxury, and sanguineness presented to early modern people (Healy 194). Thus, Jonson develops a broader thematic commentary on religious excess, asceticism, and moderation in *Bartholomew Fair*.

Aside from the glut of Ursula's character and her pig booth, the conspicuous consumption of goods, bodies, and services in this play points to a larger intrigue over materiality and the growing urban life of London and to people's concern over the fashionable.[24] David Hawkes summarizes with this sentiment: "just as the plays performed in the theaters reflected and analyzed the effect of market relations on subjectivity, so the critics of the theater elaborated a coherent and sophisticated critique of ideological and psychological effects of a commodity culture" (81). The use of the humoral nature of Ursula (and other characters) in *Bartholomew Fair* reflects the idea of the tenuousness of balance and the liminal space

[24] Thorstein Veblen defines conspicuous consumption as the substantial consumption of non-necessity goods and services to establish the social status and prestige of the consumer. See Chapter Two for a longer explanation of Veblen's theory.

individuals lived in as they sought to maintain moderation. The play poses questions around how much is too much, what the capacity for human consumption is, and how to remain balanced in a place that promotes excess. A sanguine temperament, as seen in Jonson's Ursula or Shakespeare's Falstaff, is a doubly beneficial way to develop an excessive, hedonistic consumer and a humorally imbalanced character capable of inducing their more moderate colleagues to indulge. As Kasey Evans argues, "In sixteenth-and seventeenth-century English culture, temperance became a term of enormous political, social, and ethical currency" (15). Therefore, these hedonistic, glutted consumers may have been actively consuming in the marketplace, but they were simultaneously losing political, social, and ethical currency by participating in intemperate acts.

Jonson often begins by figuring someone like *Bartholomew Fair*'s Ursula as sanguine only to quickly move beyond the stereotypical humoral symptoms. This allows him to focus on the fashionable choices and behavioral displays that challenge the straightforward conceptualization of the "true humors" by the sheer existence of the "performative humors." As a result, Jonson creates situations where these two competing forms of the humors no longer challenge each other but coexist and productively structure each other in society. By incorporating the humors into his plays and using them as a tool for characterization, Jonson critiques the extensive explanatory claims of the theory and its usefulness in the period's culture to describe oneself and others.

Similarly, he uses humoral concepts and language in another play, *Every Man in His Humour,* to discuss fashion and health and the very fine line between the two. Jonson critiques the trendsetting nature of the upper class, fast-paced nature of city life that promotes spending and luxury for the growing middle class, and the slowed-down aspects of country life that urge

those in more rural areas to begin to mimic those above them. The choleric humor, especially in young English men, manifests as refined outbursts of anger, the artistry and grace of fencing, and the performative indulgence in masculine sports like hunting. As the city's humors begin to morph from less moderate and phlegmatic northern dispositions to more sanguine and choleric dispositions, the inhabitants of the city (and even the country) are left to adapt to their shifting environment to match its humoral ethos.

This dissertation's third chapter (*Chapter Three: Fashionably Irrational: Jonson's Young Choleric Men in Every Man in His Humour)* takes a deep dive into Jonson's development of young choleric men and their melancholic, older male counterparts in *Every Man in His Humour.* Jonson draws on choler's behavioral displays of anger and verbal outbursts to establish the youthful characters–mainly men–as on the verge of hitting a fiery combustion point. The older, wiser men like Knowell bring with them melancholic wisdom that they often use to lecture the younger men on society's trends and not investing too much of one's self into them to be successful. However, characters like Edward Knowell and Stephen ignore such advice and continue to perform choler so that they can pass amongst their peers as proper gentleman and demonstrate competency in the hobbies and pastimes popular in London at the time. For example, fencing's growing popularity captures the artistic expression of violence and pairs the formal footwork of dancing with more direct physical movements from sports like boxing (e.g., thrust). Instead of coming to blows, the young men are often verbally sparring and go to great lengths to show off their arms to the others on stage. Further, the fire of choler is a metaphor that Jonson grabs onto and embodies in his inclusion of tobacco smoking in this play. As the young men compare tobacco types, smoking habits, and discuss its many benefits, they are met with resistance from characters like Cob who disparage its use, consider its existence preternatural,

and claim its medicinal impacts to be null. King James I drew on the body politic rhetoric[25] and framed his own anti-tobacco work around ideas of temperance stating that "he will counter excessive consumption with the forcible purgation" to achieve "crasis" or a natural balance and get rid of tobacco (Evans 167-168).[26]

Choler's symptoms and illnesses are never truly felt by the characters in *Every Man in His Humour*, and yet they are certainly adopted and performed for the benefit of conspicuousness and validated as displays of gentlemanly prowess. The upshot is that Jonson can turn a skeptical eye in this play on the commodification of medicine to pose questions about discernment of quality by consumers, efficacy of practices and theories, and placement of trust in authorities. Both *Bartholomew Fair* and *Every Man in His Humour* demonstrate the Galenic humoral concept of "being in one's humor" to the extent that the humoral characters reflect their humoral surroundings, they embrace and mirror their humoral circumstances, and they flourish (i.e., they are in their element, literally) within the exaggerated nature of the broader humoral framework.

It should be made clear here that the dissertation is not arguing that Jonson only uses the humoral theory to create "in humor" plays and Shakespeare only uses it to create "out of humor" plays. Quite the opposite, in fact, as both playwrights write "in" and "out" of humor texts (Steggle 232). For example, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* grounds the entire play in melancholy and situates the main character as a rather scholarly melancholic type, and Jonson's *Volpone* uses a fake phlegmatic nature in Volpone to set up the play's primary scam around his phlegmatic

[25] King James I often drew on the *arcana imperii* or king's secrets, which suggested a supernatural power given to kings to cure ailments from the country/people (such as scrofula). This would leave English society to "view the sovereign-physician's remedies in Paracelsian terms" instead in traditional Galenic humoral terms (56).
[26] Crasis is an outdated Greek term for the "balance of humors in the body" that was naturally defined in a person's body in addition to their temperament (see Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Section I.III.1.2).

illness (and comedic "foolish" behaviors), which focuses heavily on both choleric and sanguine natures of those vying for Volpone's fortune.[27] With this in mind, the dissertation merely draws on Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* and *Every Man in His Humour* and Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and *Macbeth* to demonstrate larger patterns of commentary and critique around medicine, the humoral theory, and the cultural manifestations of both.

Collectively, these two playwrights capture the anxiety and nuance of the shifting medical battleground. Both dramatists pay close attention to the blending of the Galenic humoral theory with other lines of medicine and science such as Paracelsian iatrochemistry and alchemy, mixed method practices like folk/rural healing, magic and the supernatural, apothecary work, and more formalized approaches at the university level to surgery and anatomy. In response, Shakespeare and Jonson create fascinating figures of traditional and modern medicine. The blending of these theoretical areas in Shakespeare, for example, shows him employing corrosive methods to caustic and "sick" individuals in his plot of Macbeth. Since Macbeth's "sickness" must be rooted out and removed from power in order to rid Scotland of evil, a more direct and corrosive method of removing that illness is necessary in the action of the play.[28] This is a Paracelsian concept that built upon the Galenic humoral theory with more recent scientific developments around alchemy and purgation methods. His diseased rule over Scotland can only be cured through the combination of an English king with healing abilities (McCray Beier 26), an interior balancing of the Scottish geohumoral state[29], and a purgative removal of Macbeth's

[27] See Steggle, pp. 226 for a longer argument on *Volpone* and drama's impact on the humors and the body.
[28] Macbeth's illness is often attributed to the English influence on his body and mind. Scots were thought to have become more effeminate, less masculine, and "softer" in nature as their closeness with England grew (Feerick 96).
[29] See Mary Floyd-Wilson's article, "English Epicures and Scottish Witches," for a more detailed understanding of geohumoralism as it relates to Macbeth or defer to Chapter One of this dissertation. Floyd-Wilson, along with other scholars, demonstrates the period's thinking of otherness and that geographic location influences the humoral composition of ethnic groups. For example, this theory deems the Scottish people as traditionally phlegmatic, cold, and moist.

head (Thomas Neely 55-56). The satisfaction of "curing" the body politic of Scotland and righting the disease of Macbeth presents a literal and metaphorical balancing of the scales and the audience's pleasure in this plot line likely stems from the return to homeostasis that was so severely disrupted throughout the play. In *Macbeth,* Shakespeare critiques both the fraught relationship between Galenic and Paracelsian medical practices and shows how Galenic medicine adapts to incorporate Paracelsius' conceptual work.[30]

Similarly, Jonson and Shakespeare employ reactionary and transformational means to solve major plot problems.[31] To revisit *Every Man in His Humour*, Jonson can also be seen drawing on humoral treatment techniques (like pairing the young choleric men in the play with older, more melancholic men together so that their biliousness is balanced) as well as Paracelsian alchemy to use metallurgical means (embodied in swords) to root out the play's problems. Shakespeare also demonstrates this kind of thoughtful craftsmanship with Prince Hal who, in *Henry IV Part One*, faces two models of living and rule. For Hal, Falstaff represents the typical sanguine nature of the excessive drunk and King Henry IV represents the choleric mind that uses force and irrational judgment to govern. Prince Hal performs both humoral natures throughout the play without ever truly showing his own temperamental predispositions. However, Hal ultimately faces Hotspur—an exaggerated form of the choleric, youthful humoral being—and finds a likeness in the man that drives him to show his true nature. The likeness between the two men and the overly aggressive hotness of Hotspur's character are Paracelsian concepts, which complicate the Galenic humoral theory and extend the humoral aesthetic model. The first idea is

[30] See Todd H.J. Pettigrew's *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic* for a longer discussion on the Galenic and Paracelsian debate that is popular in this time.

[31] For an extensive example of how Paracelcian adaptations to the Galenic humoral theory unfolds in a Shakespearean play, see Jaechol Kim's article, "The Plague and Immunity in *Othello.*" In this article, Kim explores how Othello is the Paracelsian curative for the cultural issues that infect the play and how, medically, Othello functions in the plot.

that "like cures like" (often called sympathies in Galenic terms) or what Plato considers the *pharmakos* where the cause and cure are the same source (Derrida). This idea operates differently than Galen's idea that predominantly opposites (often called antipathies in practice and apothecary work)—like hot/cold, moist/dry—cure by balancing their humors.
Also, the caustic nature of Hotspur taps into the Paracelsian adoption of harsh chemicals and metals to purge the body of illness. These acts of competing forces, expulsion, and contention are in some ways more violent than the actual battles on stage because they offer a brutal and ugly look at how these medical theories operate in a social and cultural context.

Galenic and Paracelsian practitioners appear diametrically opposed with regard to how medicine should diagnose and cure illnesses, and yet Shakespeare and Jonson are able to pull on these strings and tie them together into cogent methodologies and provide clarity on how each approach coincides with the other.[32] Though some scholars debate over the actual severity of the split in the medical field between Galenist and Paracelsian practitioners and the resulting rift's impact on society, other scholars use this burgeoning field of blended medicine as a site for deeper investigation into the period's ad hoc approach to cure and diagnosis that focused on effectiveness instead of best practice and theoretical correctness (McCray Beier 31). This blending of theories also offers new ways for the audience to draw pleasure from the plays with their incorporation of multiple lines of conceptual work from the period.[33]

In an abstract approach, Shakespeare and Jonson frequently use the Paracelsian and folk notion of intuitive knowledge and life experience to develop two distinct character types: healing

[32] Stephanie Moss argues that Shakespeare crafts an alchemical wedding of opposites in *The Winter's Tale* between the noble born son, Florizel, and the supposedly low born daughter, Perdita (163).
[33] See Joel Slotkin's book, *Sinister Aesthetics*, for a full argument on audiences deriving pleasure from violent, gruesome aspects of the theater.

women and wise old men. Shakespeare typically defines his healer women by their instinctual wisdom and not through a trained medical background like monks and physics would have had in this period (Moss 151-55). Examples include *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Winter's Tale*; both distinguish between university-educated, financially well-off men and home-educated, rural women, with the latter having more power, success, and influence than the former (Laroche 111-21).[34] This development reflects another domain of early modern medicine: the traditionalist and predominantly female healer trained up through oral histories and folk recipe books (Laroche 91). In *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, the nurse is often more intuitive and accurate in her assessments and counsel than the apothecary and monk who provide drugs and cures to the young couple.[35] Though a rather ridiculous figure in the play, the nurse's knowledge and experience still garners her some respect in how she addresses typical love-sickness.

Another, far more serious example is the care of Paulina in *The Winter's Tale*; her tried and true methods of counseling those around her to much better decisions and fates than the royal advisors of King Leontes. Paulina's embodiment of numerous kinds of medical care demonstrates that Shakespeare and his audience were grappling with a "profound epistemological split" between medical theories and modes of medical practice (Pettigrew 55). The final chapter of this dissertation (*Chapter Four: Caring for the Melancholic Body: Royal Tending Practices for the King and Country in The Winter's Tale*) shows how a singular moment of choleric anger flaring up leads to a moment of combustion and the immediate aftermath of this

[34] Laroche also argues that Shakespeare juxtaposes these university-educated, powerful, and wealthy men against magical women whose power is similarly tied to rurality, matriarchal knowledge, the elements, and experiential training. Examples include *The Tempest* and *Macbeth* (see pp. 111-121).

[35] For a longer discussion on this topic, see Pettigrew's *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Narratives on the Early Modern English Stage*.

dire humoral imbalance. In response to this medical and spiritual degradation of Leontes, Paulina's exact kind of blended care is necessary for the healing of king and country.

Though perhaps naturally choleric, King Leontes is set against the cold, dry, melancholic season of winter, placed in a more northern location[36], and his age makes him more inclined to melancholy. Shakespeare creates a complex contrast between Leontes' choleric anger and the circumambient melancholy so that he moves just as quickly into a state of melancholy where his spent rage results in a physical, mental, and behavioral burnout (coined "melancholy adust").[37] Leontes is unable to temper his quick anger and regain homeostasis, which makes him and the Sicilian body politic unbalanced and intemperate for a prolonged period (Evans 133). After accusing his wife and close friend of having an affair, Leontes begins to throw out suspicions that his children (one born and one on the way) are hereditarily not his own. Such suspicion clouds his judgment, and he is resistant to the guidance and advice of his wife's attendant, Paulina. Leontes accuses Paulina of black magic and attempts to frame her help as not only hindrance, but direct manipulation on his wife's behalf.

From there, this chapter investigates how melancholy operates over a period of sixteen years and leaves king and country vulnerable to a great deal of influence and potential ruin.[38] As

[36] There are a few theories to support the idea that Sicily is the more northern location in *The Winter's Tale*. The first is Thomas Hanmer's suggestion in 1744 that Bohemia was a misinterpretation of Bithynia, which was located in Asia Minor. With this in mind, Sicily would have been located north of Asia Minor and Bohemia's attributed coastline would have made sense within in the play (something that was thought a laughable mistake by Shakespeare). The second theory was put forth in 1891 by Edmund Oscar von Lippman which argued that Bohemia was a colloquial name for Apulia. A southern part of Italy, Apulia would have been geographically under "Sicily" in Shakespeare's play. An alternative theory is that because Shakespeare inverted where Leontes and Polixenes rule (Greene's *Pandosto* places Leontes in Bohemia and Polixenes in Sicily, though with different character names), Leontes is naturally choleric and fiery from initially being from Bohemia, but Shakespeare's inversion places him out of his humor and into a more northern (geographically) space.

[37] For more on melancholy adust, see Chapter Three and Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[38] Pettigrew argues that *The Winter's Tal*e focuses in on case studies, much like medieval medical texts, so that Shakespeare can create justified beliefs and to provide examples of strategies for rational thought (21-22).

the king suffers, so, too, does his country's body politic suffer from his melancholic mind, his general apathy and remorse, and his inability to remarry and reproduce. Leontes' melancholic madness, a type of melancholy neither fashionable nor performative, consumes him and he must rely on the same person that he resisted in the first part of the play, Paulina. This chapter then explores the ways in which Paulina's embodiment of Shakespeare's many medical figures allow her access to Leontes as caregiver, practitioner, spiritual advisor, and much more. By using her white magic, experience, Galenic and Paracelsian backgrounds, and learned matrilineal knowledge, Paulina can craft a tailored approach to caring for and healing Leontes. Such a nuanced approach is necessary, however, as melancholy was thought to be the most complex of the humors and its resulting illnesses were difficult to completely address without a plethora of means at the healer's disposal.

Though the need for such nuanced healing seems necessary, Jonson's works offer a critical eye on how those medical needs quickly morph into marketplace opportunities. *The Alchemist* features Subtle, the known Paracelsian alchemical doctor. Subtle often relies on the evidence in front of him to diagnose a patient, and his cures rely on addressing these symptoms. Surly, a gamester, accuses Subtle of being too reliant on what is in front of him to trick and cheat his patients:

> What else are all your terms,
> Whereon no one o' your writers agree with other?
> Of your elixir, your *lac virginis,*
> Your stone, your medicine, and your chrysosperm,
> Your sal, your Sulphur, and your mercury,
> Your oil of height, your tree of life, your blood,
> Your marcasite, your tutty, your magnesia,

Your toad, your crow, your dragon, and your panther,
Your sun, your moon, your firmament, your adrop,
Your lato, azoch, zernich, chibrit, heautarit,
And then, your red man, and your white woman,
With all your broths, your menstrues, and materials,
Of piss, and egg-shells, women's terms, man's blood,
Hair o' the head, burnt clouts, chalk, merds, and clay,
Powder of bones, scalings of iron, glass,
And worlds of other strange ingredients,
Would burst a man to name? (2.3.182-97)[39]

Surly is drawing on the physicality of Paracelsian knowledge and showing the "stuff" and materiality that Subtle depends on to understand and treat people. The mentions of alchemical, earthy components ("chalk", "azoch", "scalings of iron"), external bodily factors ("men's blood", "menstrues") and the planetary information ("your sun, your moon") are all references to the "evidence" required by this physician to diagnose and understand patients. However, a great deal of experience and intuition was inherent to these medical practices since they were highly subjective measures of health and treatment.

Additionally, folk healing was based on similar principles where herbals and personal knowledge of the ill person provided more information about cure and restoration than anything else. In this scene, Jonson is emphasizing the shift away from traditional Galenic medicine to more experimental medicine by Paracelsius.[40] Alternatively, Paracelsian medicine uses far more interdisciplinary practices that draw on a wealth of evidence and then use this information to

[39] This dissertation uses Ben Jonson, *Five Plays*, edited by G.A. Wilkes, Oxford's World Classics, Oxford University Press, reissue 2009 for all references to *Every Man In His Humour*, *Bartholomew Fair*, and *The Alchemist*.

[40] The Galenic model includes observing a patient and hearing accounts of their temperament and changes and then using this information along with some basic sensory information (e.g., urine and complexion) to balance the humors through regimens, herbals, and bloodletting.

supply the afflicted with metals, elixirs, poisons, caustic chemicals, and other material objects.[41] That being said, these components in Paracelsian practice also rely heavily on the humors and Jonson is also critiquing here the marketplace of goods that Subtle must rely on, which means his practice is driven by materiality and goods. As a result, his medical assistance comes at a hefty cost because he uses all of the items Surly lists off.[42] The performativity and fashionability of Paracelsian alchemy, then, becomes a means of entertainment, as easily found at a hawker's stall as hot pies, greasy pork, and cheap beer.

This project will shed important light on the broader conversation around Galenic theory's stability through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries alongside rural and supernatural methodologies and the inevitable changes created by new medical and scientific thinkers like Paracelsus. As this adaptive model fluctuated, a tangible and therefore readable shift took place around early modern conceptions about the body, internality, and the connection between human (microcosm) and the environment (macrocosm). Though this shift over time is subtle, creators and audiences could easily see the ideologies develop as the works slowly began to incorporate these innovations and reflect them on the stage. In turn, these theories influenced the conceptualization of dramatic works in ways such as their plot development and characterization. As a result, the changing humoral landscape becomes a complex space for the examination and critique of other social changes (Harris 77-80). Though scholars like Claire Preston and Jonathan Gil Harris have opened up this line of inquiry, this dissertation aims to thread the humors and their cultural impacts into this burgeoning field of study. Additionally,

[41] See Lindemann's *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* for a concise history on the differences between Galenic and Paracelsian theories and practices (pp. 12-20).
[42] There is also the notion that many of these materials could be poisonous to the body, which presented an even greater problem.

this dissertation aims to show specifically how Jonson and Shakespeare use the humors to demonstrate the wide-ranging dramatic interpretation of this early modern theory that took hold of far more than medicine. I plan to show how Shakespeare's demystification tends to be probative, frequently tentative, and often simultaneously done as he stages humoral realities for the audience. Similarly, I plan to show that Jonson's demystification is more robust and direct, which may not immediately suggest that he disregards the humoral theory, but that he aims to continuously critique its cultural displays. In doing so, the dissertation will argue that the playwrights actually share a great deal more when it comes to their lines of inquiry, skepticism, and critique to the point that both demystify the humors in their works. The idea that Shakespeare and Jonson align in their thinking and work is not entirely new, however, making this claim in relation to how they both approach and use the humoral theory is distinct in the field.

*****

In an effort to knit the larger critiques and commentaries from Jonson and Shakespeare together with specific readings and moments of textual analysis, the dissertation is crafted with its own humoral logic. The first chapter, focusing on Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, looks at the phlegmatic humor with its cold and wet qualities and its connection to the Macbeths, the Scottish environment (i.e., air and water), and the occult. Chapter Two moves from Scotland back to the heart of London and focuses on Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*. Retaining the focus on moisture from Chapter One, this second chapter discusses the sanguine temperament (hot and wet) and connects it to broader discussions of the marketplace and shifting English economics, religious excessiveness, and the consumption of goods and bodies with a specific eye toward flesh and blood. Chapters One and Two also emphasize the "symbolic resonances of the past" of real

locations tied to the first few years of King James I's ascension to the English throne and both draw on primary accounts (e.g., Office of the Revels' documents) of political, religious, and theatrical movements for rich analysis (Harris 110).

Chapter Two's argument about overconsumption then leads naturally to Chapter Three's focus on Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* and the choleric humor. The young choleric men in *Every Man in His Humour* not only culturally consume, but they are consumed by their hot, dry anger to the point that they embody the fiery element driving their excessiveness. This third chapter continues to look at the developing economics of London by critiquing the use of tobacco as both a medical cure and a bad habit. This chapter also speaks to the fashionability and manifestation of the humors whereby Jonson casts doubt on the effectiveness of early modern medical theory. Once the choler and anger have built up enough, the fourth chapter emphasizes the physical and mental burnout, which results in melancholy–specifically melancholy adust–and its cold, dry qualities, and its earthly element.

Chapter Four explores Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, melancholic madness, and female healing practices in the period that were prime for caring for an ill king. Much like chapter three, this fourth chapter speaks to the influence of fashion on the humors and the tensions of the changing medical landscape between the educated practitioners and the rural, trained at-home healers. However, Chapter Four also brings us back in the humoral logic to the first chapter since it discusses the humoral connections between microcosm (king) and macrocosm (country). The dissertation is also bookended by the two chapters' focus on the humoral quality of cold and the link between the period's thinking around white (*The Winter's Tale*) and black magic (*Macbeth*). Both the first and final chapter also analyze a multitude of

care and cure practices to address the tailored humoral dynamics that Shakespeare creates in his later plays.

This dissertation is also scaffolded so that the natural flow of being out, in, and back out of one's humors is embodied in the reading of the chapters. The point here is for the reader to gain a better understanding of how the theory operated in the period and to perhaps demonstrate a sense of how the true and performed humors are always in flux. Finally, the dissertation actively uses the Shakespeare-Jonson-Jonson-Shakespeare model to discuss the connections between the playwrights as they draw on the universality of the humoral theory in their works and to foreground the broader questions they are posing.

CHAPTER ONE:

The (Geo)humoral Other in Shakespeare's Macbeth

In 1603 as King James I (King James VI of Scotland) ascended to the throne as Queen Elizabeth I's heir, many Englishmen and women became greatly interested in Scottish history, culture, and life. Allison Hobgood explains that this curiosity was met with some concern that,

> As Britain underwent radical national transformation and witnessed the ascension of a foreign-born king in James I, it became increasingly fraught with political and religious disillusionment, and fears of internal unrest and external invasion prompted xenophobic anxieties around the security of English borders and the nation's "purity." (43)

These changes were indicative of a mass confusion in England around absolutes and which truths still held, which resulted in a rise in skepticism in medicine, religion, politics, and society (Mullaney 71-72). These broader tensions were recognized by Shakespeare, whose own acting company quickly became the King's Men under King James' patronage, and part of his writerly focus was now on exploring these social and political intricacies in what is commonly known as "The Scottish Play."[43] Drawing on Raphael Holinshed's work, *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande,* Shakespeare crafted his play, *The Tragedy of Macbeth,* an exploration of strong, Scottish historical figures, whose supposed lineage gave way to King James' rule.[44] Printed in 1623 in the First Folio, this play was likely first performed around 1606. *Macbeth* is riddled with anxieties over political and social upheaval during contemporary events of the period; the play taps into the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, the growing concern over the occult and

[43] Floyd-Wilson argues that "dramatists profoundly engaged…in the discursive rearrangement of classical geohumoralism" (English Ethnicity 17).

[44] Holinshed was a notable English historical chronicler. An alternative name for the text is the Holinshed's Chronicles. There is some debate on whether this text speaks to a fictional King Duncan, featured in Macbeth, or if this was an historical king.

witchcraft, and explores the impact of the potential regicide of a new king. What looms even larger is the environmental unrest giving way to a much deeper disturbance in the political body of the state. Though focused on Scotland's body politic and how it is being shaped by outside forces from England, some reciprocal abstraction of this conceptual work can be seen operating in the background as Shakespeare considers how England will be influenced by Scotland now that James is king. Specifically, Shakespeare uses the geohumoral theory to ground the Scottishness on stage and to explore its impact on the current English throne.

Early modern practitioners and theorists utilized Galen's traditional humoral ideas extensively so that the theory became a functional medical approach used to diagnose and treat individual. In addition, the theory was utilized in popular culture to describe your own temperament and behavioral patterns.[45] They also adopted Galen's geohumoral theory, which often stigmatized and separated groups purely based on geographic location and predetermined humoral design.[46] The use of the geohumoral theory, though, transmuted in this period from its original conception since more distinct subregions were starting to develop and countries were solidifying their national identities. The geohumoral theory attributes specific predispositions to groups based on their regional location (northern, middle, and southern) within the known "world" and their environmental landscapes. Geohumoralism is a "regionally inflected humoralism, reductively construed as 'climate theory' by modern scholars, which proves to be the dominant mode of ethnic distinctions in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" and is a term coined by early modern scholar Mary Floyd-Wilson (*English Ethnicity* 1). The

[45] See Galen's "Corpus Medicorum Graecorum." *On My Own Opinions*. Akademie Verlag: Berlin, 1999.

[46] Galen's reliance on Hippocratic medical knowledge suggests a longer medical legacy behind the development of the geohumoral theory. Medical practitioners were positing behavioral and personality traits related to regionally specific influences such as weather and elemental exposure (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 27).

geohumoral theory operates on a much grander scale than the humoral theory and its scope looks at temperamental, situational, physiological, and behavioral patterns amongst groups of people and situates these patterns into a geographical framework. As a result, the geohumoral theory attempts to contextualize inner group "commonalities" in disposition through environmental factors such as exposure to the sun, elemental makeup of the air, the kinds of vapors around bodies of water, and the types of foods (crops, meat) that were successfully harvested from the land. Therefore, the geohumoral became a cognitively accessible way[47] to quickly attribute personality traits and behaviors to people in real-world social situations, which proved equally useful for playwrights developing robust characterization within the short span of a play.[48] In some ways, this geographic determinism was an understandable and predictable way to interpret human behaviors that we might consider today to be linked to psychology and personality. Thus, the geohumoral theory offered both social and professional utility to playwrights in the early modern period.

This chapter draws a great deal of its argument from the geohumoral framework outlined by Floyd-Wilson (whose broader work is inspired mainly by Gail Kern Paster) and focuses predominantly on the geohumoral identities attributed to northern groups. Specifically, Floyd-Wilson added to Paster's scholarly work on the (geo)humoral theories of the early modern period by delving into the ecocritical side of the theory and elaborating on how the geohumoral theory impacted perceptions of northerners. This chapter picks up Floyd-Wilson's argument about the northern temperament—a cooler and moister one—and aims to extend an understanding of the

[47] Most stereotypes are considered as easily accessible mental models that offer cognitive shortcuts for people's brains to take when they are in social situations. This means that, for the geohumoral theory, people could draw on their common knowledge of the region and the humors to understand and predict others (especially strangers) in social settings.

[48] As Paster puts it, the geohumoral gives individual qualities to "whole peoples" to define their humoral attributes (*Humoring the Body* 14).

difference between a general northern disposition, the Scottish geohumoral disposition, and a moderate/temperate English temperament. This chapter locates a great wealth of information on the Scottish geohumoral disposition in Shakespeare's play, *Macbeth*, and (a) uses the play to explore the geohumoral theory and (b) uses the geohumoral theory to read the play.

The tendency for writers to use geohumoral discourse for rhetorical purposes was quite popular during the period, though many adjusted the theory to align with the goals of their works. This has led to a rather varied scholarly interpretation of the geohumoral discourse and the related theory. As Floyd-Wilson argues, the distinctions between the English and Scottish were derived "in part from the elasticity of the geohumoral discourse, which allows for contradictory interpretations of temperance" (*English Ethnicity* 141). The argument that I posit about geohumoral differences between the English and the Scottish is driven by characterizations from an intersectional connection of arguments. Specifically, the arguments made by John Bellenden in *History and Chronicles of Scotland* (1540, Scottish translation), Floyd-Wilson's arguments built around Bellenden's ideas, additional scholarship on geohumoral theory patterns in literature, and a close reading of *Macbeth*. In the remainder of this chapter, I argue that Shakespeare draws on the geohumoral theory in *Macbeth* to delineate between two northern countries to suggest a dichotomy of English temperance/Scottish intemperance that complicates the blending of two distinctly different (geohumorally, politically, and socially) body politics under King James I. As a result, I will also argue that Shakespeare, by plucking at these growing anxieties and interests in the period, creates a text that can be read as a geohumorally based medical treatise that addresses how English and Scottish dispositions might reach a critical and necessary state of stasis on the microcosmic and macrocosmic levels.

Like many medical treatises of the period, this chapter begins with a close examination of the Scottish geohumoral disposition, so that we are provided with a clear and stable framework to interpret the characters, plot, and dialogue of *Macbeth*. Then, the chapter will explore potential environmental causes that push on the Scottish geohumorality and create a much larger phlegmatic imbalance and resulting symptomatology. This chapter will discuss the heavy use of the geohumoral by Shakespeare to characterize both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth as distinctly Scottish based on their naturally phlegmatic temperaments. Their geohumoral markers are established through their cultural references, the specific environmental staging, and the linguistic patterns of their dialogue (especially with each other).

This chapter will also discuss the geohumoral characterization of witches in this period and will specifically analyze the Weird Sisters as being both Scottish and otherworldly. In doing so, this chapter will address how the geohumoral theory both assists and resists the anxieties of the period around the "other." The fear of the "other" foregrounds a great deal of the works in this period, and this chapter explores where those fears stem from specifically in this Scottish play and how they might be driven by the geohumoral theory. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, the historical period lends itself to a great deal of anxiety around regicide, the invasion of others especially the occult, and fear of the political and social unknown. However, Shakespeare's use of geohumorality in *Macbeth* challenges the theory's proneness to overestimation and overapplication of the humors and their related passions such as fear. As prevalent and vehement as the geohumoral theory is in *Macbeth,* Shakespeare becomes an "irregular humorist" (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 200) in his adaptation of the (geo)humoral to develop both character and complicate plot whereas most playwrights in the period leaned heavily on the (geo)humoral theory to build character. Though Paster's work on Shakespeare and

the humors sets a solid critical bar to understand the use of the humoral theory in early modern literature, this chapter will argue that Shakespeare embraces the use of the geohumoral in *Macbeth* to distinctly explore Scottish otherness, English temperance, and to analyze the impact of the shifting, toxic environment on both the English and Scottish body politics.

Finally, the chapter will look at how *Macbeth*'s plot resolutions might be understood through common medical practices grounded in either Galenic humoral theory or Paracelsian iatrochemistry (which incorporates and extends Galen's work). As part of the humoral lexicon, Shakespeare draws on the geohumoral language to describe the phlegmatic and hard peoples of the Scottish as strikingly compared to the moderate English and uses this language to pull at fears around the evil growing in Scotland. By drawing on this lexicon, Shakespeare situates the play's ending as being either tempered through caustic practices or as being resolved through curatives based on "sameness" (Pollard 29-41). These practices highlight the growing medical and theoretical tensions around the (geo)humoral theory and reiterates the connection of temperament and environment in *Macbeth* (Closson 63-65). For example, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth are characterized by their phlegmatic nature, and so too, is Scotland geohumorally characterized by this same nature. In tandem, both the Scotland and its people become humorally imbalanced and the once-hardy country becomes prone to evil through the cold, devilish air, and the vaporous-mouthed Scottish witches. Later, as Malcolm invades Scotland, an English moderate temperament will imbalance the Scottish geohumoral disposition, though in a curative manner driven by Galenic humoral logic. I collectively use the parts of this chapter to argue that the Scottish geohumorality allows scholars, readers, and audiences to connect *Macbeth*'s spiritual and environmental emphases with the physical, social, and political issues that are foreground in the play's plot and dialogue. The geohumoral theory also informs the litany of

issues in *Macbeth* and unites them all into an anchor point for us to better grasp the many currents surrounding the real and fictional worlds that the "Scottish play" focuses on.

Geohumorality

The geohumoral is pronounced in *Macbeth* as Shakespeare foregrounds the environment in his descriptions of each setting and the elements of water, air, and blood combine to create the sense of miasma thick with phlegm in the Scottish natural landscape. The play also begins with a heavy emphasis on the outdoor locations of Scotland, including a battlefield full of Scottish warriors. This specific attention to the land and its people suggests that Shakespeare is crafting a larger geographic narrative around the kind of life hard won in Scotland. The Scottish geohumorality is best described by Pierre Charron's *Of Wisdome* (1612). Charron outlines the phlegmatic nature of "northerly people"[49] (principally Scottish, though you can also see the northern Briton as included in this description) as:

I. As to their Bodies. The Northerly People are Tall and Big, Phlegmatick, Sanguine, White or light Tawny, their Voices strong, their Skin soft and hairy, great Eaters and Drinkers, strong and robust.

II. Their Minds. Heavy, Dull, Stupid, Foolish, Credulous, easie to be imposed upon inconstant in their Humors and Opinions.

III. Their Religion. Not much addicted to Religion, cold and negligent in Devotion.

[49] Based on Charron's larger explication on geohumoral dispositions, we can infer that he is discussing Scotland and northerner Briton in his description noted above. Charron, then, is discussing middle and southern Briton in his description of temperate and middle region peoples. This inference is drawn on by other scholars, such as Floyd-Wilson in *Occult Knowledge*.

IV. Their Manners. Warlike, Valiant, Hardy, Laborious, Chaste, not apt to be Jealous, Cruel, Inhumane. (386)

Physically, Charron is describing the Scots' geohumorality as being defined by their strong statures, big appetites, pale complexions, and phlegmatic and sanguine natures. Charron also depicts the Scottish geohumorality as being driven by brutish but admirable behaviors indicative of warriors and hardworking people but complicates this by suggesting they are rather slow witted and simple in their intelligence. Charron's use of "robust," "hardy," "cold," and "inconstant" points towards environmental indicators that tie the Scottish people's temperaments to their fluctuating, harsh climate, and the harder, pastoral lifestyle they must live to survive in it.

Charron goes on the explain the geohumoral logic behind the manners and dispositions of men:

> Look upon the First in Regard to War, and it is most evident, that Numerous Armies, Military Arts and Discipline, Engines, and Instruments, and Inventions of this Kind, are Originaly deriv'd from the North. The Nations which set out from thence, *Scythians,* and *Goths,* and *Vandals,* and *Hunns,* and *Tartars,* and *Turks,* and *Germans;* These have fought, and subdued all other Nations, and ravag'd the whole World. The Devastations they made, and the Barbarities they exercised, gave Occasion to that Proverb, That *all Evil came out of the North.* Duels, and set Combats, are deriv'd from Them. *Solinus* says, the Northern Nations Worship the Blade of a Sword, stuck down into the Earth. Other People have not been able to Conquer them; Not even the *Romans,* who vanquished the rest of the World, but were Themselves overcome and destroy'd by Them. It is remarkable, that the South Wind makes them Weak and Faint, and that in Proportion as they advance nearer the South, they Degenerate and grow Feeble; and so just contrary,

> The Southern Nations, when they move Northward, improve their Constitutions, and feel themselves grow much more Hardy and Strong. (389)

The environmental and phlegmatic emphasis in Charron's statement creates a clear connection between how the Scottish are viewed through their historical roots of northern warrior behavior and the climatic influences on the body that they endure by living in the north. As for the Scottish geohumorality around the difference in mind, Charron states, "We know very well, that Mechanical Improvements, and most Laborious and Handicraft Arts come out of the North, where the People are remarkable for indefatigable Industry, and Toil" (387). The labor performed by the Scots, in this case, demonstrate their lower intelligence (lacking in scholarship), their proclivity for manual labor and crafting, and their industrious nature. These inclinations towards physical work makes them slower in wit compared to the south, but nonetheless valuable to the greater world because of their contributions to the marketplace.

This geohumorality manifests in *Macbeth*'s opening scenes through the focus on the country's tumultuous weather, the men in battle, and the harsh witches and warriors. By drawing on the Scottish geohumorality early on, Shakespeare substantiates the Scottish, not English, identity first in the play (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 58-61). In doing so, the geohumoral theory becomes a kind of strong functional character within the play since at key moments individual human characters use these tropes to assess each other rapidly in a scene and predict action and reaction outcomes. The same use of the geohumoral would have also likely been used by the audience; geohumoral descriptors trigger assumptions and predictions on what might happen to a specific character or how a particular plot might unfold. For example, if a character has a natural predisposition to react angrily based on their humoral makeup, then the play's other characters and the audience members alike can use the geohumoral theory to imagine what will

stereotypically take place in a scene when a character from a specific region confronts his cheating lover. We see an example of this in Shakespeare's later work, *The Winter's Tale*, where Leontes' accusations (contextualized geohumorally by him being Sicilian and thus a mix of naturally choleric and sanguine) and harsh punishment of Hermione are far more shocking to a modern audience that likely misses the humoral signposting Shakespeare provides early in the play.[50] Similarly, Shakespeare's Othello is constantly associated with witchcraft, charms, and magical spells that are intricately linked to his Moorish background and his haughty temperament which is thought to stem from his far southern geographic birthplace and darker skin. Though Othello's murder of Desdemona is situationally irrational to those inside and outside of the play, his actions are humorally coherent given that he's quick to anger or choler based on his hot and dry predisposition. In both cases, Shakespeare exaggerated use of the (geo)humoral to explain the extreme reactions by Leontes and Othello suggests that the playwright invited the audience to critically assess the theory's use in society to justify behaviors. Given the fluctuating circumstances for both Leontes and Othello concerning their wives, can we truly explain or even dismiss their violence based on their "nature" or how we assume they will act because of their humoral state?

As Paster states,

> Feeding one's humor, declaring one's humorality or lack of humorality, is…a complex social performance that relies upon the stern facts of bodily obduracy for its rhetorical persuasiveness and material power. But, as Shylock and others discover, humoral strategies do not always carry the day in a contest between bodily obduracy and the social

[50] A more developed discussion of this temperament occurs in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

> hierarchy. To be in one's humor or out of it is not always in a man's power to decide. (*Humoring the Body* 243).

Here, Paster is suggesting that the period's assumption of the unbending nature of the physical body suggests an equally resistant behavior for each person, and that this humoral "code" is embedded within a much larger social context. By knowing one's body and claiming its humoral identity, a person or character can perform based on a humoral expectation. Such strategy is not only socially functional for a person, as it allows them to maximize the optimal benefits related to their claimed humoral identity, but it also functions to explain potentially bad behaviors, social pitfalls, and indulgent behaviors. It is Paster's mention of "social performance" that offers the most productive conversation in response to the question above. Though audiences cannot dismiss Leontes' and Othello's violence based on their humorality alone, they can rely on it to at least partially account for their irrational responses to the women they supposedly love beyond measure. The humoral, then, cues the characters to expect certain things. Both characters appear to socially perform their "declared humors" or the humoral temperament that others seem to know them for displaying. This connection suggests a powerful intersection of nature and nurture through a character's natural disposition being displayed through a social performance based on social expectations. Though likely born with a specific humoral disposition, society has also prescribed behaviors and tendencies related to these humors to individuals, which means that both the personality and psychology of a person and their environment pulls weight in how these humors develop and are expressed through behaviors, language, and much more. Humoral theory posited that the brain, body, and world were all connected such that "psychophysiological openness to external influences is not optional" and instead the humors are viewed as an inevitable factor in how a human develops and lives their life (Sutton 15). This line of thinking is

suggestive of reciprocal causation where the world and body impact each other like the internal and external factors influencing each other.[51] The interplay of humoral situation and paired humoral state creates a rich humoral quagmire when set within theatrical dynamics.[52]

The geohumoral theory also allows a logic to build around violent and oppressive actions that are based on a theoretical understanding that specific racial and ethnic groups are prone to having imbalanced humors or an incorrect humoral makeup.[53] Floyd-Wilson, in *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*, argues that:

> systematically assigning regional qualities offers a discourse in which to elevate English temperance. Methodically and randomly assigning attributes to groups of people simply based on region is deeply troubling because it leads to inaccurate, incomplete, and prejudiced portrayals, suggesting humanity is monolithic. Given that these ethnography markers were used as justification for enslavement and colonialism, they should be critiqued as part of establishing a systematic hierarchy amongst people groups, wherein Middlers[54] perpetuated their superiority via self-defined markers of difference. (66)

This statement highlights the potentially dangerous impact of the geohumoral theory within society and complicates our understanding of the theory by suggesting that English temperance

[51] Philosopher Andy Clark created the term "continuous reciprocal causation" for this humoral cycle (qtd. in Paster, *Humoring the Body* 150).

[52] Since the meaning of the term quagmire is a "soft boggy area of land that often gives way underfoot," this seemed all too fitting for a rather marshy set of circumstances that allows for an individual to sink further into their humorality. It should also be noted that this "perfect storm" of humors might be another way to think about the genres of comedies of error and comedies of humors; the comical form stems from the specific convergence of characters' humors and the humoral situation in a play.

[53] Incorrect humoral makeup, in this context, means that their natural dispositions do not match with their environment.

[54] Floyd-Wilson is using "Middlers" here to discuss the English (those in the middle of more extreme regions and geohumoral dispositions).

was idealized and considered the norm. Geohumoral theory was not only used for what Floyd-Wilson calls, "inaccurate, incomplete, and prejudiced portrayals," but also for a much larger imperializing mission that was developing in this period. This suggests that the geohumoral theory operated on the microcosmic level of characterizing temperament and justified human behaviors, and that it also operated on a macrocosmic level to develop a country's national identity and justified actions such as "enslavement and colonialism."

To revisit the example provided in the introduction from Shakespeare's *Othello,* coded descriptors are used to suggest that Othello's race is intrinsically linked with a choleric humoral temperament and explains his violent and rash behavior in the play through this theory. It also allows Iago a specific disposition to manipulate and exploit in Othello. In one character, Shakespeare uses the humoral to both justify the actions of Othello as mentioned above and to confirm and support the presumed audience's stereotypical understanding of Othello's nature "as a Moor." The violence enacted by Othello is explained—to an extent—and the violence enacted towards Othello is equally explained—to an extent—by Shakespeare's use of geohumoral characterization through his humors and passions. However, this situation shows that Shakespeare invites the audience to consider how valid the geohumoral theory is in defending the violence enacted by Othello and against him. As Paster states, "the passions served as a powerful, if broad, focus for thinking about the relations between inside and outside, between bodily interiority and the phenomenal object world, between self and other even when the other is a servant, woman, or a cat" ("Melancholy Cats" 243). Thus, the geohumoral theory becomes a socially acceptable way of othering in this period. At times, Othello is Venetian enough to pass, but in other situations, he is clearly othered. Thus, a "naturalization" (Paster, "Melancholy Cats"

207) developed around anger and hate, and the theory's use reflects a general anxiety over the geographically, racially, and ethnically different.

As tensions grew between national identities, the geohumoral theory became a complex lens for individuals and groups to view themselves through as they navigated extensive political networks and a growing number of geographical explorations. Though a failed attempt at colonizing America in 1585 had already taken place, England was still developing its own imperial aspirations with the understanding that new lands offered more access to goods, services, people, and economies. Geohumoralism reinscribes English identity onto its people as it draws its logic from the English land and environment to substantiate the claim that an English humoral balance is temperate. England, compared to other regions in the world such as Italy, becomes an embodiment of moderation based on its geographic location and its climate.[55] However, other geohumoral theories that decentered England and placed it as a northern region (like Pierre Charron's work, discussed earlier), placed stock in the idea that, since England was surrounded by water and its people were islanders, northern English people were considered to have spongy brains and a resulting inconstant behavior and mutability (Sutton 15). On the global stage, the English were thought to be intemperate, and it was posited that English bodies and brains were thought to be "excessively porous," and their boundaries were far more vulnerable than other ethnic groups, which made them vulnerable to outside influence and even travel (Sutton 14). Such contrasting geohumoral theories are difficult to reconcile, though it's most understandable that ethnic groups placed themselves as the middled, temperate ideal humoral temperament as they placed other ethnic groups on more extreme geohumoral terms based on

[55] See Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern England*, for a longer conversation on other geographic locations and related geohumoralities.

their relative geographical location. In this way, countries were able to filter ethnography through their "own temporal and spatial perspective" as they crafted their own historical narratives and national identities based on a broader theoretical psychosociomedical model of human behavior, interaction, and disposition (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 33).

As the English detached from the Mediterranean and from Rome religiously, there was a development of racialism in the period and a clear delineation of "in" and "out" groups.[56] The English developed a new identity away from Catholicism, which was spurred on by anxiety and pride over their northern positionality and their past marginalization within a broader world context.[57] This meant the English would need to craft their own lineage, genealogy, and English history that incorporated the development of the English church (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 14-15). In response, popular writers—even those who were not English—in the period such as Thomas Walkington, Thomas Nashe, Thomas Proctor, and Jean Bodin wrote about the English as being mild, temperate people and reflected a growing temperance rhetoric when describing England and its people.[58] This rhetoric is derived from a stable, balanced, and moderate sensibility that connotes a larger propensity for moral "goodness." Jean Bodin, for example, portrayed the English as chaste in their drinking, eating, and even sexual appetites.[59] This moderate ideal is particularly emphasized as England breaks from the Roman Catholic

[56] This is a term borrowed from psychology scholarship where in groups represent the accepted norm and out groups are marginalized, excluded, and silenced away from the "in group" norm.

[57] Part of this marginalization comes from the idea that England's intemperate climate bred intemperate people and that these people could never achieve a balanced, temperate health.

[58] Bodin, being French, appears to also conceptualize the English in this manner because it still placed the French on top of the humoral hierarchy as being more sanguine. Further, Bodin's understanding of the English as temperate might be driven by a French Catholic understanding that the humors were meant to fluctuate and the goal was to balance them, but that it was a Protestant ideal to be temperate in humoral nature.

[59] This was a strategic move on Bodin's part since many other geohumoral explanations of England focused on their lavish eating and drinking and their lewd sexual behavior compared to other ethnicities. However, it might also have been strategic as it portrayed the English as lacking passion, vivacious appetites, and taste compared to the French.

Church under Henry VIII and accusations are hurled at Catholicism for being too sensuous, overly indulgent, and immodest.[60] Part of establishing this geohumorally based English identity also meant breaking down Catholic land holds (churches) in order to reclaim English land and to simplify back to the naturalness of English religious sites. By relying on these premises, the use of the geohumoral theory simultaneously strengthens English national identity as it perpetuates the humoral and moral inferiority of other nationalities.[61] However, geohumorality might also represent the rather complex process of alleviating cognitive dissonance for the English, which is represented in *Figure 4* (Appendix B).

The process described in *Figure 4* (Appendix B) demonstrates not only the shifts in thinking around geohumorality in this period, but also offers insight into the developing trends in literature and drama to utilize geohumorality for characterization and plot. As playwrights are exploring the utility of the (geo)humoral theory in their works, they are also able to use the stage to investigate how the theory works in specific plot circumstances (e.g., a phlegmatic character placed in a phlegmatic environment but is exposed to an increasing level of choler). In addition, their works probe much larger conceptualizations of the body and mind of individuals, groups, and societies. The focus on verbal and visual descriptions of geohumorality become popularized onstage and lend themselves to a complex understanding of the developing relationship between the two distinct body politics of England and Scotland.

[60] A further analysis of this period in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* will take place in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[61] This is not to suggest that the geohumoral theory did not support the formation of other national identities since the theory was widespread and offered numerous countries their own humoral benefits. However, it does seem that the geohumoral theory was heavily utilized by the English (especially, for the purposes of this paper, English playwrights).

Scottish Geohumorality

Returning to Pierre Charron's condensed description of Scottish geohumorality as valiant and laborious, dull and foolish, and rooted in a physicality driven by the difficult environment of the north, Shakespeare's "Scottish" play, becomes even more pronounced in its Scottishness for how it depicts the two central characters of the play, Lady Macbeth and Macbeth. In very different ways, Shakespeare marks Lady Macbeth and Macbeth as distinctly Scottish in their physical appearances, their phlegmatic temperaments, and their susceptibility to the Scottish environmental influences that exacerbate their geohumoralities. This northern barbarism was thought, by many, to come from the harsh, pastoral, intemperate environment of Scotland and this environment was thought to breed a resulting virtue and temperance in its people (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 57).[62] On a broader level, authors from the period wrote that all Britons had excessive phlegm as a symptom of this harder environment, which resulted in bodily strength and sincere behavior, but that the Scottish—being further north than the English—were the most phlegmatic (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 13). Similarly, it was thought that a cold environment often found in the north caused a fullness of blood in the body, which was related to courage, excess moisture, and sluggish behavior. Saint Albertus Magnus, mainly writing in the thirteenth century, described northerners as "bold with fiery hearts" (106), as having "customs wolfish" (104), and that their bodies were "heavy and well fleshed" (104). Lady Macbeth's own demeanor appears to be bold and fiery throughout the early acts of the play, and her constant attention to atypical Scottish child rearing practices rings of "wolfish customs" that Albert claims mark the northerners out from their southern neighbors. Centuries later, Thomas Walkington's *The Opticke Glasse of Humors* would draw on the same geohumoral theory as Albert, though

[62] See also, Floyd-Wilson, "English Mettle," *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, edited by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 130-147.

with a far more pro-English representation, to develop the idea that sanguine (fiery and bold) and phlegmatic (heavy and wolfish) humoral dispositions that northerners were more likely to express were worthier than melancholic and choleric temperaments. In Shakespeare's works, phlegmatic characters would specifically be characterized as flaxen, pale, slow or sluggish, and not alert at times, which maps directly onto some of the aforementioned northern and even Scottish geohumoral descriptions of the period (Draper 31-33). This geohumorality for northerners immediately centers their temperaments as superior to choleric and melancholic geohumoralities. This centers England and even Scotland over other geohumoralities coming from places in the Mediterranean in early modern writing, and therefore establishes an overt dispositional understanding of northerners in Shakespeare's plays.

The northern geohumorality is also one rooted in overt masculinity and physicality that perhaps reflects a longer standing connection of Britons to the Trojans. Hector Boece and Edmund Spenser alike focused their writings on these Scottish warrior qualities and ethnological purity, maintained through Scottish mothers nursing their sons, as significant markers of how the Scots differed from the English.[63] The land of Scotland and Scottish wombs became synonymous representations of cruel, excessive, wild natural spaces that bred equally ruthless, robust people (Kenny 12). Drawing on Trojan and Viking historical narratives, the Scottish geohumorality suggests a disposition that is strong, resilient, and focused more on the body than the brain.[64] Thus, a Scottish geohumorality is one defined by its environmental elements such as the miasmic air (mist and fog), the natural landscape, and the substantial amount of blood, air, and moisture

[63] For Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* is influenced heavily by Scottish characterizations and historical representations of Scottish warriors in Book V. This book was banned briefly for its anti-Scottish depictions, including the creation of Duessa as a surrogate representation of Mary Queen of Scots.

[64] This is in comparison to the period's descriptions of melancholic characters whose disposition is far more focused on the state and ability of the mind. Unlike melancholic thinkers and philosophers, phlegmatic Scots were more likely to rely on their bodies and physical abilities to handle matters.

bubbling over and combining in the surrounding countryside.[65] Scottish geohumorality correlates strongly with the general "northern" geohumorality, though it is often exaggerated and more extreme when applied to the Scots. King James applied this geohumoral model within Scotland, and as a result, he considered Highlanders as wilder and more brutal compared to their temperate Lowlander neighbors. This difference was explained by their susceptibility to the harsher environment and the weather-related distinctions between the two regions. However, these same Scots were considered the intemperate neighbors to their southern English neighbors based on the far more temperate, mild climate of England. Thus, the "body [was always] in reciprocal relationship with the atmosphere" and the previously mentioned shifting geohumoral center allowed for a fluctuating theoretical model to develop along a continuum (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 66).

Lady Macbeth is framed as a harsh woman whose loyalty and support for her husband's ambition takes precedence over the expected softer, feminine qualities that most would ascribe to a queen, though Lady Macbeth certainly demonstrates her own ambitions.[66] She embodies a more masculine, brutish, and phlegmatic Scottish figure in this play as she plots violent acts and shows no sign of immediate regret during the process.[67] Her valorous tongue and her seemingly wicked spirits are associated with a harder type of woman most often connected to a difficult and laborious lifestyle rooted in the land of Scotland. For example, when she responds to Macbeth's inability to enact the necessary violence on King Duncan, she states, "Hie thee hither, / That I

[65] Paster argues that "In a firm and socially fixed body, it is the proportions of blood and air that express its particular ethical and moral weight" (*Humoring the Body* 229). Thus, these two elements will be of particular focus in this chapter and the subsequent chapter.

[66] Floyd-Wilson argues that the presentation of Lady Macbeth as this harsh woman early in the play frames an equally harsh interpretation of her character by audiences and critics and that most of the attention has been paid to Lady Macbeth as a negative character because of this framing ("English Epicures" 153-156).

[67] Later, Lady Macbeth will demonstrate through her sleepwalking and incessant handwashing a clear remorse for her actions or at the very least a rumination over her actions.

may pour my spirits in thine ear / And chastise with the valor of my tongue/ All that impedes thee from the golden round" (1.5.23-26). Lady Macbeth's invocation of spirits reminds us of the supernatural elements in the play and the fluid nature of evil that the Weird Sisters establish as they often call on the air and water to do their bidding. Like the witches, Lady Macbeth wants to inspire Macbeth to action so that he will kill Duncan and take the throne for their family. In doing so, Lady Macbeth desires to remove her own warriorlike courage in the form of liquid spirits and pour them into Macbeth's porous opening (his ear). Since Scotland is full of "pneumatic ecologies of spirits and fluids" (Sutton 19), Lady Macbeth, like all Scots, is influenced by the cold, wet, and potentially evil landscape she lives in. This environment, paired with the Scottish geohumorality, indicates a predominantly phlegmatic disposition, which explains her valorous tongue and penchant for brutal resolutions (i.e., killing Duncan).

Shakespeare packs a great deal of geohumoral framing into short lines from Lady Macbeth and they carry a great deal of weight in developing her character as unmistakably Scottish. Lady Macbeth's performative masculinity ("Come, you spirits, / That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here" 1.5.38-39) is grounded[68] in Scottish geohumorality and the understanding that her excessive temperament is a byproduct of her positionality within the excessive Scottish environment and her interactions with it. The geohumoral theory, when applied to Scottish women, argued that they, too, were warrior women that were a product of their harsher climate and laborious work. By unsexing Lady Macbeth, in this moment, her Scottishness and femaleness are collapsed to explain her body's interactions with the surrounding environment. Lady Macbeth is now an amalgam of her queenly body, her physical female body, and her Scottish body, which means that her corporeal forms are blended and thus

[68] As in grounded to the earth or soil of Scotland.

linked to the environment that shapes it. The phlegmatic nature of Scotland is mirrored threefold as a woman (prone to being more phlegmatic), a Scot, and a Scottish woman (considered doubly phlegmatic by humoral standards because of the interaction). This moment also draws a link between the Weird Sisters and Lady Macbeth; both the witches and the queen are potentially ambiguous in the presentation of their gender, and they are all lacking in recognizably feminine qualities. For comparison, Banquo describes the Weird Sisters as "You should be women, / And yet your beards forbid me to interpret / That you are so" (1.3.46-48). Such genderless others would have been thought, in the early modern period, to be directly connected to the devil. These descriptors of the Weird Sisters and Lady Macbeth align the characters with each other, and they juxtapose a clearly gendered interpretation of witchcraft alongside a genderless physicality of their corporeal beings. This juxtaposition establishes all four women in the play as others within the Scottish environment as they no longer carry desirable womanly qualities. The use of the Scottish geohumoral framing also seems to allow for a larger interpretation of the connection between Lady Macbeth and the witches; living a brutal life in Scotland breeds unnatural Scottish women that are too masculine.

Lady Macbeth also connects herself to the earth-based occult spirits, which are distinguishably Scottish from other kinds of evil-doing spirits. References to the environment and its elements such as the mist, fog, and air links Lady Macbeth to her country, and aligns her with evil and reminds the audience of the Weird Sisters. For example, she is associated early on with witchcraft as she calls to the spirits and the "thick night" (1.5.48) in similar linguistic patterns as the Weird Sisters. Scholars have been interested in Lady Macbeth's connections to the witches and if the Weird Sisters might be apparitions of her creation sent forth to persuade

her husband to take the Scottish throne.[69] This connection, whether substantially made or briefly echoed from time to time in the play, suggests a broader argument around Scottish geohumorality. Unlike other witches, Scottish witches were thought to manifest their magic mainly in miasma, the weather, and ritualistic spell casting. Spells and curses were often thought of as "word medicines" and medical spells relied on letters and syllables as physicals that "interact directly with the body" (Pollard 171). The potential power associated with Lady Macbeth's ability to take abstract words to produce a tangible, material consequence on and over the body creates an anxiety in the play that mirrors the historical anxieties many people felt around word medicines. Not only is Lady Macbeth situated within the Scottish geohumorality, but she is temperamentally and behaviorally defined by her similarities to the witches.

These moments where Lady Macbeth actively engages with Scotland's elemental forces (considered pneumatic, here), which she calls spirits, also highlight the environmental and elemental tendencies that Scottish women were thought to have in addition to their phlegmatic geohumoral natures. Pneuma is Greek for wind of life, which suggests an airy environment that breeds life and spirits in Scotland (Paster, "Becoming the Landscape" 8-9). Winds were thought to be the body's passions set outdoors; the passions take shape as elemental form in the greater environment. Such ideas are drawn from Greek ideas about the wind's impact on the body; the wind influenced everything from desires, geography, and even destiny (Paster, "Becoming the Landscape" 138). If the wind is an "instrument of fate" designed to guide everything it comes into contact within the environment, then Lady Macbeth's reliance on the Scottish environment to do her bidding and to empower her demonstrates the reciprocal nature that the land has on her

[69] For examples, see Joanna Levin's article, "Lady MacBeth and the Daemonologie of Hysteria," *ELH*, Spring, 2002, vol. 69, no. 1, pp. 21-55 and Dennis Biggin's article, "Sexuality, Witchcraft, and Violence in Macbeth," *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 8, 1976, pp. 255-277.

body and her bodily role in the Scottish nature. As such, Lady Macbeth is both a product and a process of Scottish geohumorality and uses her northern disposition as an advantage to complete the tasks that need doing to give her husband the throne. Further, her inherent ties to the supernatural and environmental aspects of Scotland reinscribe her character as a geohumorally Scottish.

This larger geohumoral reading about Scottish women and witches then offers insight into Lady Macbeth's later requests that the spirits, "Make thick my blood" (1.5.41), and "Come to my woman's breasts / And take my milk for gall" (1.5.45-46). These are humoral references that would have immediately cued the audience to understand Lady Macbeth's broader Scottish geohumorality. By calling on the spirits to make her blood thick, Lady Macbeth is requesting that her body become imbalanced from its typical Scottish geohumorality. Since Scots were thought to be more phlegmatic, a thickening of the blood (the most noble and important of bodily humors), Lady Macbeth is inviting her body to experience dyscrasia—a "bad mixture" of humors—when her Scottish phlegmatic temperament interacts with an excess of blood.[70] She is also potentially harming her body and blocking its natural humoral flow when she asks the spirits to "Stop up th'access" (1.5.42) with this thicker blood. Though the Scottish geohumorality that undergirds the main Scottish characters is situated in the humor of phlegm, it is also embedded in the larger cultural context of Scotland's spirits, witches, and environmental sickness that most in this period believed ailed the country. Lady Macbeth is also drawing attention to the cool and moist qualities of her body that influence and are influenced by the airy spirits and wet land that surround her in Scotland. Such phlegmatic qualities are present both internally and externally in Lady Macbeth. Further, this moment demonstrates how the humoral fluids might transform in

[70] This is a hyper-sanguine state where thicker blood meant more blood because of the sheer volume.

the body such that Lady Macbeth's breastmilk becomes gall or bile to the spirits so that they can nourish themselves. The offering of her breastmilk to feed the demons suggests that she is attuned to the supernatural and/or that she is willing to sacrifice her body for a greater gain in Scotland (her husband sitting on the throne as ruler). She might also be suggesting that bile is merely a transitory fluid in the body that does not nourish humans but would provide substance for the "murd'ring ministers" (1.5. 46) that she and her husband will need operating on their side to overthrow the current king. To suggest that her own breastmilk, derived from blood, becomes gall to feed these spirits figures Lady Macbeth as a mother of the occult and simultaneously others her from the normed feminine, queenly body she should possess in the play.

Now with an unsexed body, galled breastmilk, and figuration as a mother of Scottish spirits, Lady Macbeth is further situated as geohumorally Scottish by her views on motherhood. Similar to her hard understanding of the world, she notes that her role as a wife supplants her role as a mother and that the oaths she swears to him automatically supersede any motherly affection and protection she is supposed to feel for a child. In Act 1, Scene 7, Lady Macbeth forcefully states:

> I have given suck and know
>
> How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me;
>
> I would, while it was smiling in my face,
>
> Have plucked my nipple from his boneless gums
>
> And dashed the brains out, had I so sworn as you
>
> Have done to this. (1.7.54-59)

Her confession that she would murder her own child ("I have given suck" suggests that she has given birth before and breastfed the child) should her husband ask her to do it is a shocking one. However, the confession also suggests a hardness found in noble Scottish women; though they are caring enough to personally breastfeed their children, they are also willing to uphold their loyalty to their word ("had I so sworn"). This moment also speaks to the intensity of Lady Macbeth's temperament since she would readily forsake the future of her line by murdering her son ("*his* boneless gums", my emphasis) for the present demands of Macbeth ("had I so sworn as you"). Lady Macbeth's proclamation is that any child is inscribed by the mother's humors in utero and therefore carries a matrilineal humoral component in their body. This child is not only borne from the mother's body but reflects a similar disposition to a degree before it even breeches into the world. Not only is Lady Macbeth suggesting that she would kill her own child if she swore to it, but she is suggesting that the humoral sharedness that makes the child a greater part of her (than Macbeth) does not count for anything in this situation.

The same sentiment is carried with Lady Macbeth when she accuses her husband of his cowardliness and regret after killing King Duncan and framing his attendants ("My hands are of your color, but I shame / To wear your heart so white" (2.2.67-68)). Both Macbeths often use the term "bold" to describe their emotions before and after killing King Duncan and attribute their affective state to the "thick" nature of the Scottish environment, the night, and even their own blood. These are medical terms linked to the physical humor of phlegm; a bold presence of a humor made it easy to assess and phlegm being present in the body in excess was very easy to see, diagnose, and deal with in the body. Similarly, the adjective "thick" was often associated with an abundance of a particular humor, though phlegm was visually more readily linked to the word than bile or even blood.

Lady Macbeth's claim also highlights that menstruation and lactation produced lower order humoral fluids that were valuable but fell below the primary humoral fluids of black and yellow bile, blood, and phlegm. Since breastmilk was thought to be formed by excess menstrual blood, again the mother's humoral impact on the child is much larger than the father's impact (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 143). This means that the mother's stakes—humoral amongst them—are considerably higher and that Lady Macbeth's promise to smash her child's brains carries considerable weight. This is also true in the sense that any male child would have been Macbeth's heir, so killing their son ("from his boneless gums") would end their lineage before it even began. This brutal nature is considered characteristic of how Scottish women were understood and capitalizes on the harsh geographical reality of Scotland. By drawing on imagery of breastfeeding, Shakespeare is calling out a known difference between Scottish and English women's breastfeeding practices. Scottish women were known in the period to breastfeed their own children, whereas English women often employed wetnurses for breastfeeding. John Bellenden's introduction to Hector Boece's *The History and Chronicles of Scotland* states that, according to Boece's work on Scottish women, "Every mother nursed her own child: and an inability to discharge this maternal duty afforded a presumption of infidelity" (*xxvii-xxviii*). Thus, Scottish women willingly and proudly embraced their ability to produce breastmilk and maintain multiple important lines of hereditary connection (humoral, bodily, genetically) to their children, but that their role as wife was the central point of their identity. Breastfeeding becomes an embodied act of women's Scottishness, femaleness, and fidelity. In this case, Lady Macbeth's reiteration of her willingness to kill her own child and end her hereditary line if her husband requested it draws legitimacy from her Scottish geohumorality; her promise is violent and should be taken seriously (as opposed to an exaggeration of loyalty) given the Scottish cultural practice

outlined above. Lady Macbeth's logic is also mediated in this moment by her Scottish geohumorality in that she is a much harder woman that draws strength from the land she was raised on.

The first introduction to Macbeth as a naturally phlegmatic Scot is also early on in the play. It occurs in Act 1, Scene 3 where the main character is confronted by the Weird Sisters. The Third Witch states his name, Macbeth, and then a few short lines later all three witches repetitively address him as "Thane," which immediately denotes his high-ranking Scottish status. In addition, Banquo's appearance reminds them of the historical Scottish lineage of the current King of England and Scotland, James I.

Aside from establishing Macbeth's lineage as Scottish, it is equally important for Shakespeare to attend to the environment of Scotland as a way to cue the audience to recognize his Scottish geohumorality. Shakespeare's emphasis on the weather and land to highlight the phlegmatic nature of Scotland and its people (the Macbeths in particular) is similar to Jonson's use of the excessive fair, oily pig booth, and constant drinking to create an atmosphere in *Bartholomew Fair* that reflects the sanguine disposition of its characters.[71] Though Scotland's typical wetter, moister, and colder descriptors are present in the play, they are often juxtaposed to the use of the summer season and post-spring equinox as the earlier backdrop that begins this play. In the opening of *Macbeth*, the character of the Captain describes the current weather pattern as seasonally atypical and attributes this as the most logical rationale for the tumultuous weather:

As whence the sun 'gins his reflection,

[71] See Chapter 2 of this dissertation for more on *Bartholomew Fair* and sanguineness.

Shipwrecking storms and direful thunders,

So from that spring whence comfort seemed to come,

Discomfort swells. (1.2.25-28)

The "sun 'gins his reflection" is most often taken for the period after the spring equinox where the sun begins its return to the fall equinox position. This suggests that *Macbeth* is intentionally staged in the first two acts anywhere in the period of late spring through summer so that the breeding of the disease can take place in these warm, moist weather patterns indicative of both phlegmatic and sanguine temperaments. A more concrete time is offered by Banquo when he responds to the King's comments about Macbeth's castle, "This guest of summer, / The temple-haunting martlet" (1.6.3-4). In humoral theory, spring and summer were the known seasons for excesses of hot and moist weather, which also meant these seasons were prone to increases in thicker and more humid airs that bread miasma and resulting plagues (Chiari, *Shakespeare's Representations of Weather* 47).[72] This type of weather would be far more typical to the English, not Scottish, since environmentally Scotland was known for its cold and wet atmospheric conditions, which would have produced phlegmatic people since such climatic conditions impacted the temperamental expression of those living in them. Therefore, this clash of the phlegmatic and the sanguine creates tension between the two groups in the play and embodies the historical tension between the countries as they came under King James I's rule.

Shakespeare also describes Macbeth as a valiant warrior type befitting his Scottish geohumorality. For example, Macbeth is described by the Captain as, "brave Macbeth—well he deserves that name-- / Disdaining Fortune with his brandished steel, / Which smoked with

[72] See also p. 70.

bloody execution" (1.2.16-18), to which the King replies, "O valiant cousin, worthy gentleman!" (1.2.24). A few lines later, Captain describes the bloodthirst of Macbeth and Banquo by saying:

> If I say sooth, I must report they were
>
> As cannons overcharged with double cracks,
>
> So they doubly redoubled strokes upon the foe,
>
> Except they meant to bathe in reeking wounds,
>
> Or memorize another Golgotha, —
>
> I cannot tell—
>
> But I am faint. My gashes cry for help. (1.2.36-42)

Even to his fellow hardened Scots, Macbeth still appears to be one of the fiercest and most feared thanes in battle. The excess of blood described by Captain ("bathe in reeking wounds") paired with the biblical imagery of the land of skulls ("memorize another Golgotha") suggests an imbalanced Macbeth whose geohumorality is typically rooted in Scotland's elements of water and earth but has been inflamed with fire and blood. The clear depiction of war and a battlefield are indicative of blood and the presence of "reeking wounds" furthers this imagery. The biblical reference to Golgotha also suggests a desolate wasteland free of natural foliage and lush, vibrant land. This seems to be the farthest depiction one could get from Scotland's greenery and rich landscape. Golgotha is also a coded reference for the site of Jesus' crucifixion. Unlike the reeking wounds and gashes the Captain describes, this reference draws up strong imagery of the loss of blood and water in Jesus's body on the cross. It was thought in this period that the imagery of blood soaking the ground represented the liquification of the body and its return to

the earth, so this reference illuminates the idea that the body's elements (as liquified components of blood) are seeping into the earth.

This "reciprocal absorption" of the body into the landscape and a loss of the body means that no more physical boundaries are present so that the human form can be dispersed into the air and land (Paster, "Becoming the Landscape" 142). As these liquid elements are altering the natural world, "insanguinated, the ground expresses human blood's analogical relation rivers and streams; it recalls blood's place in bodily topography as the body's liquid source of nourishment as well as its current of feeling and consciousness" (Paster, "Becoming the Landscape" 142). This choleric temperament expressed by Macbeth is represented by the excess of blood in the Captain's words, and yet, his Scottish geohumorality is clearly present in the watery and earthy imagery of Jesus' liquified body running into the land and air. In addition, the unnaturally dark and dry fiery aspects of war (cannons as using gunpowder, firing off smoke and flame, and producing charcoal burn off) are juxtaposed in this moment to more natural, bodily responses to battle (leaking wounds and gashes, crying for help). The interplay of choler's fire and phlegm's water are used by Shakespeare to develop two distinct descriptions of war, which argues that the initial fieriness leads to an aftermath of wet, leaking bodies and death.

Far more subtle in this play are the early mentions of Scotland's pastoral tradition and the earthly labor Scottish people undertake.[73] The King, after receiving Macbeth and Banquo warmly for their prowess in battle, states, "I have begun to plant thee and will labor / To make thee full of growing." (1.4.28-29). Banquo replies to the King, "There if I grow, / The harvest is your own." (1.4.32-33). Whilst focusing on Scottish land, it can be argued that Scottish

[73] See Floyd-Wilson, "English Mettle," *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, edited by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 130-147.

characteristics are built upon the element of earth and that their geohumorality might also include mentions to “the sure and first-set earth” (2.1.56). Macbeth is also described in this scene as having “lavish spirits" (1.2.59) or a particular wildness to his fighting style that is brave enough to challenge opponents as equally terrifying as himself and whose spirits seemingly stem from Scotland’s natural landscape. Since spirits were drawn from the metaphysical world but connected through the environment (i.e., noncorporeal spirits figured in environmental terms), Macbeth’s lavish spirits would have been Scottish through and through since he is heralding them from his surrounding country. Macbeth’s fighting style is thus described as unrefined and wild, which fits with the commonplace stereotype that many would have held for Scottish warriors.

Such wildness was embodied in the Scottish landscape as well as in Macbeth, and since a person’s geohumorality and their humorality (a more individualized node of Galen’s theory) acted simultaneously and often in potent combination to one another to produce a holistic notion of temperament. In Thomas Wright’s 1604 publication, *The Passions of the Minde*, the following is said of the humors:

> According to the disposition of the heart, humors, and body, diuers sorts of persons be subject to diuers sorts of passions, and the same passion affecteth diuers in manners: for, as we see fire applied to drie wood, to yron, to flaxe and gunpowder, worketh diuers wates: for in wood it kindleth with some difficultie, and with some difficultie is quenched; but in flaxe soone it kindleth, and quencheth; in yron with great difficultie it is kindled, & with as great extinguished; but in gunpowder be consumed. Some men you shall see, not so soone angrie, nor yet soone pleased, and such commonly fleg-matike persons; others you haue, soone angrie, soon friended, as those of a sanguine complexion, and therefore commonly they are called goodfellowes: others be hardly offended, and afterward, with extreame difficulty reconciled, as melancholly men: others are all fiery, and in a moment, at euery trifle they are inflamed, and, till their hearts be consumed (almost) with choller they neuer cease, except they be reuenged. (37)

Wright provides a clarification to humoral theory here; humoral fluids and humoral expression of temperament can impact an individual body in a myriad of ways, and though this might be unpredictable, a person's dispositional makeup lends itself to specific humoral expressions. The environment, Wright also points out, had a huge influence over humoral expression since many of these factors controlled the elements, fluids, and temperatures for each season. This is where the geohumoral theory begins to develop on a much larger scale in Galen's works and the adaptation of his thinking to the early modern period began to influence in group and out group stereotypes.

Wright's thoughts on phlegmatic men, specifically, are that they can be controlled in their emotional reactions (anger and pleasure) and far more reserved compared to choleric or sanguine

men who often demonstrate emotional outbursts. Such a cooled environment would lead phlegmatic men to generally express this kind of humoral disposition, and Scotland's moist and cooler climate suggests a phlegmatic lilt to the Scottish geohumorality compared to more mild English lands. With this description, Wright also suggests that phlegmatic people are far more complex and socially ambiguous than their humoral counterparts. John Draper, in *Humors in Shakespeare*, expounds on this understanding of the phlegmatic humors and frames them as more "mercurial humors" that allow the characters to vacillate in their performance of their humors (90-91). Such mercurial vacillation, in Draper's argument, means that Shakespeare writes characters like Macbeth that are crafty, unreliable according to others' expectations, controlling of their moods and passions, and often use their humors to their advantage in social spaces such as court (93).[74] Knowing that he is perhaps geohumorally prone to a phlegmatic temperament also means that Macbeth can adopt a strategic humoral disguise that is in direct opposition to this temperament (Draper 93).

Following Draper's thinking, Macbeth, then, might be disguising his phlegmatic temperament with one that is perhaps more choleric (continuing down a path of violence and killing) or even more sanguine and cheery (the banquet) as he ascends the Scottish throne. In this sense, Macbeth's ability to know his Scottish geohumorality and adopt a different disposition, implicates him in his evildoings and does not excuse his acts by merely scapegoating his geohumorality as the only reason why he commits murder and becomes a tyrant. Therefore, it is likely that knowing one's geohumorality informed how they might perform in social settings,

[74] Draper also argues that Shakespeare often has fools adopt a phlegmatic disposition in his plays because they can intentionally act slow-witted and either make or enjoy base-humored jokes.

influenced their understanding of their bodies for a host of purposes (e.g., medical care and cure), and impacted how they engaged with the seasonal climate.

Though not an exhaustive index of geohumoral references for Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, the examples above demonstrate a strong enough pattern in Shakespeare's writing to suggest that establishing their phlegmatic geohumorality is essential for interpreting the action and dialogue that takes place in *Macbeth*. This overarching operational framework of the Macbeths' geohumoral temperament allows audiences to then begin to explore the interplay of the geohumoral and humoral theories under certain environmental circumstances. This exploration invites a causal reading of *Macbeth* that moves us away from seeing how the Scottish geohumorality manifests in the play's characters and towards understanding what imbalances—internal and external—might be taking place in the plot. These imbalances often take shape as environmental and humoral shifts that upset the phlegmatic nature of Scotland and the Scottish characters. However, Shakespeare operates outside of the traditional geohumoral and humoral theories to bring in more complicated conversations around evil.

Evil's Influence: Air and Water

According to humoral theory, the aforementioned seasonal shifts also impacted internal balances of people, though their geohumorality was still operating on some level to influence their temperament. As an example, the warm airs coming from the southern part of Europe, like those described in *Othello*, were humorally explained as sources of evil as the air traveled through other countries.[75] Since southern individuals were already thought to be hot, fiery, and

[75] Jaecheol Kim, "The Plague and Immunity in Othello," *Comparative Drama*, vol. 51, no. 1, 2017, pp. 23-42, doi: 10.1353/cdr.2017.0001. Kim argues for the humoral and iatrochemical function of Othello and that his outsider

dry, the introduction of hotter air(s) would have exacerbated their choleric temperaments. In *Macbeth,* Scotland is described by its tumultuous storms and wet environment, so the increase in warm air in Scotland would have been a cue that the country was experiencing an imbalance in its environment. Such abundance of warm, foreign air would have disturbed the phlegmatic temperament of the Scots and made the Scottish people far more susceptible to infectious forms of air like those that arrive in the form of rumors (excessive, negative talk).

This would have made the Scots, many believed, more susceptible to foreign influence and placed them in a vulnerable position to outsiders. In the cold and moist environment of Scotland, this influx of steamy, hot rumors would have been seen as a social miasma. The Doctor in *Macbeth* describes these rumors as, "Foul whisp'rings are abroad. Unnatural deeds/ Do breed unnatural troubles. Infected minds to their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets" (5.2.65-66).[76] The mention of "foul" and "breed" recalls the Weird Sisters and their ability to circulate their "unnatural troubles" through the air in Scotland.[77] These terms are also indicative of miasma, which is when good air has gone bad or putrefied and they suggest an infection of the once-healthy environment. This putrefaction of air is true of the "whisp'rings" the doctor is discussing since gossip was thought to be good thoughts turned bad. Though tied to the weather and figured in natural terms, the witches are clearly not natural nor part of their environment, so the unnaturalness of their deeds other them from the typical Scottish people. Shakespeare situates

status renders him both a figure of contagion and a figure of possible cure for the evil that spreads in this play (mainly through Iago).

[76] See also Kim, pp. 23-42.

[77] It can also be argued that the Doctor's mention of "Foul whisp'rings are abroad" suggests the ability for rumors, much like disease, spreading through the world quickly. The Doctor's rhetoric also substantiates the period's anxiety over unnaturalness moving from abroad to their countries through various, evil methods such as the air.

the witches inside of the Scottish environment, marks them out as different, and yet connects them continuously to the elements that make up the earth, air, water, and fire.

The use of spring and summer as a backdrop for *Macbeth* also reiterates the idea of excess and the hot, sticky humoral fluid of blood. The environmental impact on the bodies in this play are emphasized by the continual descriptions of the excess (or lack thereof) of blood in the character's complexions and the influx of red into their pale complexions.[78] Similarly, spring was elementally tied to the air, sanguineness and an abundance of blood, summer with the element of fire, a drier temperament, and being choleric, and being phlegmatic was often tied to the cold winter and the element of water (Scottish geohumorality). Though most Shakespearean plays naturally incorporate all four of the main elements as often as they include the humors,[79] *Macbeth* uses less direct elemental forms like fog and mist within the environment to comment on how the volatile interactions between water/fire or air/water to metaphorically represent the cultural clashes that drive the plot. As a result, *Macbeth* demonstrates how these environmental elements might offer a way to read the play's climax and resolution as well as the historical parallels of these evemts. Shakespeare's reliance on the elements in this play complicates the audience's interpretation of who is to blame for all the evil. In one instance, we might blame the Weird Sisters for setting things in motion through their prophecies. Though Macbeth doesn't have to act on their words, the witches provide enough foresight into how the country will be run that their oracle seems inevitable. However, we might view Macbeth as the primary agent of evil in the play who plots the overthrow, commits the murder of Duncan, and becomes tyrannical in his rule. Drawing on integrated, holistic early modern thinking about the interconnectedness of

[78] Pierre Charron's description described the Scots as having paler, softer skin.

[79] The elements acted as their own supplementary chain to the Great Chain of Being such that the universe served as the geocentric point for the mixing of four main elements (Tillyard 34).

everything in the universe, the audience should also consider how the elements—particularly the air—move evil around the stage and how this miasma breeds a larger evil throughout Scotland. The macrocosm of the Scottish environment clashes with the microcosmic representatives of the Weird Sisters and Macbeth so that it becomes harder to tease out who and what is to truly blame for the circumstances that we find ourselves in at the end of the play.

Much like our first interactions with Lady Macbeth and Macbeth, the first introduction the audience receives to the Weird Sisters clearly situates them inside of the Scottish terroir and connects them to the weather and elements around them. In this way, the Weird Sisters are given their own Scottish geohumorality. The opening of the play reads:

> FIRST WITCH. When shall we three meet again? In thunder, lightning, or in rain?
>
> SECOND WITCH. When the hurly-burly's done, When the battle's lost and won.
>
> THIRD WITCH. That will be ere the set of sun.
>
> FIRST WITCH. Where the place?
>
> SECOND WITCH. Upon the heath.
>
> THIRD WITCH. There to meet with Macbeth. (1.1.1-8)

This is a moment where the witches are closely tied to their ability to manipulate the weather with the onstage presence of thunder and lightning and their mention of the hurly-burly (tumult). A similar stage note about thunder is reiterated in Act 1, Scene 3 when the witches reenter the play. Scottish witches, in this period, were linked to their ability to control the environment, and these ideas were drawn from regional theories related to witchcraft. Laura Shamas argues that northern witches were elementally connected to the air such that the Weird Sisters' constant

attention to the wind, fog, breath, and mist was plausible based on their geographic location and humoral predispositions.[80] As the sisters draw on the air to do their evil work, they are shown mastering the element and using its transmissive, transparent properties to do their bidding. At the close of Act 1, Scene 1, the witches claim in unison, "Fair is foul, and foul is fair, / Hover through the fog and filthy air" (1.1.11-12). The description of the air conditions would not be lost to Shakespeare's audience, as the current theories of contracting diseases like the bubonic plague posited that putrid air, miasma, and pestilent weather conditions were the most likely external factors contributing to the spread of illness.[81] However, the paradox in the witches' lines adds ambiguity about the fairness or foulness of the air.

Marianne Closson argues that Shakespeare's audience would have feared Satan's henchmen spreading his evil through contact in the form of air and putting them at continual risk of evil merely by breathing.[82] In this first meeting between the Weird Sisters and Macbeth, the element of air is relied on heavily to influence Macbeth; their speech becomes act as they use repetition and echoing to curse the Scottish throne. The breath, or *ventus*, of the witches is wind paired with the wind present in the environment where breath converges "in and as the air" to influence the microcosm of Macbeth's singular body and the macrocosm of Scotland (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 137). Together, the Weird Sisters use their verbal power to destabilize the current Scottish regime and suggest that Macbeth's future is to rule Scotland, which sets into

[80] The term "wyrd" in this period took on a much broader definition of "destiny," which strengthens the argument that the Weird Sisters in Macbeth control the winds (linked to fate) and thus Macbeth's destiny.
[81] The winds were associated with lust, sex, and desire, and mainly described using erotic imagery. This was likely because pneuma meant the wind of life and was at least one fourth responsible for a human's body sustaining life (the others being blood, water, and earth).
[82] Biblically speaking, Satan was considered the prince of the air, which meant his sphere of influence was often linked to the element of air. See Marianne, Closson, "The Devil's Curses: The Demonic Origin of Disease in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centurie," in *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Claire Carlin, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 63-76.

motion the bloody series of events that enable Macbeth to ascend to the throne.[83] The witches use their "vaporous particles of breath" to have a physical impact on Macbeth; their breath imbues the air with their occult pestilence and their words impact his mind (Pollard 171). Not only does their speech mimic incantation—an enchanting and magical practice that Macbeth and the audience are vulnerable to in this moment—but it also reestablishes the connection between the witches and Satan with dark magic and the inherent evil of verbal chanting when calling on the occult in seemingly dark and/or outdoor spaces (e.g., ritualistic areas inside a pentagram).[84]

Aside from the staging techniques in the play, Shakespeare also utilizes gendered and ageist rhetoric to describe the witches. The Weird Sisters are also physically described to us as "withered and so wild in their attire, / That look not like th'inhabitants o'th'earth" (1.3.41-42). This description others the witches by focusing on their unnatural aging and their wildness and emphasizes the period's idea that aging women were likely witches. This is further contextualized by the wild Scottish landscape that seem to welcome these wild others, and yet, these witches are obtrusions on the stage and in the country. This description clearly sets them apart from humans, animals, and any other creatures on the earth since they display no substantial characteristics that the audience might sympathize with or connect to as the witches commit their terrible acts. Shakespeare's imagery also evokes an overly airy sensibility to their looks: withering typically comes from the constant battering of the elements (especially the wind), their chapped fingers indicate wind-beaten skin and a lack of water, and the skinniness to their lips can be interpreted as malnutrition or a devilish deceitfulness that is imbued in the orifice that proves vital to their work. The lack of humoral balance as evidenced in their bodies

[83] Michael Bristol, ed., *Shakespeare and Moral Agency*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009.

[84] Their incantations might also resemble religious prophesying, which suggests a perversion by Satan of holy visions that people received and told to others to help them connect with God.

has produced an overabundance of masculine humorality in them and has created a visual confusion in their appearance as typical witches. Their presence is defined by the absence of the geohumoralities around them; in many ways, Shakespeare defines them as not truly Scottish, not natural, and not women. The witches, based on their early characterization as northern, are known for "wickedness and sorcery," which is a competing geohumorality to English witches and draws in the connection of various geographic covens to specific elemental abilities (Floyd-Wilson, "English Epicures" 147).

Unlike Shakespeare's other villains like Iago, the Weird Sisters do not hold any visual trace of humanity that the audience might consider redeemable. Though they are given human features like fingers and lips, they are not truly human in appearance, and their simple human forms are deemed "fantastical" (1.3.54) and they are called "imperfect speakers." To complicate their otherness, Shakespeare undergirds his descriptions with clear reminders to the audience that the Weird Sisters are Scottish or northern in their abilities. There is a duality of identity represented by the Weird Sisters where they are both normed as Scots and othered as witches. Specifically, Scottish witches were thought to control the weather and rely more on the element of wind compared to English witches. King James' *Daemonologie* contributes to this specific commonplace since he clearly establishes the north (the North Isles of Orkney, Finland, Lapland, and Shetland) as fostering more witches that manipulate the winds and sell them to sailors. The witches manifest the historically real anxiety over the other in this period since they are "abnormal" in every way. Their otherness, then, is feared not just for the imbalances and diseases they might directly transmit. Also, their ability to infect the environment so that it becomes hostile and sickly poses an even larger threat. Such fear, paired with numerous other reasons, spurred the very real persecution of witches by Queen Elizabeth I and King James I. Otherness,

for witches or those even suspected of witchcraft, was not just a marker of difference or (geo)humoral variability, it was a rationale for enacting persecution and violence on those deemed "deviants" from the norm because it signified the danger they posed to society. The otherness of these specific witches is still contextualized within the Scottish geohumoral theory, and their otherness is marked no differently by Shakespeare than the otherness of Macbeth's Scottish characters, but it is heightened in the play, comparatively.

As the Weird Sisters use their Scottish witchcraft and draw on the air to complete their spells and enact their evil, their words hold great influence and power in the play. During the period, King James I and many others sought to discredit the impact of witchcraft by suggesting that words held no actual power over the body because of the nonsense nature of spells in terms of form, function, repetition, linguistic structure (Pollard 175).[85] Though the witches are peddling dangerous and treasonous ideas, it is the way that they deliver them to Macbeth using rhyme, repetition, and melodic structuring that suggests an incantatory influence over him. This idea comes primarily from Cornelius Agrippa's pivotal (and most recognizable for the English Renaissance) magical text, *De occulta philosophia libri tres*, which argues that the bodily processes behind forming words with the mouth, tongue, voice, and breath elicit an equally bodily response on the listener. Combining the breathiness of the witches' chants with repetition and rhyme creates an auditory experience of the air. No longer is the air contained inside of the witches' mouths, but it is unleashed through its typical form and then transformed into an even more invasive and unstoppable process. Though the audience and Macbeth might be able to

[85] Attacks on spells were also driven by rhetoric that they were unstable, and fantasy driven words that opposed the growing medical, rational methods of science that most were putting their beliefs into in the period (Pollard 176).

block the bad air by creating distance and using barriers, the entry of the air into the auditory canals is involuntary and violent.

Prayer might be one potential way to combat an airy attack with an equally airy curative where prayers create word shields aimed at developing air-based barriers and protecting the ears (physical), mind (metaphysical), and soul (spiritual). This process also moves the notion of contagion from one physically located within the air to one that is located now within the mind as the air has taken root inside the brain; if Macbeth can hear the chanting prophecies coming from the witches, then he can cognitively consider its meaning, remember it, stew on it, and then finally act on it.[86] The future-oriented prophecy is interpreted as air-born contagion through the intentionality and agency of the witches.[87]

The appearance of Hecate with the witches later confirms the use of the air to poison Macbeth's mind with the Devil's evil plans:

> Upon the corner of the moon
>
> There hangs a vap'rous drop profound;
>
> I'll catch it ere it come to ground.
>
> And that, distilled by the magic sleights.
>
> Shall raise such artificial sprites
>
> As by the strength of their illusion

[86] As Hobgood argues, this is a metaphor for the effect of theater (see introduction).

[87] Some scholars might contend that the witches appear and merely predict possible outcomes, however, their relationship with Hecate suggests a clear intentionality to drive Macbeth with their carefully worded oracles. It suggests a spiritual potency that can compel Macbeth, though not necessarily control his actions.

Shall draw him on to his confusion. (3.5.23-29)

Hecate's "vap'rous drop" draws on the discourse of contagion for the time and contributes to the notion of the air being the primary mode for the spread of evil. This "vap'rous drop" could be regarded as a new kind of meme that takes shape as a droplet of water. Though small, it could be considered a highly powerful distillate that combines both the "vap'rous" nature of the air with the watery structure of a droplet. In *Macbeth*, this demonstrates that the witches' words are adapting to the environment of Scotland and to the nature of characters like Macbeth as they metamorphose from "airy nothings" (See *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 1.1.) into a more humorally substantial element like water with shared quality here being *moisture* between air and water.

This wetness also ties together the body's phlegm and blood and substantiates the subtle humoral divide between old age (cold, slow, congealed phlegm) and childhood (hot, coursing, lively blood). This shared moisture bridges the airy, bloody springtime discussed above in the setting of *Macbeth* and the colder, slower, phlegmatic nature of Scotland. Elementally and geohumorally, the cultural clashes of the English and the Scots are mirrored in the environmental conditions, which demonstrates the delicate interconnectivity of the macrocosm, the microcosm, and the various spheres of influence. As E.M.W. Tillyard suggests, these elements were thought to compound for durability purposes and that they were in a constant flux of transmutation such that the elements spark a series of events that occur in conjunction with each other—natural, philosophical, and physical events, that all collide into a turmoil at once (59).

The verbal action of the play is not the only locus of contagion, elemental, and humoral discourse; many of the characters acknowledge the witches' influence, their connection to the air, and the environmental fluctuations in Scotland. Banquo's mention of "The earth hath

bubbles as the water has / And these are of them" (1.3.80-81) indicates the vaporous nature of the witches. Also, the earth's vapors, as embodied by the bubbles, would have created anxiety because they often indicate an evil pestilence frothing up from the hellish ground.[88] Further, the "bubbles" that they are borne from would have been an indicator of disruptions to normalcy within water and the earth and they would have been visual representations of these irregularities.[89]

Evil is lacking a true physical form and travels through the air in an unhindered manner touching upon corporeal bodies without "existing" beyond any actual boundaries of form.[90] The influence of the witches and their evil is no longer contained within their physical beings, instead, their evil has infected the air and left everyone (including the audience) open to contagion.[91] As we now know—especially in light of the current pandemic—infected air hangs

---

[88] In response to Banquo, Macbeth claims that the witches have gone "Into the air. And what seemed corporal / Melted as breath into the wind" (1.3.82-83). In doing so, Macbeth invokes the notion that the bodily nature of evil can transform into words, and then melt into the surrounding air to plague those breathing it in. Recent scholars like Tony Lynch, Richard Strier, and Molly Smith argue that evil in literature is represented as a non-being and does not relate to any one agentic body because of its diffuse nature. Though evil can be figured in devils, demons, and witches, there is no true corporeal form that houses evil completely. Acts can be characterized as evil and figures can behave in an evil manner, but evil itself is a non-tangible concept that does not entirely dwell within one being. That is not to say that literary characters cannot be evil, but the conceptualization of evil is not wholly formed in one agentic body. Here in Macbeth, the Weird Sisters are three seemingly agentic bodies of evil since characters can view and interact with them and they are physically present on stage. However, they often appear and disappear throughout the play to guide the evil and they keep their exposure both limited and targeted. Evil itself does not take a singular corporeal form—though it is certainly embodied in the Weird Sisters and in Macbeth—but its root cause is decentralized to the point that it becomes nonexistent and diffused into the surrounding environment. In Macbeth, there is evil already seemingly at work, albeit in a diffuse manner, within Lady Macbeth and her husband since it merely takes the Weird Sisters' heavy suggestions to spur on their violent acts against Duncan.

[89] Lucinda Cole, "Of Mice and Moisture: Rats, Witches, Miasma, and Early Modern Theories of Contagion," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2010, pp. 65-84. doi: 10.1353/jem.2011.0007. Cole discusses the possible meaning of this quote as drawing on miasmic theory and referencing an underlying idea that rats were a vector of disease in Macbeth.

[90] For a more robust argument about the non-being of evil in early modern thought and literature, see Tony Lynch, "Iago's Evil," *Literature & Aesthetics*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2012, pp. 21-35, openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/LA/article/viewFile/5636/6393. See also, Richard Strier, "Excuses, Bepissing, and Non-Being: Shakespearean Puzzles about Agency," in *Shakespeare and Moral Agency*, edited by Michael Bristol, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009, pp. 55-68. These scholars argue that, though Satan might be driving the Weird Sisters to spread his evil, they are representations of the concept of evil, not evil incarnate.

[91] Charron suggested that air had a transformative impact on the body and soul since any shifts in air and temperature impacted the soul, which was housed in the ventricles of the brain. Charron's ideas can also be viewed

around specific spaces for quite some time before being replaced by new air, especially if there is little means of exchange such as wind, a ventilation system, or natural airflow channels. Floyd-Wilson describes the audience's experience with this stagnant, infected air as, "long after people dissipated from the area [theater], the lingering miasmic elements in the air had the ability to penetrate the porous body" (Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge* 68). By sitting in the audience and participating in a play such as Macbeth with witches, the audience was leaving itself open to such miasmic air. Audiences were also thought to be susceptible to the emotions and the passions/humors represented on the stage (Hobgood 20-24).[92]

Audiences were concerned already about the morality of playgoing and its drug-like or poisonous influence over them.[93] This anxiety was especially emphasized by the antitheatrical movements of the period that warned against consuming plays, feeding one's appetites at the theater, and not losing control and indulging in the impulses on the stage (Hobgood 125-129). On a more medical note, audiences would have also had anxiety about enclosed spaces and close contact with infected individuals and miasmic air since the period saw an increased number of plagues. Therefore, the witches' ability to manipulate the air creates a much larger anxiety for audiences around how evil is spread and contracted in a playhouse and even in a country. Macbeth demonstrates this concept both on and off the stage with evil air moving quickly and uninhibitedly, infecting all.

Much like Macbeth's geohumoral imbalance, the Scottish environment is quickly becoming thick with the pestilence spread by the witches. Throughout the play, the witches'

---

in the broader geohumoral context outlined in this chapter since those in different climates might experience different temperatures and impacts of air on their beings and souls.

[92] Shakespeare's plays in particular had "anatomizing effects" on the audience that opened up the body to the emotional processes occurring on stage (Rowe).

[93] See Tonya Pollard's *Drugs and Theater in Early Modern England.*

words can also be interpreted as small units of transmission, much like Richard Dawkins' proposed original idea of "memes" (1976).[94] Dawkins asserts that all memes need to be tailored to their socio-cultural environment to continue to be successfully transmitted and "infect" the atmosphere. Dawkins' idea of memes applies current medical knowledge of viruses in the body to social and cultural ideas that should be adopted into the collective consciousness. Much like a virus, memes only work if they adapt to their host environment and take on its qualities, elements, or core components. The concept of memes, when applied to *Macbeth*, can help us to understand how the witches' words operate. Essentially, the witches' words need to adapt to the environment of Scotland and to the nature of characters like Macbeth for the evil to continue to transmit and infect others. The reliance on air means that elementally the witches' words are transforming to the space around them, and the witches' use of the outdoors or dank, dark spaces to transmit their ideas is evident in their physical locations in the play.[95] They are drawing on the air and water present in the land to transmit these memes to Macbeth and influence the greater Scottish body politic. The witches are also drawing on the supernatural undertones associated with Scotland and relying on their prophetic style of speaking to entice Macbeth to believe in their claims.

As the memes collect, the air is thickened, and the humoral temperance of the Scottish environment becomes "stopped up." Further, these memes adapt to the environment of the playhouse because they are short, easy to memorize, often rhyme or have a musical quality, and draw on stereotypical ideas of witchcraft such as chanting and rhyming curses.[96] The short bursts

---

[94] See Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.

[95] The witches are always located outside in exterior spaces such as open fields and around the hearth.

[96] In Act 4, Scene 1 when the First Witch claims, "I'll charm the air to give a sound, / While you perform your antic round" (4.1.128-129). There is an interplay of air and music that appear to be a rather potent form of evil contagion that the witches offer Macbeth. In response, Macbeth calls out: "Infected be the air whereon they ride, / And damned

of language, based on their length and performative force, accumulate into a mist or fog that penetrate Macbeth's mind in an intoxicating fashion.[97] This resembles something close to the transmission of a disease in Shakespeare's plays that moves through words in the form of rumors, chants, and 'noting'(Langley, *Contagious Sympathies* 2). These short, repetitive phrases also develop a strong connection between the witches and their capacity to use the air to infect Macbeth as they thicken the surrounding space with their miasma.[98] This fog or mist also becomes an environmental combination of the elements—air and water—which are elements closely tied to the phlegmatic geohumoral nature of Scotland. The phlegmatic geohumorality of Scotland mimics the phlegmatic geohumoralities of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth throughout the play, and these geohumoralities are all starkly contrasted to the more choleric and drier nature of the English.

As the Weird Sisters enact their evil on Macbeth and Scotland, his geohumorality begins to become imbalanced and his own penchant for evil is fed. Other characters will describe this new bloody nature of Macbeth as him being a "tyrant" (4.3.12) or that he has turned into "black Macbeth" (4.2.52). These words substantiate their larger claim that "Not in the legions / Of horrid hell can come a devil more damned / In evils to top Macbeth" (4.2.55-56). Throughout history, blackness was often associated with the devil and hell through color-based imagery and the notion that the fire in hell produced red flames and black smoke. Similarly, blackness was correlated to the morally corrupt, melancholy, and often attributed to a southern geohumoral

---

all those that trust them!" (4.1.137-138). Not only is this a recognition for the audience of the infectious evil nature of the witches, but it provides evidence that Macbeth knows of his own predisposition and subsequent disease at this point in the play ("damnation") and is aware of a similar evil moving through Scotland.

[97] In a physical sense, the Weird Sisters' speech would likely require the actors to force more air and saliva out of their mouths during these lines compared to longer, more fluid pieces of dialogue.

[98] Langley, Eric. "Plagued by Kindness: Contagious Sympathy in Shakespearean Drama." *Medical Humanities*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2011, pp. 103-109. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/medhum-2011-010039.

temperament (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 6-7).[99] Such evildoing by Macbeth, then, is linguistically tied to a southern geohumorality and a clear lack of the natural phlegmatic temperament born to the man, which demonstrates his shifting geohumorality. The sinister aesthetic described by Joel Slotkin is evoked here in Shakespeare's diction about Macbeth and the forbidden allure of Macbeth's evil comes through as his brutal nature is amplified into an unstoppable bloodlust, which signifies his role as an agent of evil in the play. Slotkin proposes that the temptation of characters that excessively resist morality and goodness is too strong for audiences and that these murderous, evil figures appear fictionally interesting compared to far more mundane, rule-abiding characters. The spectacle of Macbeth's murderous rampage is no doubt a visual marvel on the stage and one that paints the lush green land of Scotland red with the blood of those that oppose Macbeth. To these claims Malcolm adds, "I grant him bloody, / Luxurious, avaricious, false, deceitful, / Sudden, malicious, smacking of every sin / That has a name." (4.2.67-70). This characterization of Macbeth is one that shows him to be an agent of evil whose excessiveness and imbalance has created absolute chaos for the country and its people. And yet, the spectators of the play find this excessiveness, imbalance, and even evil fascinating and appealing.

The imbalanced, choleric behavior of Macbeth is not only entertaining, but his resistance to the assumed Scottish geohumorality provides discomfort and intrigue to audiences as it operates outside of the norm. Macbeth, for example, is described by Malcolm as excessive in blood and full of indulgent qualities such as being deceitful about his own ambition and lust for power. Unlike the natural richness that the Scottish soil offers, Macbeth seeks riches and dominance afforded to him through fire (i.e., forging in fire the metals that make up coins, the

[99] See also, pp. 24-25.

luxury items, and the crown) and blood (i.e., killing those on the throne or who pose a threat), which show his changing phlegmatic nature now corrupted into a more choleric temperament. These are humoral elements that drive Macbeth's imbalanced body farther from its natural phlegmatic, Scottish geohumorality and plant him firmly in the evil fray of Shakespeare's plot. The fiery and bloody elements present in Macbeth's new disposition also directly oppose the moist and cold nature of Scotland itself. The dry and hot nature of fire leeches the liquid from the land and the wet and hot nature of blood works against the airy, moist components of the Scottish environment.

This severe imbalance of Macbeth's geohumorality leads Macduff to claim that "Boundless intemperance / In nature is a tyranny" (4.2.66-67). What is quite striking here is Macduff's perception of Macbeth as being "boundless" primarily because Macbeth views himself as "cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in / To saucy doubts and fears." (3.4.25-26). Much like an appetite that is never sated, Macbeth views his sickness for power as constricting, and yet those around him consider this consumption to be endless. Much like a fire that cannot be controlled, Macbeth consumes everything in his reach throughout the play.[100] Macduff's mention of "In nature" serves doubly in this moment as it describes the boundless intemperance of both Macbeth's nature and Scotland's nature. The humoral imbalance of Macbeth has led him to be tyrant and this excessively cruel, harsh imbalance has led to an unnaturalness in Scotland's body politic.

In addition, the use of Macbeth's now imbalanced geohumorality serves to "other" him within his own country and to the other thanes that once respected and followed him. His

[100] Phlegmatic people were often thought to have digestion related issues, which would suggest how sickly Macbeth might become if he continues his practice of overconsuming (Draper 30).

imbalanced temperament has moved him away from his Scottish identity and has shown the negative effects of exposure to English geohumorality, which is more sanguine and choleric. The evil that he is now possessed by appears to be attached to his imbalanced geohumorality and his tainted phlegmatic disposition. As a result of his natural geohumorality and the plot, Macbeth demonstrates what Timothy J. Reiss calls "passability" in his home environment as his humors reflect the larger environment around him. This humoral alignment makes him susceptible to the growing influence of the witches and to the larger evil in Scotland.[101] Macbeth's Scottish geohuumorality allows him to naturally coalesce with the Scottish environment so that they collectively operate with the same elements and qualities. However, once he is influenced by the Weird Sisters and kills Duncan, Macbeth, much like Othello, is humorally ostracized from his native Scotland since he no longer possesses a Scottish geohumorality. The eventual execution of Macbeth suggests a violent exclusion of the geohumoral other and a larger concern for the health of the body politic as its ruler no longer exemplifies, as a microcosm, the great Scottish geohumoral macrocosm.

As Tillyard and other scholars point out, there is a deep link between all of the systems—large and small, internal and external—in *Macbeth* that calls for closer examination as we move from the individually imbalanced to the larger temperamental shifts in the play's setting and plot. Even the passions were thought to maintain the order of chaos and their role was to organize the messiness in nature (Paster, "Becoming the Landscape" 139). Lucinda Cole states that the illness within the body politic of *Macbeth* is mirrored in the natural environment of Scotland and that the imbalances are thought of in similar ways with very little separation between the two kinds of

[101] See Timothy J. Reiss, *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003, p. 2.

bodies or diseases (71). In describing the night Duncan is murdered, Lennox claims, "Some say the earth / Was feverous and did shake" (2.3.53-54). The tumultuous weather is an indicator of earth's sickness, and a connection is drawn between the infected nature of the earth's body and Scotland's symptoms.[102] An example of the connection between the state of the weather and the state of Scotland is also verbalized when Macbeth is speaking to the witches:

> Though you untie the winds and let them fight
>
> Against the churches, though the yeasty waves
>
> Confound and swallow navigation up,
>
> Though bladed corn be lodged and trees blown down. (4.1.51-54)

Macbeth is referencing the supposed ability of the witches to manipulate the "winds" and suggests that the ill-tempered weather is correlated to their chanting and prophesying.[103] Macbeth seems to allude to the witches' capacity to use the wind to combat the morality and goodness represented metaphorically by the "churches." The pestilence that Macbeth describes in this passage conflates the discourse of disease and the discourse of environmentalism. *Macbeth* triples down on the anxiety of the period by drawing on the individual body's susceptibility to the miasmic air, the church's susceptibility to the evil weather conditions, and the nation's susceptibility to the welling up of the earth's disease.[104] From a historical

[102] Both Floyd-Wilson and Paster discuss the early modern idea that the microcosm of man is directly linked to the macrocosm of the greater environment. This macrocosm includes the cosmos, countries, and weather. Therefore, the environment is not only sick, but it contributes to the sickness and reflects the individual sickness of the humans who inhabit the environment.

[103] Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity*, elaborates on the idea that English witches were fairly moderate in their craft (not as evil or malicious) and that Northern witches were known for their ability to manipulate the air. In this passage, "untie the winds" relates to their ability to practice this kind of magic with the elements around them.

[104] Macbeth's comments about the witches and their ability to change the weather is where we should consider an alternate reading proposed by Lucinda Cole. Her argument is that Macbeth is using covert references to rats as the

perspective, a seventeenth-century audience would have been concerned about England's own descent into sin, the role of divine wrath in the form of pestilence, and God's relation to evil and its punishment in society.[105]

As if the seasonal conditions weren't enough to convince the audience of Scotland's imbalanced humorality in the play, then surely Macduff and Malcolm's exchange about the country would cause severe anxiety about the nature or temperament of the state with their use of physiological and humoral terms. In Act 4 Scene 3, Macduff states:

> Let us rather hold fast the mortal sword and like good men
>
> Bestride our downfall birthdom. Each new morn
>
> New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows
>
> Strike heaven on the face, that it resounds
>
> As if it felt with Scotland and yelled out
>
> Like syllable of dolor. (4.3.3-8)

Macduff notes that there has been a recent change in Scotland's state as a country ("downfall birthdom") and that this change can be understood as a physical contraction of an illness ("Each new morn / New widows howl, new orphans cry, new sorrows"). Thus, the country's resulting

---

Devil's vermin that spread evil increases the anxiety for the audience as well because it draws on rats' ability to destroy food crops, eat up the limited resources, and spontaneously reproduce to increase their forces.

[105] See Joel Elliot Slotkin, *Sinister Aesthetics: The Appeal of Evil in Early Modern English Literature*, Springer, 2017. Slotkin argues that the early modern English had an aesthetic fascination with the presentation of evil on stage. As much as audiences enjoyed the theatrical representation of morality, they also achieved pleasure from sinister aesthetics and immoral content.

fall from grace is described in moral and medical terms ("Strike heaven on the face" and "Bestride our downfall birthdom").[106]

Macduff's description suggests that all of Scotland's inhabitants recognize the disease, and like the body, are screaming in pain because of the invasion of illness ("it resounds / As if it felt with Scotland and yelled out / Like syllable of dolor"). Later, Malcolm responds to Macduff:

I think our country sinks beneath the yoke;

It weeps, it bleeds, and each new day a gash

Is added to her wounds. I think withal

There would be hands uplifted in my right,

And here from gracious England have I offer

Of goodly thousands. But, for all this,

When I shall tread upon the tyrant's head

Or wear it on my sword, yet my poor country

Shall have more vices than it had before,

More suffer and more sundry ways than ever,

By him that shall succeed. (4.3.39-49)

[106] Most pertinent to this discussion is the historical fact that there is an influx to England of Scottish immigrants and the subsequent exchange back in Scotland with English bodies. A similar idea was established about the degradation of the English as they lived amongst the Irish. This concept of migrant degradation was supported by writers like Edmund Spenser in the period. In *Macbeth*, the potential relationships that are unfolding because of this opening of borders between countries are emphasized as the Scottish characters flee to England and ask for help. As the play moves focus from Scotland to England, Shakespeare suggests a longstanding connection between both land's rulers since Edward the Confessor is clearly the healing king discussed in the latter half of the play.

Malcom's speech directly references the vices that Scotland has developed that are manifesting as "wounds" or a "gash." Such brutal descriptors of Scotland's sick state are emphasized by the imagery of a bleeding, wounded place that needs treatment from the English. Macduff also mentions the word "suffer," which demonstrates the presence of both a physical ailment and a spiritual suffering of the country. As we will later find out, the English king can offer both spiritual and physical healing, which Scotland desperately needs to regain stability, temperance, and balance.

The two recognizable sources of evil—the Weird Sisters and Macbeth—are inextricably linked to the ecological makeup of Scotland and their impact moves beyond influencing individuals in the play to also infecting Scotland as a country. As a result, both the metaphorical infection of evil and the physical imbalance of the humors and elements in this play move through Scotland's air and water carry with them cooler, moister qualities. This process is set against the undercurrent of English invasion and the historical shift around Scottish and English relations both inside and outside of the play. This undercurrent is hotter, drier, and more choleric as it relates to the English geohumorality, and it clashes with the stable Scottish environment it is now operating within. This complex tapestry of (geo)humoralities then provides a way for audiences to read Shakespeare's plot including the curatives he offers to the many tensions that have cropped up in the play. Though Shakespeare is drawing on historical events to craft *Macbeth*, the way in which he balances geohumoralities and restores systems carries with it echoes of Galenic and Paracelsian medical practices.

Curing the Geohumoral Imbalance in *Macbeth*

By pitting the characters' geohumoralities against their opposites in *Macbeth*, Shakespeare allows for his plot and characters to run on antagonisms. For example, Macbeth identifies his own "heat-oppressed brain" (2.1.39), which signifies a humoral imbalance related to the invading English heat and the hot summery weather and the elemental relationship the fire has to his cold, phlegmatic nature.[107] Since Macbeth's natural disposition is phlegmatic, then his recent imbalance of choler would make him a hybrid of humors. He is othered from the naturally phlegmatic Scots and from the more natural choleric English. This heat, Macbeth assumes, contributes to his imaginings or apparitions, whose divine apparitions often drive his lust to secure or maintain the Scottish throne. Lady Macbeth perhaps recognizes the subtle imbalances taking place in Macbeth's humors earlier in the play (recall the line: "That I pour my spirits into thine ear" (1.5.24)) and seeks to balance her husband's humors through her own. Though a choleric disposition might be more socially useful in this situation for Macbeth, drawing on his wife's more stable phlegmatic temperament at the beginning of the play might shift him back into his cooler geohumoral nature that is less reactive to fiery circumstances and passionate social exchange.

Falling back on the Scottish geohumorality allows Macbeth to pass amongst the Scots that he is attempting to rule over. If Macbeth adopts and maintains a more choleric or sanguine disposition, he is betraying his Scottish geohumorality and marking himself into the other amongst his own people. This is potentially very dangerous as he tries to assert his authority since it aligns him more with other geohumoralities (including the English) and puts him at odds with his people and the natural state of Scotland as a country. In addition, the longer Macbeth

[107] Cole points out that Scotland is a cold and yet rainy place, which makes way for extreme miasmic conditions.

works against his innate Scottish geohumorality, the more danger this imbalance poses to the already metaphorically diseased and ailing body politic of Scotland. Being 'out of one's humor' was considered incredibly problematic in this period and Macbeth demonstrates throughout the play how not maintaining one's own temperament creates chaos in numerous internal and external systems. This humoral imbalance is inevitable, in some ways based on geohumoral theory itself, which potentially alleviates the blame the audience might place on Macbeth. Since Macbeth's Scottish geohumorality is pushed to the breaking point as it works within a Scottish geohumoral landscape, but it is being met with the more temperate or even sanguine temperament of the English, the free will and agency of Macbeth must come into question. Geohumoral theory would suggest that Macbeth has very little power to resist such predetermined internal and external circumstances. Even more so, Macbeth is set up by the Weird Sisters to enact a self-fulfilling prophecy that capitalizes on the Scottish geohumoral environment and works most effectively because of Macbeth's Scottish geohumorality. The combination of Scotland, Macbeth, and the prophesied future is too potent for any one entity to stop.

Shakespeare's antagonisms in this play are dramatically entertaining, but also serve a functional role in how they simultaneously address how to resolve Macbeth's tyrannical rule and explore tensions in current medical theories. Lady Macbeth's Scottish geohumorality and her offer to use her own phlegmatic nature and humoral fluids to balance out Macbeth's imbalanced state emphasizes the traditional Galenic medical practice of using opposites. The ingestion or intake process of cooling substances from her phlegmatic temperament would oppose Macbeth's new fieriness, volatility, and anger. By steadying his flighty mind, Macbeth is able to kill Duncan. Though Lady Macbeth verbally adds to his more choleric state, her own geohumoral

disposition seems to remain intact for most of the play since she is continuously defined by her Scottish phlegmatic nature. However, later in the play, her humors become imbalanced and the drier, southern airs (presumably from England) move her from phlegmatic (cool/moist) to melancholic (cool/dry).[108] Plying Macbeth with his wife's phlegmatic spirits would have balanced out his excess of blood and heat with cooler and more moist elements. The distinction between Macbeth's changing humoral state and Lady Macbeth's geohumorality can be seen later in the descriptions of their complexions at the feast: "keep the natural ruby of your cheeks/ When mine is blanched with fear" (3.4.117-118). Macbeth, whose cheeks are "blanched with fear," is commanding his wife to maintain a "natural ruby" in his own complexion. According to humoralism, too much blood would have resulted in an overly red complexion, whilst a lack of blood would have resulted in the skin's pallor.[109]

Since the body repaired its coldness with heat and blood, blood was thought to vacate the rest of the body as it returned to the heart, and a chill was produced in the body. Thus, fear caused pallor and weakness because it had a transformative power in the body to make the heart go "stony cold" (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 144). When Macbeth states that Lady Macbeth's pallor is "natural ruby" and his own is "blanched," we can see that he is noticing the temperance of her complexion and the problematic color of his own.[110] Further, he is linguistically cuing the audience to recognize the physical markers of his humoral imbalances that are working against his natural Scottish geohumorality. He is also potentially drawing attention to how these bodily changes stem from a very real emotional reaction of fear; his paled complexion is driven by his

[108] Though she still appears to remain moist and cool, which are two qualities of her phlegmatic geohumorality.
[109] See Floyd-Wilson, "English Epicures and Scottish Witches," pp. 131-161.
[110] Later in the play, Macbeth chides the Servant in Act 5, Scene 3 for his lack of excessive blood in the complexion and the cowardliness of his body's liver (seen as the seat of the blood humor's creation). Macbeth comments: "Go prick thy face and over-red thy fear, / Thou lily-livered boy" (5.3.14-15).

fear of seeing ghosts, and visually and linguistically his disposition expresses itself in a way that is juxtaposed to his Lady Macbeth's over blooded, hotter appearance.[111]

Due to his Scottish geohumorality, Macbeth has an increased susceptibility to humoral imbalances and temperamental inconstancy. Though Scottish geohumorality indicates a more phlegmatic temperament, we have to draw one additional layer back to understand the bigger geohumoral theory that informs the more specific Scottish geohumorality. As mentioned earlier, seventeenth-century society would have believed (in geohumoral terms) that the English and Scots were grouped together into an overarching category called "Middlers" within the theory's parameters.[112] This bigger umbrella of the geohumoral theory then compares the three major groups in the same way that Charron's writings did: northerners, middlers, and southerners. Though we have previously been operating with Scotland and England as northerners, here the theory shifts into a broader scope and places these countries in the middle of Europe's growing map.[113] Under this umbrella, both the Scots and English middlers were seen as temperate in disposition compared to their more imbalanced northern (e.g., people from Norway, Muscovites) and southern (Italian, Turkish) counterparts. As a group, the middlers were more temperate and thus more susceptible to imbalances from outsiders.

---

[111] This goes back to her potentially asking the spirits to make her blood thicker in Act 1, Scene 5.

[112] I recognize that the distinction was stark between the English and Scottish, however, the geohumoral theory's mutability provides a different perspective on this distinction between the two groups. Socially and politically, the tow identified as separate, however, geohumoral theory uses a location-based understanding of groups and the theory shifts depending on who is using it. In modern day terms, we might consider how we identify our geographic selves to others: I am from Coeur d' Alene, Idaho, and living in Norman, Oklahoma taught me to tell people I was from the "northern" area of the US or the "Pacific Northwest." However, I am now physically located in Eugene, Oregon, so I can call myself a Pacific Northwesterner, or I might describe that I am from Cd'A but recently come form the valley of Oregon. What matters here is who I am describing my geographic self to and how I want to identify to that audience. There is a significant geographic shift in this thinking based on audience, which is how I understand the early modern us of the geohumoral theory.

[113] The geohumoral theory also focuses in on much narrower groupings and fixates on inner group differences that separate out nuanced humoral fluctuations. For example, the geohumoral theory specifies that Highlands Scots were more phlegmatic than Lowlands Scots because of the geographic differences present in their homeland.

Drawing on this specific idea, I argue here that the Scottish geohumorality would have been phlegmatic by nature but also prone to more temperance than other groups. As such, the Scots would have become less temperate compared to their natural temperaments due to an English invasion and the English tendency to be more sanguine. This argument draws on Floyd-Wilson's argument that English immigration over time and a growing English epicureanism would have made the Scots turn away from simple living to this more lavish, epicurean lifestyle. In doing so, this made their Scottish bodies and Scotland as a country more porous to outside invaders and less temperate and phlegmatic in nature and disposition. This idea is embodied in Macbeth's words, "Then, fly, false thanes, / And mingle with the English epicures!" (5.3.7-8). This moment suggests that Macbeth views the English as invading Scotland and influencing everything from their temperaments to their tastes.

This influence is reflected in Macbeth's changing humoral balance and his inability to resist evil as it undermines his humanity, and he commits murder. Slowly, his internal predisposition softens from a naturally phlegmatic—cold and moist—state to one fluctuating to the warmer, more temperate air that is creeping into Scotland. Macbeth's physical imbalances and his related internal vulnerabilities provide openings for the witch's evil to enter and spread throughout his body, which results in his propensity to enact evil in the play. Macbeth, like the country of Scotland, is showing signs of a vulnerable body that is open to infection. The environmental influence is too strong, Macbeth is too susceptible, and his geohumoral temperament as a Scot is too ingrained to throw off or transform to a more moderate, English temperament that might be able to resist these Scottish witches. It can also be argued that Macbeth's adoption of more choleric and fiery humors might be making him more vulnerable to Scottish witches and their ability to manipulate the weather and environment. If Macbeth were to

fall back on his ingrained Scottish geohumorality, he might be better equipped to resist the temptation of the witches and their specific kind of Scottish geomagic in Act 1.

After he becomes humorally imbalanced and infected with evil, other characters notice the potential sickness that Macbeth carries ("And that well might / Advise him to a caution, t'hold what distance / His wisdom can provide" (3.6.44-46)). Lennox is describing Macbeth's state as contagious and telling one of the other lords to pass onto Macduff a warning regarding the evil that Macbeth carries. Throughout the play, Macbeth suffers from interrupted sleep and imaginative episodes; both states associated with evil infection. He also becomes more agitated and volatile; both states are tied to an imbalance of his humors, an excess of blood, and a choleric temperament.

Just as temperament and symptoms were determined by the (geo)humoral theory, so, too, were possible cures. Specifically, cures for a given disease or imbalance were based on the individual's humorality, their geohumorality, their known "natural" temperament (dependent here on nationality and internal characteristics), and their symptoms. Shakespeare incorporates this complex approach to medical cure in many of his plays through characters such as apothecaries, doctors, and female caregivers. In *Macbeth*, the doctor tending to Lady Macbeth embodies the traditional Galenic practitioner whose function is to examine how symptoms are expressing themselves in Lady Macbeth's like her complexion, urine sample, and behavioral changes. The doctor claims that Lady Macbeth is "Not so sick, my lord, / As she is troubled with thick-coming fancies / That keep her from her rest" (5.3.38-39). These lines call the audience back to Lady Macbeth's desire to have her blood made thick by the spirits and argue that her restlessness comes from hallucinations ("fancies"). After hearing his wife's diagnosis, Macbeth responds with:

Cure her of that.

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,

Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,

Raze out the written troubles of the brain,

And with some sweet oblivious antidote

Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff

Which weighs upon the heart? (5.3.40-45)

Macbeth quickly frames the doctor's role as a healer even if the problem is one of guilt or conscience that only a religious figure might be able to alleviate in her mind and body. Macbeth uses medical rhetoric to explain to the doctor what he should be doing for Lady Macbeth to cure her. Much like a physical ailment, Macbeth views the curative for his wife's "mind diseased" as needing an "antidote" the way that a body might need an antidote to a poisoning or to an excess of some other humoral fluid. What Macbeth is describing in medical terms seems to be confession so that her memories can be rooted out and the attached sorrow can leave her mind, the bosom needs to be cleansed, the weight from her heart needs to be unburdened, and the troubles of the brain need something physical to take them out of her body.

By relying on medical processes to describe how to cure his wife, Macbeth reinscribes her body with medical ailments that need medical treatment. In response to Macbeth's curative, the doctor says, "Therein the patient / Must minister to himself" (5.3.45-46). Throughout the play, Lady Macbeth's seemingly stable geohumoral nature becomes imbalanced in a similar manner to her husband's geohumoral shift. The doctor is suggesting that both Lady Macbeth and

Macbeth cure themselves through a treatment plan that is internally driven; it considers each of their (geo)humoral states and their willingness to be cured.

The doctor might also be tactfully declining the treatment plan since he knows that, regardless of the medicalization proffered by Macbeth, this illness is of the soul and stems from guilt.[114] Thus, the doctor is reluctant to ply Lady Macbeth's body with any antidotes since she demonstrates no physical illness. Instead, the doctor's course of treatment that must be "minister[ed] to himself" implies a spiritual, confessional process that Lady Macbeth must undertake to purge her guilt. Though a different kind of purging, the doctor is aware that some kind of stasis needs to be achieved in Lady Macbeth's mind (spiritual, not corporeal) before she begins to feel and act better.[115] Macbeth's discussion with the doctor about Lady Macbeth indicates the need for purging of the illness of evil:

> Doctor, cast
>
> The water of my land, find her disease,
>
> And purge it to a sound and pristine health,
>
> I would applaud thee to the very echo
>
> That should applaud again. --- Pull't off, I say.
>
> --- What rhubarb, senna, or what purgative drug
>
> Would scour these English hence? (5.3.49-56)

[114] For information on Galen's conceptions of how physicians should treat patients, review Galen's "That the Best Physician is also a Philosopher." *On My Own Opinions*. Akademie Verlag: Berlin, 1999.
[115] See Lucinda Cole discusses the purification and cleansing of biblical pestilence and evil spread through witches in early modern culture, pp. 65-84.

In Macbeth's mind, the English represent evil incarnate and it is this evil ("scour these English hence") that he is trying to evacuate from the system of Scotland ("find her disease, / And purge it").[116] However, he draws a parallel between Scotland's body ("The water of *my land*," my emphasis) and his wife's body ("*her* disease", my emphasis) when asking the doctor to find a cure. Macbeth's mention of medicinal plants like senna and rhubarb and the purgative drugs would address the sickness inside of Lady Macbeth and allow her to purge them from her bowels.

As evil was thought to be contracted through a porous boundary such as being breathed in through the mouth, nose, and lungs, or introduced through a gash or wound, the cure should also be found by using a porous boundary to rid the body of the illness and thus purge it from the system. The "antidote" (5.3.43) that Macbeth seeks for his wife and his country is one that can "cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff / Which weighs upon the heart" (5.3.44-45). Macbeth's suggestions to the doctor are reflective of Galenic treatments that promoted purging and as a means of re-establishing geohumoral balance in the body. What is most intriguing is the *lack* of blood in the potential curative for Lady Macbeth and, by extension, Scotland. *Macbeth* is an extremely bloody play in its conception and staging; there are numerous murders, blood is visually painted on clothes and on faces, and cut off heads become part of the spectacle. And yet there is no mention in this moment of bloodletting to rebalance Lady Macbeth's humors and there is also no sense of bloodletting to cure Scotland.

A quick and extremely popular Galenic practice, bloodletting rids the body of the excess bad blood and restores the person's humors to their natural state. There was also thought to be a

[116] However, the other side of this argument is that Scotland is the country that needs purging and Caithness' description of Malcolm mentions that his medicine will purge the country of its evil disease (5.2.27-29).

cathartic aspect to bloodletting that allowed for a more moral curative to be applied to the body as a physical curative was taking place (Hobgood 183-184). The missing blood in this scene might be accounted for in a few ways. The first is that Macbeth and the doctor are both Scottish and their natural tendency is toward water-based approaches because of their Scottish geohumoralities (wet and cool), which translates into purgatives being preferred over the method of bloodletting (which might be more closely associated with the English geohumorality).[117] The second is that Macbeth wishes for the English to be "scour(ed)" from Scotland and purgatives offer the only complete method of ridding the country of English bodies and influence.

The third reason is that bloodletting, though applied quickly, often takes numerous rounds of application as the bad blood is slowly removed from the imbalanced body. In comparison, purgatives typically expel the bad humors from the body in one bout. Macbeth does not have the time to wait for the English to slowly be bled from Scotland and there is a possible fear that the remaining English might inhabit "the body" long enough to reinfect it. A quick resolution, for the narrative and the play itself, is necessary. Similarly, Lady Macbeth requires a timely cure to her ailments and purgatives offer a faster and more effective solution. The fourth reason revisits the notion of the "antidote" in that Lady Macbeth and Scotland have been infected with evil through the air and must seek a treatment Galenically fitting for the situation, purgation would remove the evil airs from the body entirely, whereas bloodletting might not be the most targeted approached for the airy humors.[118] Floyd-Wilson's argument that English epicureanism has likewise "infected" the Scottish geohumorality through an overindulgence of food and drink,

[117] Purgatives were thought to be a more comical treatment in theater; vomiting, laxatives, and leeches were far more entertaining in a comedy than other curative methods like bloodletting (Steggle 220). So, it is interesting that Shakespeare chose a more comedic approach to this plot resolution and medical treatment plan in such a tragic play.
[118] A simpler explanation might also be that Macbeth, who is suggesting the use of purgatives, is not a trained physician. Instead, he is merely adopting the period's humoral and medical rhetoric to draw the comparison between his sick wife and his sick country in this moment.

the emphasis on a softer lifestyle, and seeking comfort and luxury above all else also indicates the need for a purgative.[119] This is because excess, in Galen's theory, should be purged out of the system; the abundance of materialism has made its way into the body and is blocking its functionality, so evacuating the system through the use of rhubarb, senna, or another drug would alleviate the excess.

The shift in Lady Macbeth's geohumorality towards a more melancholic state begins to unconsciously demonstrate regret for her actions in the murders of the play and her constant attention to the imaginary blood on her hands emphasizes the humoral and subsequent instability of her character. Specifically, "the humoral archetype of Northerners is central to our interpretation of Lady Macbeth's bodily discourse" and to our understanding of her decline in the play (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 66). Lady Macbeth can no longer be identified as the strong, powerful, and even masculine ideal of Scottish womanhood. Instead, she is a fretful, muttering mess likely too congested with watery phlegm that has deranged her typically witty mind such that it expresses itself in her unconscious, sleepwalking state. The fantastical appearance of blood on Lady Macbeth's hands is a reminder that by liquifying Duncan's body back into the earth, she and her husband released his humoral elements back into the Scottish environment.

For Macbeth, this act has come back to haunt him in the form of ghosts and apparitions. For Lady Macbeth, however, she imagines the stain of blood on her hands as a sign of her immoral acts and her contribution to the purging of Duncan's blood. The needless and violent purgation of Duncan's blood from the Scottish throne and environment can be considered an

[119] See Floyd-Wilson, "English Epicures and Scottish Witches" for a longer argument on the geohumoral clash between England and Scotland as well as the growth of epicureanism in both countries.

improper medical curative for an imbalance that never existed. Thus, Lady Macbeth and Macbeth practiced bad medicine by killing Duncan and removing his body and blood from the larger humoral makeup of Scotland and returning it back to the Scottish earth to be absorbed.

The blood, too, is suggestive of Lady Macbeth's lack of control over the life-ending and life-giving humoral substance. Women were associated with their menstrual blood and cultural anxiety grew in this period around the female body—specifically the womb—being a source of evil, an angry and corrupt organ, and a locus of disease (Kenny 6-7). Thus, wombs and women were rhetorically linked with witchcraft and "occult terminology" (Kenny 8). For Lady Macbeth, her womanliness is made more present on the stage if she is connected to blood and her sinister, occult underpinnings are laid bare in this moment as her rational sense has seemingly left her body. This is set up earlier by the violent renunciation of her maternal capacity and her embodiment of the ambiguous form. Unlike Macbeth, who is surrounded by corporeal forms such as killing instruments (daggers) and bloody victims, Lady Macbeth is haunted by a far more palpable and immediate visual of blood staining her own hands and death staining her own soul. Lady Macbeth's hallucinations, fragmented speech, and insomnia (connected to restless sleep and sleepwalking, too) are all viewed as womb ailments in early modern medicine and the roots of this illness can often be traced back to demonic possession, suffocation of the mother figure, and that previously mentioned deep link between wombs and the mystical (Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge* 69).

The doctor's lack of a physical diagnosis of Lady Macbeth stems from his inability to identify and treat a sickness that lies in her mind. This suggests that her imbalance is too excessive for a simple curative to work and that a more caustic mental cure derived from a divine source is the only effective solution. Her geohumoral state has transmuted her body beyond what

medicine can fix. The latter idea might align, then, with the argument that Lady Macbeth is beginning to reflect the Scottish witch geohumorality based on the "supernatural ecology" of Scotland, her association in the play with dark magic, and her now excessively watery (and airy) humoral makeup. The fear of witches, in this period, might be an underlying concern for the Doctor as he examines her incurable humoral irregularities and her previously discussed womb-based illness might be a more mystical problem.[120] Further, her stereotypical leaky vessels—thought to be part of a woman's bodily makeup—already meant that the doctor would have seen her sleepwalking and neurosis as stemming from her lack of rational thought and porous body (Chiari, *Shakespeare's Representations of Weather* 47).

We might also interpret Lady Macbeth as suffering a colder and drier imbalance because of the fluctuating bad air present in Scotland, which has resulted in a severe melancholy in the character as mentioned by her doctor in his initial diagnosis of her symptoms. Thus, as Carol Thomas Neely argues, Lady Macbeth's melancholy and despair might not be so distinctly "divine" in cause and cure as the doctor describes, and his lack of solutions suggests he may be shirking his doctorly duties by not treating her to the best of his abilities. Though confession and repentance might be necessary to scrub clean Lady Macbeth's soul from the metaphorical blood, it also seems necessary for the doctor to prescribe purgation (diuretic diet, or vomit-inducing herbs) to rebalance her humors. Specifically, the doctor should be inclined, as Macbeth points out, to give Lady Macbeth the rhubarb, senna, or other purgative drug that Macbeth suggests earlier on in Act 5, Scene 3 to alleviate her symptoms and align her with a cooler ("ruby cheeks"

[120] This might be part of the Doctor's reasoning later to declare that no matter of money will bring him back to Macbeth's castle.

of the choleric) and more moist (melancholic brain) geohumorality.[121] The doctor's professional failure hardens the suggestion that is implied in his conversation with the gentlewoman; the doctor interprets Lady Macbeth's words to conclude that she participated in Duncan's murder, or at least some comparably dark deed, which makes her state beyond his care.

This play's suggestion of potential cures to the audience draws on the familiar structure of a medical treatise and supplies answers to burgeoning questions about plagues or humoral imbalances that a curious audience would no doubt be considering as they sat in a packed space breathing in the possibly pestilent air and indulging in all aspects of the theater. *Macbeth*'s continual use of contagion discourse begins to breed a hypochondrial response in its audience and induce anxiety over the theatrical space. The risk associated with playgoing brings with it some level of excitement, but the possibility of encountering evil or infection lay outside of the norm and the risks were therefore heightened for playgoers.[122] Providing treatments for the imbalanced bodies and their symptoms on stage (like Lady Macbeth's melancholy) could have also given a small source of comfort to the audience's growing anxieties that the Galenic treatments they were familiar with could help to cure imbalances, though perhaps not as extreme as the ones in this play.

To address the excess in Scotland that has plagued Macbeth, the play suggests a balancing of the humors and thus a larger return to a stable, natural equilibrium in the country. Macbeth's geohumoral imbalance has created a chain of chaos within Scotland and his opposition seeks to remedy the problem. Macduff states, "Boundless intemperance in nature is a tyranny" (4.3.67). Macduff speaks of Macbeth's inability to control ("boundless") his internal

[121] Macbeth describes his wife as having a stuffed bosom, which repeats the idea that her humoral fluids have been thickened and even stopped up in her body.
[122] See Slotkin's *Sinister Aesthetics: The Appeal of Evil in Early Modern English Literature*. Springer, 2017.

nature and his lack of balance within his body ("intemperance"), which Macduff is connecting to Macbeth's tyrannical model of leadership. Here, Macduff seems to be demonstrating the period's idea that a little imbalance in one's humors was natural and acceptable since it could easily be rebalanced. However, a larger problem arises when intemperate states are excessive and cannot be balanced out, which results in them becoming unnatural. Today, we might consider this notion as a leader "drunk on their own power."

The passions, driven by someone's humors, express themselves as behaviors. Those behaviors are then morally coded in society as virtues such that one's humors impact their morality. For example, Malcolm tells Macduff that he must have the "king-becoming graces" (4.3.91) that will counteract or counterbalance Macbeth's own immorality. Though a more medical cure can be found to purge Macbeth's humors, a moral remedy is instead implied. The cure can be found in the disease's opposition; intemperance can be countered by "justice, verity, temp'rance, stableness, / Bounty, perseverance, mercy, lowliness, / Devotion, patience, courage, fortitude" (4.3.92-94). A balancing of the humors by removing the excesses and ridding the body politic of its sins as the recommended course of treatment seems to fit well with Hippocratic and Galenic medicine. Thus, by plying Macbeth and Scotland with antithetical courses of treatment, the symptoms demonstrated by both bodies can be directly diagnosed and treated through a balancing of the humors. This course of treatment can be viewed as a civilizing process where a good government was working to confront the tyranny of Macbeth's rule and that there was a purging of humors by alleviating the distemper of the body politic through moral, virtuous work (Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge* 53). Malcolm's medical rhetoric here comforts the audience's anxiety by passing off a plan tied both to the balanced humors of his internal self and the curative nature of his actions: "Let's make us med'cines of our great revenge / To cure this deadly grief"

(4.3. 214-215). In fact, Caithness calls himself "the med'cine of the sickly weal / And with him pour we in our country's purge / Each drop of us" (5.2.27-29).[123] Lucinda Cole argues that the balancing of hot and cold environments was a large part of the (geo)humoral discourse of the historical period. This discourse should inform our understanding of how *Macbeth* might be suggesting a balancing of elemental and geohumoral forces to stabilize the body of the self and the body politic.[124]

Just as audiences must examine larger geohumoral implications in Macbeth, they are equally tasked with seeing the connections between the individual curatives prescribed in the play and their grander abstractions to be applied to a whole country. The healing powers of the English king are discussed at length in Act 4, Scene 3, and though he is curing individuals of their ailments, we can infer some bigger stakes from them related to the medical discourse of the period. The English king, Edward the Confessor, is described initially as:

> Ay, sir. There are a crew of wretched souls
>
> That stay his cure. Their malady convinces
>
> The great assay of art, but at his touch---
>
> Such sanctity hath heaven given his hand---
>
> They presently amend. (4.3.141-145)

[123] Earlier in the play, Lennox describes the help of Macduff, Malcolm, and even the English as "Some holy angel / Fly to the court of England and unfold / His message ere he come, that a swift blessing / May soon return to this our suffering country / Under a hand accursed" (3.6.46-50).

[124] See Cole's argument about how Macbeth presents the balancing of the humors and the balancing of the body politics' state using the same rhetoric and how this draws a parallel between the concepts of self and country.

The king's physical contact appears to heal the sick in England, which would likely be encouraging to the audience because they are English and take pride in their national identity and their ruler's divine sanction. This king's powers provide a moment of ease because he represents divine protection and cure. The king represents God and thus it is only God's powers that can be the antidote to the Devil's evil that has infiltrated Scotland. Since the English soldiers carry with them the divine approval of the king, they represent the physical touch necessary for Edward to heal Scotland. The process, though physical (touch) that Edward is said to perform on his subjects, is abstracted out and embodied in his armies as they aim to heal Scotland. The healing touch of the king, as represented by the English soldiers, counterbalances the closeness of the contagious air that spreads the sickness in *Macbeth* with the more immediate physical contact of the king's curative powers.

Once the English Doctor leaves the scene, Malcolm and Macduff discuss the illness the king is healing:

> Tis called the Evil.
>
> A most miraculous work in this good King,
>
> Which often since my here-remain in England
>
> I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven
>
> Himself best knows; but strangely visited people,
>
> All swoll'n and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
>
> The mere despair of surgery, he cures,
>
> Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,

Put on with holy prayers; and, ‘tis spoken,

To the succeeding royalty he leaves

The healing benediction. With this strange virtue,

He hath a heavenly gift of prophecy,

And sundry blessings hang about his throne

That speak him full of grace. (4.3.147-159)

The “Evil” disease that Malcolm is speaking about here was known as the king’s evil, or scrofula. Scrofula was likely tuberculosis, which is a glandular disease and could easily be viewed in the seventeenth century as related to the bubonic plague because of the development of buboes in the glandular areas like the armpits. The additional references to “swoll’n” and “ulcerous” are indicative of an evil disease that is plaguing the body and its potential humoral source is choler because of the build-up of yellow bile and pus.

Aside from the literal illness, this play employs the name “Evil” when discussing what the English have contracted and the king is curing. The text directly draws on the contagion discourse that Shakespeare has been actively using throughout the play. This English king represents the ideal, geohumoral choleric substance because most monarchs were thought to be choleric individuals imbued with noble fire. Therefore, this naturally choleric English king was believed capable of healing Scotland of its similarly comprised choleric, evil infection.[125] Utilizing Paracelsus’ theory of similarities curing the body, Shakespeare crafts a clever geohumoral remedy that treats an imbalanced choleric geohumorality with a naturally choleric

[125] This argument is drawn from the same line of geohumoral theory the entire chapter operates under: the English were viewed as more choleric than the Scottish, which would make Edward naturally more choleric.

geohumorality to stabilize Scotland's phlegmatic temperament. Edward's healing powers have worked already to drive out evil infections from his people, and Shakespeare uses this historical information to drive the narrative that he is likely to be as curative to Scotland since they, too, suffer from an evil infection.

The English king's powers are driven by the act of prayer ("Hanging a golden stamp about their necks, / Put on with holy prayers") and "healing benediction," both of which require speaking, language, and breathing. As readily as the Weird Sisters use the air for their evil, so, too, does Edward the Confessor use the element for curatives.[126] Like Plato's *pharmakon*, air in its various forms is not only the poison, but also the cure.[127] Derrida's interpretation of Plato's *pharmakon* as this ""medicine," this philter, which acts as both remedy and poison, already introduced itself into the body of the discourse with all its ambivalence. This charm, this spellbinding virtue, this power of fascination, can be – alternatively or simultaneously – beneficent or maleficent" (429). The *pharmakon* offers the root of the problem for diagnosis and its potential treatment such that a hot, wet, bloody sanguineness should be met with bloodletting that is equally hot and wet.

However, Galenic practice in this time often suggested an oppositional treatment plan where a phlegmatic illness, for example, should be treated with a hot and dry choleric diet. Shakespeare's works demonstrate his familiarity with these competing medical ideologies and practices. The Galenic model, in the sixteenth century, was fluctuating as it drew on

[126] The play names him as Pious Edward, which marks him out to the audience as Edward the Confessor. Such an emphasis on words (i.e., confession) as important to the king's rule and to his legacy demonstrates his capacity to heal through air and language.

[127] Jacques Derrida, "Plato's Pharmacy." *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson. University of Chicago Press, 1981. For a topically relevant and applied discussion, see Eric Langley's work on sympathy and contagion in Shakespeare's work in *Shakespeare's Contagious Sympathies*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Hippocrates' work but also blended in newer medical thought from Paracelsus' alchemical theories. In Paracelsian practice, the idea that "like cures like" (or the *pharmakon* described above to a certain degree) was often applied such that an individual's symptoms and imbalances were indicative of the curatives that were needed.

Instead of more traditional Galenic methods, Paracelsian physicians would treat a fiery, hot, overly blooded temperament with equally fiery and hot curatives. This might take the form of spicy foods, warmer climatic temperatures and dress, and elixirs that stirred the blood. In *Macbeth*, Scotland's imbalanced, miasmic air can be purified through good, moral, and religious air, which is coming in the form of the English king's prayer and "heavenly gift of prophecy." A similar reliance on the air to provide balance in Scotland comes before the impending battle when Macduff exclaims, "Make all our trumpets speak. Give them all breath, / Those clamorous harbingers of blood and death!" (5.6.9-10). The air coming from the trumpets reminds us of the musical air the witches produced as they danced; the cure for their evil comes in the same musical form.

The second meaning that Derrida offers for *pharmakeus* is that it is an agent of magic or a sorcerer. In *Macbeth*, the delivery of this musical air from the magical witches, who provide the poison in the play. This moment also suggests a bloody curative for an equally bloody temperament. In addition, Macduff and Macbeth exchange air-related insults as they fight: Macduff claiming, "My voice is in my sword" (5.7.37) and Macbeth replying, "Thou losest labour. / As easy mayst thou the intrenchant air / With thy keen sword impress as make me bleed" (5.7.38-40). Macduff imbues his sword with the power of his words and yet Macbeth mocks his inability to cut the evil air and likewise cut him. The reality of evil or infection in the air is paralleled in the reality of Macduff's curative breath. Thus, Macduff's final act is to

remove Macbeth's head from his body and present it to Malcolm. In doing so, he removes Macbeth's capacity to further infect the air with his words and removes the connection between the infection sites of his eyes, mouth, and ears to the rest of his body, which seemingly stops the spread of evil since the agent of evil is now physically dead and metaphysically dead. The removal of Macbeth's head also indicates the expurgation of the primary corporeal agent of evil infection from Scotland. Further, the third meaning of *pharmakon* might be undergirding the removal of Macbeth: the scapegoat ritual has been performed by killing Macbeth and sacrificing his death for the sake of Scotland's future. This is a Derridean interpretation that provides a functional definition of how the pharmakon, in society, would provide remedy and balance for the wrongdoings of a group.

The killing of Macbeth signals a balancing out of the microcosm (the man, Macbeth) and the macrocosm (Scottish body politic, Scottish land/environment). This balance demonstrates the Paracelsian idea that balance needs to be achieved in order for a healthy system in both the individual and the body politic to exist.[128] Unlike Galen, whose focus was on balancing the singular body through more natural and less extreme ways, Paracelsus often abstracted his work to a bigger scale and suggested treatments often including caustic chemicals and violent means of transformation. The treatment of a local, individual problem like Macbeth would have the same chain reaction that his evil infection imposed on Scotland; removing Macbeth from the infected system would create a ripple of rebalancing that inevitably cures Scotland of its illness. Further, by completely ridding the system of Macbeth through beheading, there is no future possibility for imbalance by his evil. The caustic and violent removal of Macbeth shifts the body

[128] Paracelsus was also gaining importance due to his role in iatrochemical medicine and the application of chemical treatments to bodily imbalances.

politic back into a more phlegmatic nature since it no longer must contend with Macbeth's choleric, evildoing body.

Geohumoral Conclusions

Geohumoral theory offers a wealth of insight into how Shakespeare characterizes two of his most notable characters, Lady Macbeth and Macbeth. Both exemplify the Scottish geohumorality of valor, strength, hardiness, and slower wit, with bodies that are cooler, moister, and more phlegmatic. Their naturally phlegmatic temperaments stem from Scotland's equally cool, wet, and harsh environment. Through these characterizations, audiences are able to read into the many potential elemental causes of evil in this play and understand on a theoretical level how this evil can move from an individual, microcosmic level to a much greater, macrocosmic level. *Macbeth* embodies geohumoral naturalness, situational unnaturalness, and the process of their interaction as creating imbalance in the body and in the country. As a result, Shakespeare captures the growing tensions in the medical field around Galenic versus Paracelsian methods of curing this imbalance and restoring balance to individuals and their homeland.

Shakespeare's rhetorical purpose for *Macbeth* seems to strategically bolster both geohumoralities for the countries that they are associated with instead of condemning either one as lesser or inherently wrong. Shakespeare seems to use the geohumoral theory to explore what the union of Scotland and England means for the people and their societies as King James I ascends to the throne in 1603. Shakespeare also uses the geohumoral to interrogate the level of agency and culpability a person might have within a certain social and environmental situation.

CHAPTER TWO:

Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, Sanguine Excess, and Material Consumption

Bartholomew Fair is a play built on blood and excess, including an excess of sanguine humorality. The location of Smithfield has a blood-soaked legacy. For one, it is a London locale infamous for its livestock yards and slaughterhouses where copious amounts of bodies press into one another, driven forward to their deaths by those in power to feed the growing consumption in the city.[129] The site was also famous for burning heretics (according to their co-religionists, martyrs) under Queen Mary I.[130] Such religious turmoil seeps into Jonson's city comedy and is juxtaposed against its starkly ascetic and Puritanical characters. These tensions give way to the more comedic aspects of the play and these moments are emphasized for the audience when placed in a sanguinely excessive humoral environment. *Bartholomew Fair* was first performed for the public at the Hope Theatre, which is a location with its own bloody traditions of bear baiting.[131] The Hope's staging area was known colloquially for its blood stains and the stench of death, but even these aspects did not deter playgoers from attending theatrical performances. As the dead bear flesh is removed from the ground, it is merely replaced by the live bodies of the groundling audience and the greasy meat being sold during the performance fills the air. [132] Animal bodies are replaced by human bodies, but the spectacle of destruction remains ever present at Smithfield. Theological and popular events both taint the soil at Smithfield, and

[129] For more information on the history and atmosphere of the Bartholomew Fair, see Henry Morley's *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*. 4th ed., Routledge, 1892.
[130] For detailed accounts of these historical burnings, see John King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs: Select Narratives*. Oxford's World Classics, Oxford University Press, 2009.
[131] See entry by Gabriel Egan on "animal shows" in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare.* 2nd ed., edited by Michael Dobson, Stanley Wells, Will Sharpe, and Erin Sullivan, Oxford University Press, 2015.
[132] See S.P. Cerasano's *Theatre and Entrepreneurs and Theatrical Economics*. The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre, ed. Richard Dutton, Oxford University Press, 2011.

Jonson utilizes this historical knowledge of the land for the *Bartholomew Fair* playgoers. [133] Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair,* at its core, deeply ponders the value of blood inside and outside of the body and how everyone's blood is valued by society differently. The excess of blood is also inextricably linked to the material excess on the stage in *Bartholomew Fair* so that the audience is constantly overwhelmed by the mass of bodies, theatrical stuff, and humoral content. This excessiveness lends itself to a much larger conversation in and around consumer practices; consumption of and by the body, consumption of goods and services, consumption of theater, and the impact of consumption on the individual body (the microcosm) and the societal body (the macrocosm).

With these complexities in mind, I argue that *Bartholomew Fair*'s theatrical excess explores thoughts of overconsumption, which is driven from a sanguine (and relatedly bloody and airy) framework. Such an overt and exaggerated production does seem fitting for the representation of the fair. However, its experimentation and development around performance, playwriting, and humoral thinking is evident in the characterization of Ursula and in its unique production elements. *Bartholomew Fair* ponders how the stage might be representative of a system—like a body—and how the system might be overloaded or taken in by excess. The play also considers what happens to that staged body once the excess is beyond control and how it is balanced out again. This line of inquiry draws on the period's understanding of the body politic,

[133] In fact, the excessiveness off the fair led to a 1708 publication titled, "Reasons for the punctual limiting of Bartholomew-Fair in West-Smithfield, to those three days which it is determined by the royal grant of it to the city of London." This printed work explains the crime, bad behaviors, and immorality that the fair promotes, which substantiates the limiting of the fair's festivities.

and yet applies it to the stage to create a body theatric concerned mainly with the excessiveness of both society and stage.[134]

A Sanguine Framework

Much like the phlegmatic framework used in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Jonson draws on the popular humoral theory to craft *Bartholomew Fair*. As Noga Arikha states, "humoural theory categorized and ordered presumed events in the organism according to (Aristotelian) causes," but I argue that Jonson is using the humoral theory to drive the order and events within the fair (85). Since the humoral bridged the gap between theories and practice—in social, medical, and even psychological aspects—it can be understood through a complex lens of engagements and interactions between the microcosmic and macrocosmic spaces. Elements, seasons, the environment, personal disposition, diet, and so much more are wrapped into the holistic understanding of the humoral theory, and its uses seem endless in this period. Thus, the humoral theory and its use in drama, can be seen operating at the singular level of character as well as in the structural level of the plot.

In approaching *Bartholomew Fair*, it is important to begin with a general knowledge of the humoral circumstances inside and outside of the play. As stated earlier, the core of this chapter's argument is derived under the assumption that the sanguine predominates in *Bartholomew Fair*. The bodily fluid driving a sanguine temperament is an excess of blood, and the humoral theory also acknowledges that the human body should contain a great deal of this

[134] For the purposes of this chapter, the term body theatric is defined as the collective organization of the entirety of a play's elements (e.g., staging techniques, props and costumes, players, playgoers) considered through a metaphorical lens as a physical body.

substance in comparison with the other three humors. This is because blood was the "noble humor" that governed the entirety of the body and its processes (Lindemann 19). Thomas Walkingtone, a clergyman of the Church of England and author, wrote that "Bloode is the oile of the lampe of our life" (qtd in A.Smith), which suggests a robust understanding of the necessity of blood for powering the body. Along this line of thinking, monarchs were considered the most sanguine beings in society, though their blood was divinely blessed and thus in balance with the other humors. Bad blood, lack of blood, and degenerated blood were all to be avoided, but most people were easily susceptible to a fundamental change in their blood (Arikha 31).

Elementally, sanguineness is related to air, which suggests an intricate link between the two to create "pneuma" or one's lifeforce. Since good air was vital for a healthy individual, bad air, or miasma, was to be filtered out, avoided, and fought against with a variety of methods such as taking walks or holding certain herbs and fruits to one's nose. In fact, Montaigne's essay "Of Smells" even pondered if men's mustaches trapped bad air (often determined by the presence of bad odors) and should be shaved off in order to avoid catching an illness because of the hair.[135] Domestic and cognitive spaces were associated with air since this element occupied the literal house and the body's mental house, or the brain (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 228). Not only was air present around a body, but it made that body function by its intake. The same can be said for air making society function through language. Without breath and airiness, language is impossible, which means little is accomplished in a growing city like London. In *Bartholomew Fair*, the air becomes a straightforward way for overindulgent smells to pass through one's nose into their body, but air also makes possible the overly complex games and devices of this play.

[135] See Hélène Cazes, "Apples and Moustaches: Montaigne's Grin in the Face of Infection." *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe,* edited by Claire Carlin, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 77-93. for a longer discussion of Montaigne's essay and the collective conceptions of miasma and contagion.

These turns of phrase and nonsensical linguistic endeavors create a "game of vapours" that rely on cooperation, excessiveness, and a metamorphosis of forms (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 239).

Ultimately, Jonson crafts a deeply complex sanguine character in Ursula (the staller at the fair that sells greasy pork) and uses her richly alluring presence to tempt other characters into the fair's debauchery. By drawing on the sanguine humorality, Jonson goes well beyond the stock development of Ursula and instead maximizes her humorality for comedic and critical purposes. As Paster notes, Jonson's representation of humorality is complex and interesting in that his characters claim humorality in "socially explicitly terms" (*Humoring the Body* 220). In doing so, "Jonson's humor[al] characters respond to the built-in emotional possibilities and constraints of the social order" (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 220). For example, sanguineness, blood, air, and heat govern Ursula's physical descriptions and livelihood, her (re)actions in the plot, and even her linguistic tendencies.[136] Her character is starkly contrasted humorally to the moderate fairgoers such as Zeal-of-the-land Busy and is certainly oppositional to the melancholic women like Mistress Overdo.[137]

As an individual becomes too sanguine (too much heat, blood, and air), they become overly excessive and indulgent. Their risky behavior leads to a life of overconsumption of food and drink, extensive socializing and partying, and engaging in sexually lewd acts. Sanguineness

[136] Humoral qualities were also part of the theory: wet/moist, dry, cold, and hot were all common ways to understand the humoral fluids like blood and bile. They were also apt descriptors for the seasons that linked to each humor. For example, spring was both hot and wet as a season.

[137] The names that Jonson uses are fairly evident in characterizing each person in his plays. Here, we can see that overdo seems fitting for a woman whose role is to impersonate a sex worker for a larger, more elaborate plot cooked up by Captain Whit. Matthew Steggle emphasizes that Jonson often relies on cratylic names to develop meaning for the audience behind a character (i.e., their name signifies a greater meaning, often related to their personality). Steggle, Matthew. "The Humours in Humour : Shakespeare and Early Modern Psychology." *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Comedy*. First ed., Edited by Heather Anne Hirschfeld. Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 220-236.

was also related in the period's literature to concepts like idealism, to characters often deemed dreamers, to historical issues like political and war-based blunders (because they were often started over dubious or petty reasons), and to individual characteristics such as vitality and virility (Draper 25-27). Jonson's drama toys with these same ideas and focuses on the concept of overconsumption and excess both on and off stage. *Bartholomew Fair* uses the sanguine temperament to guide a raucous play filled with far too many moving story lines, bodies, and games. The chaotic fair acts as a simultaneously controlled location for overindulgence and cosseted personalities; the microcosm of the space speaks to a much greater concern about London society consuming too much and its political body becoming imbalanced. There is also the posed threat of too much control—often in the form of licensure, law, and regulatory bodies—creating too many boundaries around the fair and destroying the meticulously crafted chaos of its environment. The play overloads the senses and the mind to create an authentic fair experience, but it also uses this approach to stretch the possibilities of what takes place in a theatrical space. As blood and air combine during a hot and moist season in this play, a lively scenery envelopes the fair and its attendees; all of which result in excess and a desire to overconsume.

Bartholomew Fair, then, demonstrates not only how the sanguine operates dramatically, but allows audiences to better understand how their own systems respond to too much humor of blood, the sanguine temperament, and the element of (hot) air. The sins of lechery and gluttony combine under the same guise as overindulgence; as a result, pollution and impurity become causal explanations for the sicknesses breeding in the characters, the fair, and even in London (Lindemann 13).[138] In response to the moral implications of sanguineness, many philosophers,

[138] See also, p. 23.

medical thinkers and practitioners, and a variety of writers (poets, playwrights, and pamphlet makers alike) focused on the fashioning of the self through regimen and temperance. Scholars such as Margaret Healy argue that early 16th century "humanist misgivings about England's gluttony appear to have evolved into a new temperance movement" (190-91). The control of one's humors, temperaments, and appetites were as much economic and political issues as they were personal, medical issues (Healy 194).

Thus, *Bartholomew Fair*'s economic landscape lends itself to the much larger discussion about how people, society, and the government might control their humors and appetites in an environment like that fair promotes excess. This play frames consumer practices around a specific consumer marketplace (the fair) that is designed to tempt those struggling to remain physically healthy and morally good. Therefore, the complex impact of the microcosm of the individual human body and its humoral balance on the macrocosm's economic and social structures are made evident in *Bartholomew Fair* such that control and/or indulgence by the microcosm immediately and significantly alters the macrocosm in this play. For example, Ursula's gluttonous behaviors imbalance her body and lead to her sanguine temperament. This sanguineness leaks from her to her pig booth out into the fair and creates an excessive, indulgent nature to her stall. This unctuous environment extends beyond Ursula's body and influences the bodies of others.

A Bloody and Excessive History

Bartholomew Fair, as a city comedy that is set in the realistic location of the Bartholomew Fair, was one of London's traditional summer fairs held between August 24th-26th

(Haynes).[139] The history of this fair began when an annual cloth fair was held inside St. Bartholomew's Priory limits, and the pleasure fair was located outside the priory walls (Kastan and Stallybrass 201). Such a clear delineation between pleasure and religious observance was built early in the history of this fair and inspires the play's plot line; the morally good people avoid the fair and remain connected to the church, whilst the pleasure-seekers are outside the walls and at the fair. The history of the fair also included gatherings where pilgrims and worshippers arrived on feast days and celebrated at religious sites like St. Bartholomew's Priory (Morley 13). Later, the fair became known for the trade of textiles and animals, as well as hosting numerous small street performances (Haynes 650). The changing nature of the fair demonstrated a shift in London's culture toward consumption of pleasurable items and an overindulgence in luxury goods.

The historical location of the fair is in Smithfield, where public executions often took place, and a slaughterhouse assumed most of the space (Haynes 647). As evidenced in the name, the fair is dedicated to St. Bartholomew, whose namesake monastery was dissolved prior to King James' reign and was eventually used as a site for burning heretics. This meant the space held cultural, religious, and social memories for Londoners (Haynes 650).[140] Such bloody history behind the Smithfield location provides the play with a natural sanguineness because of its excess of the humoral fluid. Catherine Clifford argues that historical memories are imbued into the spaces where they take place. For example, battlefields, protest locations, and spaces where historical events have occurred (e.g., Dealey Plaza in Dallas, Texas where John F. Kennedy was

[139] This would have been a hot and moist season, though the play was performed in the cold and dry season of winter.

[140] St. Bartholomew's Hospital was one of Henry VIII's creations and was one of the most famous sites of research and medicine during the 17th century (Morley 1).

shot) leave traces of their cultural impacts on the location. Clifford then argues that theatrical productions draw on this collective, cultural memory to instill a sense of narrative in their works that recalls—critically or nostalgically—the historical events that have since passed.[141] This collective social memory is constructed and drawn upon by using this setting in a play, and the reality of the space/event brings with it a multitude of predetermined conceptions about the play that shadow the storyline presented to the audience. Though blood—animal and human—was spilled in the Smithfield location for distinct reasons, the use of this location for a play about humoral excess and sanguine natures seems most fitting. It also speaks to a greater growing concern that England's body was becoming too glutted on the expanding market offerings and needed proper venting of its "blood" to regain balance.[142]

In addition to being set in Smithfield, *Bartholomew Fair* was first performed on October 31, 1614, at the Hope Theater by the Lady Elizabeth's Men (Keenan 121-8). This play marked both the opening of the Hope Theater and the start of a new theatrical season at court, which took place on All Saint's Day festivities.[143] These circumstances allowed for a more exorbitant price tag and the commission of this production, though Jonson's masques were thought to be expensive, elaborate affairs as well. The Hope Theatre was in Saint Saviour's in Southwark, London, and it was converted from the previous Bear Garden, though bear baiting was still commonplace between performances at the Hope.[144] Scholars believe that *Bartholomew Fair*

[141] See Catherine Clifford's "The Old Name is Fresh About Me: Architectural Mimesis and Court Spaces in All is True." *Performances at Court in the Age of Shakespeare*, edited by Sophie Chiari and John Mucciolo. Cambridge University Press, 2019.
[142] For further reading, see Margaret Healy's F*ictions of Disease in Early Modern England: Bodies, Plagues and Politics*. Palgrave, 2001.
[143] All Saint's Day is a Christian holiday celebrated on November 1st that pays homage to all the recognized saints. In the Church of England, it is a Principal Feast Day, meaning it holds the highest status of religious observances, and can be honored on the Sunday between October 31st and November 5th to host communion.
[144] For more reading on The Hope Theatre and its rivalry in many ways with Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, see publications listed in References for Griffith; Morley; Rosenfield.

was crafted specifically for this theatrical location and for the Lady Elizabeth's Men for the reminiscent undertones of Smithfield, the large troupe, and the public audience that the Hope drew. Textual evidence suggests that the Hope Theatre was the specific location that Jonson had in mind; in the play's induction he explicitly mentions Smithfield being dirty and the groundling audience of the play having little with that connects the Hope and Smithfield (Haynes 666). Though Smithfield was the location of the fair, the Hope was in a similar atmosphere with the baiting taking place in the same space as the performance. These similarities between Smithfield and the Hope include a terrible smell, the presence of blood and death, and the presence of lower-class people indulging in entertainment, cheap food, drink, and lewd behavior. Jonathan Gil Harris mentions that this play is an olfactory palimpsest where the stench of the Jonsonian stage maximizes the smell of the surrounding environment as it mixes with on-stage smells, food, and even animals (119).[145] Much like the thematic content of the play, the locations of the Bartholomew Fair, Smithfield, and the Hope Theatre all work in unison to create an authentic, excessive, and indulgent quality to the work and for the audience. Consumption, to an extreme, undergirds the entirety of the play and its setting (historical and fictional, alike) is immediately marked for the audience by blood and material stuffs that suggest a greater moral degeneration of London.[146]

[145] Harris also mentions that the court performance of *Bartholomew Fair* would have been even smellier because it was a smaller space and because the relief areas between the walls and the columns would have added stronger notes of human waste to the atmosphere (120).

[146] This collective sin was often thought to be the cause for large-scale epidemics such as the plagues. A grand punishment from God to make humans atone for their excessive sinning.

Character Congestion: Excessive Bodies on Stage

Drawing on the cultural memory of the historic locations, Jonson develops the theme of excessiveness by loading the stage with fair materials and bodies. *Bartholomew Fair* assailed the audience's sense of sight with bodies and blood. This play indulges in the space of the stage by drawing in and pushing out a continuous flow of characters that are both central and tangential to the plot. It also uses the fair setting to load the stage with ample materials such as booths and purchasable goods. In addition, the resources required for this performance suggest an interesting turn in theatrical history.

One visual site of consumption in *Bartholomew Fair* comes into the audience's awareness as they consider the vast number and various groupings of the characters throughout the play. *Bartholomew Fair* was originally performed by The Lady Elizabeth's Men, which is unique in that it has more youth players than adult players and receives patronage during this period from both by the king's daughter and the Master of Revels.[147] The Lady Elizabeth's Men formed in 1611 and by 1613 merged with the Children of the Queen's Revels to create a much larger company (Keenan 121). The patronage from these offices provides Jonson and the players immense protection from authorities as well as far more liberty on stage (Griffith *x*). Most scholars suggest that Jonson specifically wrote *Bartholomew Fair* with this larger company in mind and that he desired the predominantly youthful players in the company to perform such a fast-paced city comedy. The stage directions of the printed folio of *Bartholomew Fair* reflect this idea in the descriptions of the oddball characters in the play such as Ursula, Dame Purecraft, Joan Trash, and Quarlous and their lively natures (see Keenan 121). The amalgamation of this

[147] For more information on the Master of Revel's office and their integral role in providing theatrical productions at court locations, see Richard Dutton's The Court, the Master of Revels, and the Players. The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre, 2nd ed., edited by Richard Dutton, Oxford University Press, 2011.

acting troupe hints at the burgeoning economic consumption in theater culture as smaller companies are no longer viable, and instead companies want bigger name players, flexible secondary actors, and youths to fill out the complex performances that dramatists like Jonson craft for the public and for the court. Jonson is also thinking through what a larger cast might afford his performances and how the limits of the stage might be tested with such a large host of bodies present in one production. The theatrical boundaries move outward with so many players, overconsumption is rife in this kind of performance, and the idea of imbalance within the theatrical body are made transparent.

Marshall Botvinick argues that this production is particularly difficult to stage due to the large cast list (even with doubling being used) and the immense number of set pieces (71). The play includes over thirty-six specified roles with extra castings like “passengers” and “officers” mentioned to create the atmosphere of the real Bartholomew Fair. Botvinick further argues that the production relies on sensory overload of high volumes of staging material and hosts a huge cast that needs to function with an elevated level of ensemble acting (71). Ensemble acting, for the period, means that the actors must work around each other and around the staging materials to tell the story instead of relying on minimal stage design and only one or two actors on stage to reflect the complexity of the narrative (71). Bodies moving agilely around material goods suggests an excess of matter on the stage and a multidimensional chaotic landscape to center the confusing plot around. Botvinick also argues that this play, like most in this period, uses doubling to be economical and practical in the staging (91). Though a popular practice during the period, using doubling in this performance seems unlikely for any major characters and would have created further confusion for the audience when tracking characters. For example, Act 1, Scenes 1-5 each host eight characters on stage that could not possibly be doubled (at least not in

the first act itself). Doubling seems impossible here because of the additive nature of the plot where each new scene adds one to three new characters to the already stocked stage. That is not to say that doubling was not used for minor characters, but Jonson would have been required to be methodical in their use so as not to cross significant roles and cause too much audience confusion.

Overall, the audience is consuming the visuals on the stage in excessive doses and taking in the continuous moments of consuming as they selectively attend to specific areas of the stage, certain characters, and the dramatic display in front of them. This sensory overload mimics the reality of the fair as goers taste indulgent foods, buy textiles and fabrics, and watch various entertaining sideshows. Like fairgoers not knowing where to look or buy, audience members watching this play would not know which actor to follow, which part of the stage to attend to, and where to focus their attention for extended periods of time. According to humoral theory, a person's inability to concentrate, their impulsiveness, and their overly cheerful, positive attitude are suggestive of a sanguine temperament. Therefore, the play's additive nature and its festive excessiveness can be characterized as sanguine and the multitude of consumer products for the audience to buy creates a sanguine ethos to the performance.

The stage directions in *Bartholomew Fair* indicate a prominent level of understanding when it came to ensemble acting because of the pace the play sets with characters flitting in and out of the stalls or moving to the side of a booth. At times, a single plot line is indiscernible. As this play is first staged at the Hope and then performed the next day for King James in the Banqueting House, it is important to note that both the public and court stages were smaller in size, have a smaller or no discovery space for the actors to change and enter/exit the stage from, and show most of the transitions throughout the play. Much like bodies, the stage becomes a site

where elements and materials move alongside, into, and against each other to come and go from one area to another.[148] Though this is exciting to the audience, it is also difficult to follow any of the action, and players would soon converge into a mass of bodies as they move on and off the stage. The play spurs the audience to indulge in the action and it feeds this indulgent behavior by scaffolding the action around impulsive moments indicative of London's fair culture. This play is distinctly indigestible for its audience, which is likely why its performance history is limited.

Similarly, the unmasking of the theatrical elements in the play suggests Jonson's comfort in showing what happens behind the scenes and his willingness to show the audience these hidden processes. By pulling back the dramatic curtain, Jonson adds to the chaos on stage and demonstrates the clear excess that all theatrical spectacle inherently operates under. Fair culture itself capitalizes on showing spectators what they are getting and how those goods or services are made. The fair is often a large space full of vibrant foods and beverages, high volumes of traffic, and the flow of goods being bought and sold. Everything at the fair is open, exposed, and on display for everyone to witness. This is an indulgent, experiential space that allows all attendees to actively participate in the processes, rituals, and making. The fair also features shows and demonstrations that capture the desire of attendees to be entertained and seek spectacle. These are well-planned distractions for the fairgoers that probe their impulses and allow them to casually indulge as they move from more formal indulgent spaces. In the production, this might mean fairgoers paying for and listening to a ballad as they stroll between stalls like the one Ursula runs. As Paster mentions, playgoers "develop an appetite for the spectacle of others' affectations in order to enhance the quality of their self-experience" when attending the theater

[148] This would have been made even more visually evident in the Banqueting House because the sides of the hall were used by the guests as relief areas, and they became back and forth spaces for servants to move materials such as food and drink.

(*Humoring the Body* 238). Not only are the skillful demonstrations entertaining, but the artificially created world of Jonson's fair entertains them. Though Jonson is evoking some level of authenticity, this only draws more attention to the stilted nature of what he has created in the play. The same can be said for the excessiveness that Jonson builds; the more unnatural and overly tedious the language, games, and staging were for this play, the more the performative elements stick out to the audience.

However, these are the very elements of this production that would, according to Paster, drive the attendees' own pleasurable experience in the theater.[149] The audience is allowed to indulge in their own impulses for theatrical word play and cleverness, and they are also given an extra dose of gluttonous pleasure when their wit and ability to follow these nonsense language games are recognized by their peers in the audience alongside them. The audience, much like the players, are imbibing and spewing out an excessive number of words that goes well beyond the normal expectation of the early modern theater. Their own humors are being swayed toward a sanguine temperament as they become drunk on the play's many linguistic, theatric, and social artifices. Between what takes place on the stage and what is happening to the audience off stage, the body theatric can be identified by its sanguine markers of impulsiveness, overtly cheerfulness, indulgent consumption, and material excessiveness.

Bartholomew Fair also features continuous groupings, regroupings, and connections made between the characters, which tempts the audience to follow all the action in the play but also challenges them to not confuse these reconfigurations (Levin 172-79). Through simple statistical procedures, I argue here that the character configurations and the number of bodies

[149] For a longer discussion of the playgoing experience and pleasure, see Paster's *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*. Cornell University Press, 1993.

present on stage in *Bartholomew Fair* represent a unique moment in theater where playwrights are now collaborating with much larger companies and can craft far more excessive plays that rely on more elaborate plot lines and characterizations to think through social and political problems. Specifically, for this section's methodology, I tracked the number of characters on stage, which included tracking the mentioned and assumed exits and entries of characters.

As shown in *Graph 1* (Appendix C), scenes range in character numbers from a minimum of one player to twelve players. In Act 1, Scenes 1-5 cumulatively progress as one to three players join Littlewit in each scene. Throughout the play, the average number of characters that interact in a scene is eight, with five scenes hosting at least this number of characters. There are also thirteen scenes out of thirty total scenes that have a range between eight and twelve characters who are present. This is 43% of the play where the stage is loaded up with a large cast. These scenes are not just overcrowded with warm bodies; they feature a high number of speaking roles, too, which adds to the chaos of the plot. The quantifications above do not include the vast number of additional fairgoers on stage or the puppets that appear in Act 5. If we do consider these roles in the calculations, some scenes can contain well above twelve characters, though the exact number of additional players on the stage is not specifically noted in the text. Further, Act 5 marks the appearance of puppets that interact with the puppet show watchers. In Scene 4, there are six puppets and twelve characters total, which makes the stage full of eighteen listed characters with the possibility of other bodies present on the stage to mimic a full crowd watching the puppet show. Though Jonson presents a wealth of characters, the data demonstrate that he breaks up these high-volume scenes with at least two scenes per act that are five characters or less. Like a real fair atmosphere, there is an ebb and flow with brief bouts of downtime to restore the senses and dive back into the action. There is also an impulsiveness to

these groupings that appears haphazard for the period's staging techniques compared to far more strategic plays. Such chaotic energy on the stage creates an overly festive and cheerful madness that is palpable in the staging of the play and signals a sanguine undertone crafted by Jonson in his creation of this production.

Based on the sheer number of players on stage, *Bartholomew Fair* has its audience continuously and rapidly consuming theatrical culture and challenges their human capacity to functionally and effectively consume goods, environments, and services at such fast paces. These impulsive, consumer behaviors of the audience add further to the characterization of the body theatric as sanguine. Much like the singular human body being exuberantly indulgent on food and drink and becoming imbalanced to the point of sanguineness, so, too, does the body theatric become glutted by the excess on and around the stage. The play also challenges the human capacity to consume a high volume of bodies, materials, and dialogue in one confined space as they attempt to make sense and meaning from them. Jonson pushes the limits of the stage's and audience's abilities to manage such an imbalance within their systems and offers very little opportunity for balance to be achieved or venting to take place. Humoral theory would suggest that removing the bodies from the stage or exsanguinating the space seems to be a viable option to gain balance, and yet, Jonson often brings bodies back or piles even more on in the next scene. For the audience, closing their eyes or selecting a singular (and not holistic) aspect of the pay to focus on might be momentary solutions to the overindulgent nature of the fair. However, all these options are fleeting and do not suggest a long-term curative for overconsumption. Medically speaking, bloodletting and purgation offered a body relief if it consumed too much. However, a sanguine temperament often meant that an individual was likely to become overly glutted frequently. The interplay of sanguineness, gluttonous behavior, and bloodletting in this

play suggests that Jonson might be pondering if there is a true curative to overconsumption that exists; one that is permanent, completely expels the imbalance, and prevents the body from becoming too bloody, too hot, and too airy. Looking at the staging techniques alone, I argue that Jonson, like most theorists and physicians of the time, considers humoral curatives as temporary reliefs to innate dispositions. The goal, then, is never to cure these "obstructions" in the body (Arikha 85), but to find the means and tools to manage them. Balance, not a clear fix, is the key to making both the human and stage body habitable places free from excess.

Costly Staging and Conspicuous Consumption

As this play revolves around the cultural event of a fair, then the staging particularly highlights the unique Bartholomew Fair elements of the production. This meant that the use of booths and stalls to create a fair-like atmosphere would have been necessary for the performance to take place, especially for the court performance as most nobles attending would *not* have found themselves in Smithfield each summer. The role of the booths draws the audience's attention to various parts of the large stage and creates both a holistic fairscape and singular scenic modules. Mariko Ichikawa's work argues that the Hope Theater performance, in comparison to the Whitehall performance, is completely devoid of the booths/stalls that the fair setting would have required. However, there are historical mentions of signs that would take the place of the booths for this performance and still direct the audience's attention to various parts of the stage. Further, Ichikawa suggests that the entire Hope stage acts as the main booth (Ursula's booth), and that the rest of the action takes place outside or around this site (72). Though the exact staging of the Hope performance is unknown, all the currently proposed

options from scholars suggest chaotic but strategic staging plans. The Banqueting House performance is more certain because of the direct notation of the use of booths in the Revell's accounts as budgeted and paid for: "Canvas for the Boothes and other neccies for a play called Bartholmewe ffaire" (Streitberger 70). This entry shows that a simultaneous staging of the booths is used in the Banqueting House performance compared to the successive staging of a singular booth at the Hope Theater performance (Botvinick 87).

Though the public performance could have lacked significant structural components of the fair, the atmosphere of the Hope would have made up for this aspect by incorporating real vendors selling food and drink to playgoers. The court performance, missing the realistic grit of the Hope's location, would have used the booths, signs, and stalls to crowd the stage and surrounding area (which often extended far out in the hall where the majority of the audience sat at eye-level) all at once during the performance and would have mimicked the busy nature of the fair.[150] Techniques usually reserved for court masques might also have informed the set layout of this play, with a more interactive and immersive experience guiding the use of the booths and stalls.

The Revels documents also suggest the cost for the Bartholomew Fair materials was excessive compared to other plays and even previous seasons (see *Figure 5,* Appendix C). Approximately 61 shillings and sixpence, which is out of a total of 50 pounds, 14 shillings, and one penny for the entirety of the 1614-1615 Revels season.[151] The cost for the listed canvas

[150] The king and his invited guests of honor sat on a raised platform centered in the space, but toward the middle to back of the Banqueting Hall for performances such as that of *Bartholomew Fair*.
[151] This total cost is for all the necessary provisions for the Revels office. These provisions had to cover improvements to the Revels spaces, maintenance and repairs to previous staging equipment, and materials for new productions.

booths and other necessities for *Bartholomew Fair* equates to 6% of the reported expenses by the Office of the Revels for this season. Though the cost for these materials do not account for a large percentage of the overall expenses (e.g., compared to lighting costs), it is still significant enough that it compares to more elaborate stage materials like a similarly expensive dragon found in Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (see Henslowe Papers; Halpern).

You can also see from *Figure 5* (Appendix C) that seemingly more grand production materials over the years cost less than the materials needed for this play: building two rooms and a music house in Whitehall in 1613/14 only cost 12 shillings and sixpence, painted cloths for the music house and stage in 1610/11 cost 42 shillings, and six dozen plates used for candlestick reparations was just 16 shillings in the 1605/6 season. A similar expense for the Revels was much later in 1615/17 for taffeta curtains (60shillings), which would have included the inflated cost of the luxury material and this specific purchase could have been reused (and likely was) for various performances. Materials such as fuel, used over the entirety of the performance season at various locations in England, were the only items more expensive during the Stuart period. Therefore, *Bartholomew Fair* was not only an excessively elaborate play, but it was a costly endeavor to recreate the fair on stage for the court performance. The material authenticity adds to the festivity of the production and suggests that the excessive price tag reflects the thematic excessiveness of the play.

In both performances, the fair atmosphere creates a situation for conspicuous consumption to flourish. Conspicuous consumption, in Thorstein Veblen's work, is the substantial consumption of non-necessity goods and services to establish social status and prestige of the consumer. Though Veblen articulated this theory of conspicuous consumption in 1899, historians place the burgeoning of this phenomenon toward the end of the sixteenth

century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Consumption is no longer constrained by the idea of subsistence or survival in this period; instead, it becomes ritualistic, socially defined, and excessive, much like a performance that is not just for the elites but becomes aspirational for those lower down in the social ranks. Selling in the play leads to buying from both the characters and the audience, visual and auditory display leads to sensory consumption, and excessive amounts of stage material and players paired with extensive theatrical content translates to overindulgence and overconsumption. *Bartholomew Fair* brings consumption to the audience's awareness through the intentional use of fair ritual as a consumer space, economic rhetoric in the character's speech acts, and the layering of historical, economic, and theatrical material in the play's construction and performance. In doing so, *Bartholomew Fair* theatrically establishes the newly developing consumer culture of the time and moves its audience to recognize, and therefore, scrutinize its practices of consumption. The excessiveness, impulsiveness, and indulgence of *Bartholomew Fair*'s production elements scaffold its many layers around a strong, sanguine ethos that reflects a larger societal shift in London around consumption.

F.J. Fisher proposes that London became the center of conspicuous consumption because of the development of the country gentry, the growing relationship between law and economics, and the need for people to impress each other in the city (37-50). The behaviors that Fisher describes about London are what Thorstein Veblen defines as "emulative behavior" and contribute to the conspicuous nature of the consumer market. Colin Campbell suggests that this "emulative behavior," in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, worked its way downward through society from the leisure class to the money-making working classes, which meant that everyone was participating in this system of excessive consumption (35). Conspicuous consumption, as one of these behaviors, is no longer a practice of the elite but trickles down the

social landscape and widely enters the public markets in various ways. For example, Fisher claims that conspicuous consumption has a positive correlation to the rapid development of the entertainment market, which primarily consisted of theater for this period (47-48). The entertainment market, especially the theater, provides the lavish capacity for fantasy and creativity to flourish. The space of the theater becomes a breeding ground for the buying and selling of ideas and goods and a playground for elaborate social participation.

The stalls and booths represent a physical and material reality that are overwhelming to the eye in size and quantity. The fair atmosphere, when brought to life on the stage, also represents an extravagant and expensive shift in early modern theater culture. During the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic periods, staging materials would have traditionally been minimal due to availability and cost. However, *Bartholomew Fair* appears to host an incredibly large list of props such as stocks, booths, and baskets (Botvinick 87). Such a robust list means that the excess of props and staging materials needed for *Bartholomew Fair* would be a spectacle in both performances. These materials also create a sense of "jumbled materiality" between bodies and props for audiences to enjoy (Botvinick 87). Staging in this play incorporates as much as possible into a confined space; quantity becomes essential to the telling of this story, as does authenticity of that quantity as it relates to fair culture. In addition, there appears to be an "overwhelming materiality of the Smithfield locale" present in the staging such that "the fair itself becomes the protagonist in the absence of a central character" and the sheer number of bodies present on the stage would have acted as props during the play (Botvinick 73). Jonson broaches the limits of how much can be placed on a singular stage, and in doing so, develops an indulgent and intemperate reputation that the Stuarts will become known for in history (Healy 192). Combined with the actual staging materials, Botvinick suggests that this play emphasizes

the body and the object as similar, and he states, “its human participants are immersed among, entangled in, and impacted by relations and interactions with nonhuman entities- specifically stage properties, stage technologies, and the spatial realities of the playhouse” (73). Everything on the stage becomes consumable, and the participation of the audience in the play’s setting consumes them into the fair atmosphere to the point that they also become commodities.

Jonson’s staging technologies in *Bartholomew Fair* are not entirely unique for the period, and yet they are greatly amplified here in one performance, which makes it an exemplary work of dramatic excess. For the public performance, it seems that the production would have been a heavily crammed stage full of bodies and show materials; this immense amount of materiality would have provided innumerable options for conspicuous consumption by the audience. For the court performance, the intermingling of flesh and synthetic materials would have been an opportunity for them to indulge in fair culture and experience the lives of the common people. In both instances, Jonson is giving the audiences the spatial and material substances of the fair whilst employing an added layer of consumption through his strategic use of theater practices. Jonson also seems to use this play to capitalize on the visual and sensual medium of signification that comes with the abundance of materials and bodies on the stage (Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace* 87).

In examining this staging approach for *Bartholomew Fair*, it becomes noticeable that the fair becomes a visual metonym for consumer culture of the time. The fair space and subsequent theater space capture the ritualization of (over)consumption; there is a laid-out process for those buying and selling at the fair, just like there is a laid out behavioral pattern for those watching and those acting in the play. *Bartholomew Fair* makes it painfully clear that consumer ritualism requires materiality to function; there must be products and services--mostly luxury items--

available for the act of consumption to occur.[152] There must also be ample quantities and options available to the consumer for the act of consuming to occur. This idea is newer to a Renaissance-era society that functioned on scarcity to promote consumer behaviors, and this burgeoning economy relies on excess, surplus, and the abundance of opportunity to pique the interests of all consumers. This is most obvious in *Bartholomew Fair* in its staging because of the incredible amount of "stuff" on the stage and the abundance of characters, visual points, auditory material, and fair offerings the audience can indulge in to get their fill (and more).

Overconsumption of Verbal Vending

Aside from the visual glut on stage, this play also demonstrates a clear obsession with air and language. The excessiveness of words begins immediately as *Bartholomew Fair* opens with the character of Stage Keeper coming out and providing a verbal induction to the play by discussing how the audience will observe and judge the performance based on its historical framing at the fair (Jonson 489).[153] The Stage Keeper is joined by the Book-holder and the Scrivener soon after and together they read through a formal contract between the audience and the players. Stage Keeper begins:

> Gentleman; not for want of a Prologue, but by way of a new one, I am sent out to you here, with a scrivener, and certain articles drawn out in haste between our author and you,

[152] Such luxury items were often materials that glutted the body: currants, tobacco, cloth and lace of gold and silver, velvets, satins, and taffetas (Healy 197). Many of these items (mainly in Act 1, Scene 3) including tobacco, currants, and taffeta are mentioned directly in *Bartholomew Fair*. For example, Win Littlewit is described as having a velvet head, and many of the women are figured in a way that includes caps and hoods of velvet (see Act 4, Scene 4). In addition to being superfluous and exclusive items, materials such as velvet were seen as marks of a corrupt morality ("Where's the woman? It is witchcraft! Her velvet hat is a witch, o' my conscience, or my key!") (5.1.55)

[153] For a discussion of the potential purposes of the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, see J.L. Austin.

> which if you please to hear, and as they appear reasonable, to approve of; the play will follow presently. Read, scrive, gi' me the counterpane. ("The Induction on the Stage" 51-56)

Stage Keeper begins the performance with a strong speech act for his audience ("certain articles drawn out in haste between our author and you"); the rhetoric of this moment calls on the theater traditions and fashions, the social situation of the theater and the impending fair are represented and commented on, and he actively inducts the audience into the performance as both viewers and participants (Jonson 489-90). Book-holder draws on legalese to offer a contract between the audience and Jonson and suggests that the audience has final approval over the power of these articles ("to approve of; the play will follow"). Scrivener follows suit by detailing out the "Articles of Agreement, indented, between the Spectators or Hearers, at the Hope on Bankside, in the County of Surrey on the one party; and the Author of Bartholomew Fair in the said place, and County on the other party" ("Induction" 56-60). The articles are framed using the words "covenanted and agreed" ("Induction" 64) throughout the document to demonstrate the formal, legal ramifications of what Jonson is presenting to his audience. These articles also discuss the audience sitting through the 2.5-hour performance (an already excessive length of time for a performance in this period), provides a summary of the plot and characters, and lays out the decorum that the audience will be held to during the play.

In these articles, Jonson is held to the standard of providing an entertaining new play to the audience that will be "full of noise, as sport: made to delight all, and to offend none" ("Induction" 72-73). The playgoers, on the other hand, are told that they must sit through the entirety of the play and should be judicious in their criticism of the play based on how much they paid for their admission "their free-will or censure, to like or dislike at their own charge…it shall

be lawful for any man to judge his six pennorth…to the value of his place" ("Induction" 75-79). The audience is also expected to judge the play only on their own tastes and not based on the "censure by contagion, or upon trust, from another's voice, or face" ("Induction" 87-88) and their judgment is to remain "fixed and settled…tomorrow, the next day, and so the next week" ("Induction" 89-91). These speech acts do more than just make the audience aware of the nuances of Jonson's play; they call on contractual agreements that playgoers assume responsibility for, and they bring to life the fair atmosphere in Smithfield for the audience by bringing the consumer deeply into the marketplace of the goods they have bought and sold within the theater space (Jonson 492-93). Jonson's induction describes the fair atmosphere as, "the language somewhere savours of Smithfield, the booth, and the pig-broth, or of profaneness" (132-133). The introduction to the plot(s) and characters of the play are excessive; they cover every character that the audience will view (e.g., "And then for Kindheart, the tooth-drawer, a fine oily pig-woman with her tapster, to bid you welcome, and a consort of roarers for music" 107-108). Such excessiveness in language is paired with the festivity of the fair, which culminates in a sanguine framework for the play to explore with depth.

In addition to the excessiveness of words, the extensive formal and legal rhetoric in this moment demonstrates the aforementioned idea from Fisher that the seventeenth century growing legal profession and the economization of legal traditions that lends itself to audience consumption. An echo of legalese can also be found in Act 1, Scene 1 as the play opens with the stage direction, "*Enter* Littlewit [*reading a licence*]." This license, as Littlewit will inform the audience, is for the marriage between Master Bartholomew Cokes and Mistress Grace Wellborn on St. Bartholomew's Day. Littlewit, a proctor of London, describes the license as, "A PRETTY conceit, and worth the Finding! I ha' such luck to spin out these fine things still, and like a silk-

worm, out of myself" (1.1.1-2). As Littlewit remarks on the craftsmanship of the legal document, he notes the service and final legal product he provides to Cokes. This is a moment where air is made concretely into language, and that language is transformed into physical words on the page into a license. The play's official opening in Act 1 also brings attention to the fact that the induction hosted two other forms of legal processes and now the audience is confronted for a third time with the overt production behind the formal and social event of a marriage. Further, Littlewit claims, "Bartholomew upon Bartholomew" (1.1.7), which indicates the doubling of the day and the character's name. This initial scene emphasizes the excessiveness of the play and the overindulgent nature of London; the legal processes and documents are already piling up, the character's names are pointed but playful, and the products and services present on stage are sellable to the fairgoers and the real audience. These small but powerful staging moves represent an excessiveness of words and documents. There is an imbalance of language (scripted, legal documentation, word games) throughout the play, which becomes immediately observable on and off stage. Their theatrical excessiveness points toward the participation and criticism of the players and audience in conspicuous overconsumption.

The epilogue of *Bartholomew Fair* is historically known to have been given only at the performance for King James and its content suggests Jonson's awareness as a professional writer and playwright and that he knew the legalities and formalities behind each of his productions. The record of the epilogue for *Bartholomew Fair*'s first court performance states:

> Your Majesty hath seen the Play; and you
>
> Can best allow it from your ear and view.
>
> You know the score of Writers, and what store

Of *leave* is given them, if they take not more,

And turn into *licence*; you can tell

If we have sued that leave you gave us well;

Or whether we to rage or licence break,

Or be prophane, or make prophane men speak.

This is your power to judge, Great Sir, and not

The envy of a few; - which if we've got,

We value less what their dislike can bring,

If it so happy be t' have pleas'd the King. (Nichols 29)

The mention of Jonson's profession of "Writers" and the twice noted "licence" suggests the repetition of the contractual agreement given in the induction and the continued selling of the play to its audience. There is a regulatory base behind the law, which draws its power from language and airiness required to argue excessively with others over small details. Licenses, in this case, represent a tangible ability to own and thus regulate ideas. Laws and license, together, allow the body politic to be governed through procedural means and their potential comes from words and definitions more so than the action required to enforce them. The epilogue reiterates the role of the king in allowing theatrical performances, granting licenses to acting troupes, and judging the quality of the production. The king is given consumables and, in return, is expected to provide aesthetic judgments about the "goods" of the theater.

Returning to the play's induction, the audience (including the king) is told to provide judgment specific to their pay (admission) and station (social). These reviews are turned into cultural capital for playwrights such as Jonson. Like the stallers in the play, Jonson and his contemporaries are expected to put out their wares for inspection by a much grander buyer and their services and goods are deemed worthy or not based on these judgments.[154] The epilogue closes out the play through an extended speech act directed at the king. The moments of consumption, though no longer available on stage, are suggestively still present after the production is complete.

The king, then, represents the future of theatrical performances like *Bartholomew Fair* through his ability to provide licensure and laws allowing for theater to exist, which means he represents a possible barrier (or opening) for future consumption in the theater space. As the head of the body politic, the king acts as the supreme regulatory system in place, and the laws and licenses that he dispenses are airy words that control the excesses in his country. All markets are streamlined so that they operate in relation to each other, thus creating a far more balanced and productive body. There is a clear disjunction between the chaos on the stage and in the fair and the controlled, harmonious plan that the king has in mind with his laws and systems. In some ways, the fair seems to be an untenable space for the marriage license to be upheld; though the license is originally drawn by Littlewit for Bartholomew Cokes to marry Mistress Grace Wellborn, the play ends with Winwife marrying Grace. The situation becomes more problematic when characters like Quarlous attempt to steal the marriage license so that they can marry Grace and use the legal authority the document holds to secure their futures. The lack of a license for

[154] This process is reflected in Nightingale's constant ballad singing for an audience that either pays for his good ballads or refrains from paying for bad ballads.

preaching is also what creates trouble for Zeal-of-the-Land Busy and he is thrown into the public stocks at the fair for not having the proper documentation for his actions. Finally, Adam Overdo's lack of power is evident when his rulings are interrupted, and his judgments hold little sway in the social sphere of the play. Without his official magistrate's clothes, Overdo is lost amongst the chaos of the fair and the order that he typically brings is easily diffused into the environment. Jonson is emphasizing the uncontrollable nature of controlled environments and tying this into the visual aspects of conspicuous consumption; the audience might always be watching and acknowledging the consumer, but this kind of market never favors the success of the consumer.

Food Consumption

Like most city comedies, *Bartholomew Fair* focuses on the textural feel of the setting, the realities of city life, and witty dialogue. An early example of a consumable speech act that gluts the audience is when Winwife describes John Littlewit's wife as having, "strawberry-breath, cherry-lips, apricot cheeks, and a soft velvet head, like a melicotton" (1.2.13-14). There are multiple layers of consumption suggested at this moment. Littlewit's language draws on the Petrarchan tradition of the blazon and the audiences' familiar consumption of this poetic form and creates a parody out of its form and substance in this moment. The audience is visually consuming the players and the scene, it is auditorily consuming Winwife's description, they are consuming the catalog of Winwife's body that Littlewit is describing, and they are imaginatively consuming the food items associated with each body part in the description. Winwife's description suggests a very living, vibrant woman whose physical features speak to the bloody

vitality inside of her that comes through in her coloring. The detail Jonson uses to describe the woman induces a voracious appetite from the audience, and their stomachs must be ready to eat up the entirety of her bodily presence. Healy describes this theory as:

> 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…. Hence over-consumption implied self-consumption. (190)

The delicious linguistic morsels provide a "profane feast" (1.3.109) for the audience's stomachs and eyes to consume and digest. As they bloat themselves on these lengthy, sensory descriptions, they are consuming themselves and their own bodies in the process. This is a two-fold process where all flesh in the theater space is open for consumption (by others' eyes, mouths, noses) and by engaging in this glut they are allowing their bodies to feed on themselves to the point of sickness.

This play's descriptions also call on a collective knowledge (even secondhand) of the fair atmosphere to pique the audience's senses and pair their previous fair experience with the experience unfolding in front of them. Wasp describes the fair as:

> Would the Fair and all the drums, and rattles in't, were i' your belly for me: they are already i' your brain: he that had the means to travel to your head, now, should meet finer sights than any are i' the Fair; and make a finer voyage on't; to see it all hung with cockleshells, pebbles, fine wheat-straws, and here and there a chicken's feather, and a cobweb. (1.5.83-88)

Wasp calls on the sensory information of the real Bartholomew Fair and the decorative but natural appearance of the environment. London, the fair and its location in Smithfield, and the stage collide to represent an atmosphere constructed for consumers both by nature and by man. Wasp's language, the play's fair setting, and the theater are all artificial commodities to the audience, whilst the realities of the actual Bartholomew Fair are nostalgically represented. Many of the food and goods offered at the fair are fabricated creations, though the underlying objects are simple and natural (though underappreciated by the fairgoers).[155] This moment also highlights the digestive function of the "belly" and the role of blood (and other humoral fluids) for materials to travel throughout the body.[156] Again, the regulatory systems in place at the fair are discussed using bodily rhetoric and interconnectedness of the system's parts suggest a complex conceptualization of how political, economic, and theatrical bodies can be understood in this period.

Again, this relationship is most heavily emphasized between the pig vendor, Ursula, and the problematic pageantry of consumption. A conversation unfolds early on in the play about women, eating pig at the fair, and idolatry:

> DAME PURECRAFT. Oh brother Busy! Your help here to edify, and raise us up in a scruple; my daughter Win-the-fight is visited with a natural disease of women; called, a longing to eat pig.

[155] See *Table 1* (Appendix C) for a numerical breakdown of the lines dedicated in each act and scene to selling and buying processes related to the fair. Although the current argument focuses on the language to consume bodies at the fair, the table references a larger pattern from Jonson that tries to capture the consumption practices put forth by the various stallers at the fair.

[156] Humoral theory posited that the stomach was a lower order organ whose function was far inferior to that of other organs like the heart.

LITTLEWIT. Aye sir, a Bartholomew pig. And in the Fair.

DAME PURECRAFT. And I would be satisfied from you, religiously-wise, whether a widow of the sanctified assembly, or a widow's daughter, may commit the act, without offence to the weaker sisters.

BUSY. Verily, for the disease of longing, it is a disease, a carnal disease, or appetite, incident to women: and as it is carnal, and incident, it is natural, very natural. Now pig, it is a meat, and a meat that is nourishing, and may be longed for, and so consequently eaten; it may be eaten; very exceedingly well-eaten; but in the Fair, and as a Bartholomew pig, it cannot be eaten, for the very calling it a Bartholomew pig, and to eat it so, is a spice of idolatry, and you make the Fair no better than one of the high places. (1.6.36-50)

The emphasis on the body, its flesh, and consumption captures both the "fatal materialism" associated with idolatry and emphasizes the homologous view of the period that the marketplace violated the natural telos by promoting fleshly and carnal approaches to the world (Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace* 6). Though there is a mention of nourishment and sustenance in the passage, the primary focus of the language is on the longing and desire that the fair imbues in the pork flesh that might otherwise be "natural" for one to eat. As Thomas Elyot explains:

It maye seme to all me, 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, called 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.

The fair is a compounded space for the spirit of gluttony to triumph as it lures people in and allows them to gourmandize without restriction or even judgment. According to Elyot, this overindulgence leads to a lifetime of terrible illnesses and diseases that eventually lead to an early death. This kind of wasting away of the body and soul seems encouraged by the fair's atmosphere and is clearly part of Busy's warning.

The association between women and the "longing to eat pig" at the fair also suggests the consumption of bodies (animal and human) and the potential specifically for women to be corrupted at the fair. This association implies that women and vanity are all interconnected in a way that deeply explores and criticizes overindulgent behaviors. This overindulgent behavior is perhaps most aligned with the period's reservations around the Catholic church being too idolatrous in their excessive festivities, the selling of indulgences, and the pageantry in ceremony.[157] Similar references to idolatry, sin, and swine were made by Edmund Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* when the sin of gluttony is depicted as a monster riding a pig in the House of Pride's pageant of sins.[158] Unlike Ursula's sanguine disposition, most women were thought to naturally have a cold and moist temperament, so indulging in hot and moist pork might have been a tempting way to draw on the contrariness of the humors and balance their bodies. Similarly, eating a robust meat like pork might have given women—viewed as having delicate and weak constitutions—more matter to fuel their bodies (Lindeman 23). This is because certain

[157] The term indulgence draws from the Latin term *indulgeo*, or permit.

[158] Gluttony follows idolatry, which is depicted as a monk with traditional Catholic features such as his prayer book and religious vestitures (e.g., monk's hood).

foods (including pork) were considered "genetically estimable" when eaten in moderation because they contained an interior heat that went readily into the body's good blood through "decoction" in the stomach, then through "sanguinification" in the liver (Berkeley 11). This meant that pork created good vital spirits in a body and promoted a healthy prophylaxis for someone with a contrary disposition (A.Smith 26).[159]

Jonson, like most of the commons and nobility of this period, juggles with the dominant Protestant beliefs, the old traditions of Catholicism, and the stringent rules of Puritanism in the visual and linguistic elements of this play. Jonson specifically uses the character of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy to demonstrate this religious juggling that all of England was experiencing during the pre-, during, and post-Reformation period. Busy states,

> Surely, it may be otherwise, but it is subject to construction, subject, and hath a face of offence, with the weak, a great face, a foul face, but that face may have a veil put over it, and be shadowed, as it were, it may be eaten, and in the Fair, I take it, in a booth, the tents of the wicked: the place is not much, not very much, we may be religious in midst of the profane, so it be eaten with a reformed mouth, with sobriety, and humbleness; not gorged in with gluttony or greediness; there's the fear: for, should she go there, as taking pride in the place, or delight in the unclean dressing, to feed the vanity of the eye, or the lust of the palate, it were not well, it were not fit, it were abominable, and not good. (1.6.60-70).

[159] Though not all pork was encouraged to be eaten: "Elizabethans and Jacobeans presumably limited their intake of old beef, which Sir Thomas Elyot says "maketh grosse bloudde, and ingendreth melancholy," and they presumably followed Timothy Bright's advice largely to forego "porke, except it be yong, and a little corned with salt, beefe, ramme mutton, goate, bores flesh & venison: neither is mutton of anie sort greatly commended of Galen." (A.Smith 21-22).

Busy's language evokes the sense that the fair is a full-body consumer experience; the eyes, nose, and mouth are all engaged in this sensory description. This language highlights the Catholic tradition of transubstantiation and the necessity of the consumer to believe, with body and soul, in the process of consumption. Busy's mention of eating with a reformed mouth suggests that the intent behind consumption matters in this period and allows the physical body to take part in a moral process. If a person indulges in the gluttony and pride in the fair, they can no longer claim morality unlike those who deny the vanity of their eyes and act with sobriety.

The continuous need to "be religious in midst of the profane" is Busy's ultimate instruction in this moment and collapses the physical participation in the fair with the moral meaning of their actions. By drawing on humoral language and a sanguine atmosphere, Busy is also hinting at the potential ways that Puritans might balance out the indulgence of the fair and combat the sinful nature of the festivities. It also suggests that the concepts of good and evil at the fair are explored through a sensory and bodily experience, much like a religious ceremony. However, Busy also mentions the concepts of reform, sobriety, and maintaining religious belief in order to justify his presence at the fair; concepts his Puritan character would have been in support of during the fair experience.[160]

Busy also strategically uses language in this passage that suggests a good Puritan does not give into the seven deadly sins and that the fair supports the indulgence of gluttony, pride, vanity, and lust. As Margaret Healy argues, "We have seen how, through the course of the sixteenth century, the age-old sin of lechery evolved into a complex notion of 'fortification,' synthesizing medical, religious and political discourses into an intriguing saga of bodily

[160] For example, Busy tries to combat common rumors against Puritans for being linked to Judaism by indulging in the pork at the fair. In this refutation, Busy ends up consuming an exorbitant amount of pig flesh.

corruption. The related sin of appetite - gluttony - was not to be outdone" (188). Busy's language suggests restriction and abstinence. However, it is complicated by his character later indulging in the fair's offerings and the odd juxtaposition of words in the play that suggest nourishment from the same consumption of materials.[161] Busy's character is clearly engaging in the culture of the fair and in over-consumption, and yet, his religious beliefs balk against these ideas and create some form of cognitive dissonance for the character and for heavily religious audiences of Jonson's time. The conspicuous nature of consumption at the fair casts a potentially "evil" shadow over the aforementioned religious roots that undergird the meaning of the Bartholomew Fair. Thus, Jonson's blending of fair, economic, corporeal, and religious rhetoric in Busy draws attention to problematic social spaces such as fairs, theaters, and churches where more than one kind of overconsumption might take place.

Busy also represents the stereotypically Puritan hypocrite whose actions do not reflect the doctrine he preaches at others. As *Bartholomew Fair* centers on the culture of the fair as a distinct space of consumer behavior and complicates the viewing experience of both the public and private audiences, it also suggests that the theater space is a similar site of (over)consumption. This constant and excessive lifestyle led to the general idea that the blood of an individual degenerated. For example, David Berkeley argues that,

> Degeneracy of the individual's postnatal life might come from a variety of living conditions. Andrew Boorde in *A Dyetary of Helth* pointed out that "evyl and corrupt ayres doth infecte the blode," breeding many diseases that shorten men's lives. "Standing waters, stinking mists, or marshes" were places to avoid in building one's house

[161] Busy's ideas also demonstrate first-hand Veblen's idea that Puritanical living might have spurred conspicuous consumption in the "reformed" London environment.

> Moderate sleep, said Boorde, nourishes the blood; but immoderate sleep lightens the brains, engenders "imposthumes," and instigates sin. Degeneracy could derive from "gluttony, or immoderacy in sucking, drinking, easting, moving, or sleeping" according to John Makliure, and intemperance in sex, as Thomas Cogan noted, was harmful. The harboring of envy, hatred, persecuting spirit, and pride by reducing the amount and quality of blood led to degeneracy. (14)

The combination of gluttonous eating and drinking, a lecherous sexual appetite, and indulgent consumption of the world around a person meant both a moral and physical decay. In *Bartholomew Fair,* sanguine characters such as Ursula represent not only an over-blooded body, but an equally degraded one.[162]

These sinful acts in the play are rhetorically wrapped up in the linguistic and verbal mentions of pork. For example, in Act 1, Scene 6, Winwife is told, "Look up, sweet Win-the-fight, and suffer not the enemy to enter you at this door, remember that your education has been with the purest, what polluted one was it, that named first the unclean beast, pig, to you, child?" (5-8). The purity of Winwife's background is juxtaposed to the "unclean beast, pig" to emphasize the morality of one's choices in food, hygiene, and company. The enemy of morality, in this play, is called the "Tempter" and is given pig features described as "a profane black thing with a beard" (1.6.12).[163] In a direct nod to Ursula's pig booth, Dame Purecraft proclaims to Win to avoid this Tempter:

---

[162] In terms of humoral etiology, this representation accurately portrays the idea that illness of one's body was often caused by the same humoral fluid that symptomized a diagnosis (i.e., blood is the cause of a bloody, sanguine distemper) (Arikha 91).

[163] This concretization of sin into swine was popular in the period's literature and appears in great works such as Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Most recognizable is the seven deadly sins pageant where gluttony is represented as a heavy, oily body riding a large, overglutted pig.

> Oh! Resist it, Win-the-fight, it is the Tempter, the wicked Tempter, you may know it by the fleshly motion of pig, be strong against it, and its foul temptations in these assaults, whereby it broacheth flesh and blood, as it were, on the weaker side, and pray against its carnal provocations, good child, sweet child, pray. (1.6.13-17)

In Purecraft's warning there is a clear recognition that the abundance of flesh and blood are notable signs of the devil, and that Ursula's booth contains both elements in abundance. Purecraft's description also juxtaposes the sexual (temptation and carnal provocations) and corrupt (foul) natures of the act of consuming and the product being consumed.[164] The indulgence feared by Purceraft and Busy suggests a larger vulnerability of early modern bodies to permanent, sinful behavior. As Healy notes, "The glutted body is clearly out of control...As *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1576) warned its readers, 'immoderate gurmandyze, surphet, and dronkennesse' play havoc with the digestive processes...The outcome of excessive consumption is ultimately the dulling of reason...foolish, beastly behavior" (189). The consumption of beastly flesh meant giving into the ultimate, dark beast (the devil) and turning your own body into a beastly creation, too.

Blood and Drink

Much like the overconsumption of food, Bartholomew Fair exemplifies an indulgence of drink and a relationship between humoral fluids (blood) and drinkable fluids (wine, beer).[165]

[164] The stallers of the fair have an exchange where they call the fair "pestilence dead" and the foods present are described by Leatherhead as including, "stale bread, rotten eggs, musty ginger, and dead honey" (2.2.8). In this moment, we see that the corrupted nature of the fair has imbued the food with an equally decayed quality.
[165] There was a strong connection in the period between sanguine people and werewolves, which often believed that the bloodlust of werewolves stemmed from men becoming too sanguine and imbalanced.

Michael Schoenfeldt argues that "Diet and digestion were seen to affect not just mental capacity but even the ineffable realms of the soul" (24). The extension of the humoral theory's practices and treatments went well beyond what our modern sense of medicine might offer. In the early modern period, there was no clear medical delineation between the drugs someone was prescribed by a physician and the food/drink they were told to ingest. Oftentimes, the prescription of diet, herbals, poultices, and more came from one source of authority.

Medicinal food and drink could serve many functions such as laxatives, purgatives, and even fortifications. Alan Smith argues, "the equation was literal: wine, a staple of the Renaissance pharmacopeia, was regarded by the medical community as an enhancer of, and even surrogate for, blood" (20). The hot (red, dark) and vinous color qualities of wine could easily stand in for venous blood in the body and provide the same procedural support for the body's needs. In direct reference to transubstantiation, many of the period's writers drew on blood and wine simultaneously or used them interchangeably. Alan Smith argues:

> Renaissance images of blood are images of drink. The dramatists and poets of the era tended almost invariably to describe blood in terms of either malt or, especially, vinous liquors. So strongly identified is blood with drink that in many images all distinction between them disappears. For instance, Stuart drama--always noted (and for many years critically deplored) as a repository of gore--abounds in images of blood and bloodshed so forcefully enhanced by, or so deeply couched in, allusions to wine that the wine in fact becomes blood. (19)

Such gory imagery exists in the blood historical location of Smithfield, and yet *Bartholomew Fair*, unlike other productions such as *Macbeth*, lacks violent, red blood on stage. Instead, there

is plenty of ale and drink passed around in the fair's grounds so that the audience gets a sense of the flowing, thick fluid.

If these ideas are conflated in the period, then the constant focus on Ursula and beer would have likely been recognized as the bloody proxy for this sanguine play. This notion is substantiated by Smith's later claims that:

> The equation of blood with wine was scientific in origin, deriving from Hippocratic and Galenic tradition and infiltrating the popular imagination by way of the scores of vernacular encyclopedias available to the literate segment of the public…. The sanctions these texts imposed on the habitual consumption of beer, ale, perry, and non-vinous beverages suggest that men and women who frequently indulged in them were depleting and corrupting their blood, rendering them cowardly, boorish, disagreeable, dull, and short-lived. The dramatists and poets of the time quite naturally found in this rich body of medical lore a technical rationale for the creation of images and the depiction of characters. (20)

The corrupt blood of characters such as Ursula was evident in her habitual drinking of ale and her profession of cooking pig flesh. Like most food/drink in this period, beer was also thought to be both a productive and tempting drink because it "nourishes thick humours, gives strength, / Fattens the flesh, produces blood, / Provokes urine, has a laxative effect, causes gas, / And has a cooling effect" (*Regimen sanitatis Salernitatum: A Salernitan Regimen of Health*). Based on Jonson's characterization of Ursula and her clear overindulgence on beer, she is likely to reap only the negative side effects of beer such as the fattened flesh, overproduction of blood, excessive gas, and thicker humors.

As mentioned earlier, these effects would be far more permanent on Ursula's blood and would degenerate the quality and substance of her primary humor. Not only would she be a sanguine individual, but it would be even harder for her to rebalance her body and not suffer tremendously in the long-term from the degrading influence of beer on her body. Again, even without the visual presence of blood, this play is wrought with stand-ins for the humoral substance. Though perhaps not quite as spectacular to watch as a vicious, blood-soaked battle on stage, this presentation of blood is nuanced and covert, much like the devil in pretty sheep's clothing that the fair itself signifies.

Blood, Fire, and Fat

Akin to *Bartholomew Fair*'s focus on pork flesh and beer as representations of blood and sanguineness is its propensity to emphasize the humoral aspects of fire (heat) and fat (oiliness and moisture). Jonson draws on the scents of the fair to set the tone, though the verbal scents are not likely the realistic ones smelt in either performance space. For example, "fire o' juniper and rosemary branches" (3.2.62), the stale and stinking air of the fair, smoke of tobacco, and cooking pig are jovial, thematic smells that make the air rich with indulgence. Since the nose was thought to be a gateway for good and bad smells to enter the body, the fair presents a vulnerable body with a host of intoxicating scents for goers to get lost in. Such polluted air was often thought of as "mist" (3.6.30) and fair attendees in the play are told to "resist the good titillation of the famelic sense, which is the smell. Therefore be bold (huh, huh, huh) follow the scent." (3.2.73-75). Not even the air around the bodies on and off stage is clean; the air carries temptation by stimulating the nose and therefore a person's sense of hunger and indulgence. It is merely

another form of bodily excess that extends the thematic work of sanguineness in this play and poses the greater question of how humans are supposed to balance themselves if the very air around them--meant for venting purposes--does not actually rid the body of its glut. Further, the air's indulgent smells create a physical reaction in the bodies smelling them such that immoral gluttony seems inevitable as the senses are being thwarted.

Tobacco smoke is also abundant in this play, and its use in the period suggests a concern for some that the foreign trade item was a luxurious way to stink up the air. Though the smoker could vent the bad air from their bodies by exhaling (in *Bartholomew Fair*, there is mention even of a third nose that vents the smoke out), there was still the problem of what was initially ingested from this gluttonous material. Like most pleasurable material in this period, smoking was considered dangerous if not done in moderation. Jonson's Justice Overdo captures the general understanding of its lasting impacts on one's body when he states, "Hence it is, that the lungs of the tobacconist are rotted, the liver spotted, the brain smoke like the backside of the pig-woman's booth here, and the whole body within it, black as her pan you saw e'en now, without" (2.6.36-40). The intake of bad air from smoking turned putrid in the body and the consumption of the body's organs (lungs, brain, liver, whole body) turned in on itself.

The terms "spotted," "smoke like the backside of the pig-woman's booth here," and "black as her pan" draw on dark imagery (mainly the color black) where the rich red of blood has been singed, fouled up, and burnt (a humoral process) in the body when overindulged on tobacco. This overconsumption of tobacco was also prevalent enough in the period that published regimen pamphlets warned against exotic pleasures creeping into moderate English

bodies and poisoning them beyond repair.[166] In the economic space of the fair, this is surely Jonson's way of considering how "othered" goods might disrupt or imbalance the English temperament.[167]

In addition to smell, this play, early on, gives Ursula a few nicknames that poke at her fat body and shining complexion.[168]

> QUARLOUS. "Body o' the Fair! What' this? Mother o' the bawds?"
>
> KNOCKEM. No, she's mother o' the pigs, sir, mother o' the pigs!
>
> WINWIFE. Mother o' the Furies, I think, by her firebrand.
>
> QUARLOUS. Nay, she is too fat to be a Fury, sure, some walking sow of tallow!
>
> WINWIFE. An inspired vessel of kitchen-stuff!
>
> QUARLOUS. She'll make excellent gear for the coach-makers, here in Smithfield, to anoint wheels and axle-trees with. (2.5.66-72)

Not only is Ursula's profession of being the pig woman conflated with her own appearance (mother o' the pigs), but she is claimed to be the "Body o' the Fair" and mother of the "bawds." Body and bawdy play on each other to suggest fleshly, lecherous acts promoted by Ursula and both nicknames commodify her flesh to the playgoers. Her use of the firebrand ties her to the

[166] These pamphlets were often themed around health and diet regimens, homegrown methods for addressing common ailments, and treatises on humoral illnesses.
[167] Materials like silks came through trade and their soft, indulgent qualities were compared to the harsher, more realistic English wool.
[168] Ursula is also called the sow of Smithfield and the trow of Turnbull, which calls on the stockyard history of Smithfield and the ongoing joke that she is a pig.

Furies--whose vengeance punished false men in Greek mythology--which instills some fear in the men discussing her in this scene. However, this jab is undercut by them claiming that she is too fat to be a Fury and a "vessel for kitchen-stuff," further commenting on her indulgent habits and her overconsumption of food and drink.[169] This scene culminates in their joking that she will grease up and provide anointing oil for the carts at the fair.[170]

Later, Ursula will use these turns of phrase to describe her own injured state when she says, "My chair, you false faucet you; and my morning's draught, quickly, a bottle of ale, to quench me, rascal. I am all fire and fat, Nightingale, I shall e'en melt away to the first woman, a rib again, I am afraid. I do water the ground in knots, as I go, like a great garden-pot, you may follow me by the S's I make." (2.2.45-49). As Paster points out, this is a standout moment in Jonson's works where the characters own up to their dispositions and use this self-knowledge to their advantage.[171] Ursula clearly knows that she is sanguine and plays into this to create a comedic moment for when her own frying pan slips and burns her during a fight. Ursula and Jonson are both privy to the idea that excessive circumstances at the fair make an excessive character even more hilarious if they "give in" to the glut around them.[172]

Arikha's *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humors* discusses that Hippocrates' *Regimen* includes specific mentions of the function of oils. It states, "things sweet, or fat, or oily," they "are filling, because though of small bulk they are capable of wide diffusion. Growing

[169] Ursula is also placed in a domestic sphere when she is described as an "inspired vessel of kitchen-stuff". This is where women were commonly thought to provide their labor but is a role we do not immediately place Ursula in because of her crass nature. This moment points out the food (kitchen) staller role she plays, which reinforces her role as a servant.

[170] The reference to anointing oil in relation to Ursula here is a complicated play on her oily nature and the period's religious medical practice to cure individuals of their illnesses.

[171] See Paster's *Humoring the Body*, chapter 4.

[172] Such knowledge was also useful in this period because individuals that were self-aware and knew their own temperaments often had an advantage when it came to medical diagnoses and cures.

warm and melting they fill up the warmth in our body and make it calm" (102).[173] This idea of wide diffusion is directly referenced in the above passage by Ursula; she is aware that her oily nature gives her the ability to melt and spread. Oil is also mentioned by Justice Overdo about Ursula's physical features: "[To Ursula] By thy leave, goodly woman, and the fatness of the Fair; oily as the King's constable's lamp, and shining as his shoeing-horn. Hath thy ale virtue, or thy beer strength? That the tongue of many be tickled? And his palate pleased in the morning?" (2.2.105-108). Overdo blends fat, oil, and the shining appearance of Ursula together to speak to the virtues, strength, and pleasure aspects of the goods and services that she sells to her customers. Unlike Win Littlewit's ripe virginal description (mentioned earlier), these phrases immediately bring images of a dead, roasting pig body over an open fire to mind. By evoking this vivid imagery, Ursula's hot, slippery body becomes evil incarnate at the fair.[174]

In response to the vile jabs at her body, Ursula turns the idea of the fat body into a desirable quality in a woman by cursing the men speaking ill of her with bony, hard women. She claims,

> Hang 'em, rotten, roguey cheaters, I hope to see 'em plagued one day (poxed they are already, I am sure) with lean playhouse poultry, that has the bony rump, sticking it out like the ace of spades, or the point of a partisan, that every rib of 'em is like the tooth of a saw: and will so grate 'em with their hips and shoulders, as (take 'em altogether) they were as good lie with a hurdle. (2.5.91-96)

[173] See *Regimen*, in Hippocrates IV, trans. W.H.S. Jones, Loeb, Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1988, II, LVI.

[174] A similar exchange is made about Ursula and her body is figured as corrupt flesh with the properties of whale fat and butter. Quarlous: 'Twere like falling into a whole shire of butter: they had need be a team of Dutchmen should draw him out. (2.5.87-88) / Quarlous: Out upon her, how she drips! She's able to give a man the sweating sickness with looking on her. (2.5.97-98) / Knockem: Peace, Urs, peace, Urs, they'll kill the poor whale, and make oil of her.

Like her own flesh, she attributes animal qualities to the women's bodies she hopes plague the "poxed" men; they are bony and have rumps (a term often given to horses) and playhouse poultry. She also draws on sharp imagery from architecture, cards, and carpentry (saw teeth, ace of spades, hurdles), which debases the bodies into their angles and jointures. In this description, Ursula owns her fleshy, slickness as an asset that provides men with soft, pleasurable comfort during sex, and draws the men's attention to which bodies are desirable to look at versus consume.

Ursula also plays on the idea that her body is imbalanced in one direction, but that these women's bodies are imbalanced in other ways. It is certainly not my argument that Jonson is a progressive thinker hurling out body positive comments and pro-fat studies rhetoric; however, he is cleverly using this fat, sanguine character to ironically comment on the inherent imbalance in all bodies and to critique the notion that perfect bodies (especially at the fair) exist in some way (perhaps in a divine figure is all).[175] Jonson pushes on the Galenic tradition of viewing balanced bodies as perfection; they are perfectly healthy, but they are not likely perfect for sex or enjoying entertainment such as the fair.

By crafting these overly consumptive bodies, Jonson draws attention to another sin: vanity. For example, not only does Ursula consume toxic food and drink and immerse herself in hot fire, but she does so in a conspicuous and vain manner. Others even describe her in this way: "Sir, I will take your counsel, and cut my hair, and leave vapours: I see, that tobacco, and bottle-ale, and pig, and Whit, and very Ursula, herself, is all vanity" (3.6.22-23). Jonson calls on the performative nature of the fair throughout his play, and yet many of his characters act the parts

[175] Jonson is also critiquing the bodies that were too thin, too angular, and lacked a healthy robustness to them for the time.

they are seemingly given to an extreme end. Ursula does not just sell corrupt pig, but she revels in the grease, she guzzles ale, and she surrounds herself with tobacco smoke. As a result, Busy warns that she is to be avoided at all costs:

> Only pig was not comprehended in my admonition, the rest were. For long hair, it is an ensign of pride, a banner, and the world is full of those banners, very full of banners. And, bottle-ale is a drink of Satan's, a diet-drink of Satan's, devised to puff us up, and make us swell, in this latter age of vanity, as the smoke of tobacco, to keep us in mist and error. But the fleshly woman (which you call Ursula) is above all to be avoided, having the marks upon her of the three enemies of man, the world, as being in the Fair; the devil, as being in fire; and the flesh, as being herself. (3.6.24-33)

Like the devil, Ursula's performance of excess is prideful, and her outward glut has broken down her blood and her internal morality.[176] Similar to a plague, Busy's language suggests that Ursula's closeness might infect others through her oil, bloody, and airy nature. With her sanguine body comes the potential for polluted, miasmic air, which is already swirling around the fair. This is furthered by Busy stating that she has three marks upon her of fire, flesh, and the Fair.

[176] Ursula's pride in her sanguine temperament might be viewed as problematic in this moment; the more that she commands her nature and knows herself, the more prideful of her disposition she becomes and the less likely she will be to make significant changes to balance herself or find a more permanent cure.

Blood, Air, and Vapors

Elementally, Jonson uses the air—in the form of vapors—to fill his play. Since the air was closely linked to the sanguine humor, it is a logical move to incorporate them into the performance, and yet Jonson maximizes their presence and renders them excessive. Mentioned countless times in the play, these vapors are described as: interrupting, troublesome, abominable, cat-a-mountain, parting, sweet, sufficient, stinking, lofty, good, strange, foolish, idle, pure, and stale. By giving the vapors their own adjectives, they are made agents within the play with their own modifying abilities. For example, stinking and strange vapors call on the environmental anxieties of the time to suggest that bad air (from places like marshes) would create a spread of evil infection. Other mentions of vapor suggest that "to vapor" meant to act prideful and puff one's self up ("vapour me", "I do vapour that", "I do vapour him the lie"), that it could represent a quality--or aptly-- and air in someone ("vapour of spirit in the wife", "vapour of fashion", "vapour of experience"), and that it was synonymous with speaking or word-play ("leave vapours", "no vapours", "motion breed vapours"). Such extensive cognitive work is done in this play around vapors and the potential benefits and harm they might offer to society. As airy nothings, words are not entirely useful, however, the meanings we ascribe to each word are fraught with complications and consequences. For a play about what people can buy and sell, *Bartholomew Fair i*s just as concerned about the intellectual, linguistic "goods" that exist for consumption.

The culmination of vapors in this play is represented in the game of vapors, which is described in the scene directions as, "Here they continue their game of vapours, which is nonsense. Every man to oppose the last man that spoke: whether it concerned him, or no" (4.4 after line 20). Though a meaningless and nonsensical game, it is extensive, and everyone

engages in it even when the rules are misconstrued, or the participants question if anyone is truly playing it the correct way. It is both the governing order of the latter half of the play and a childish, artificial indulgence. As easily as air is shaped into words, these vapors are shaped into insults, thoughts, and stories.[177] They are produced and likewise consumed rapidly, without much care for the lasting effects, and conspicuously.

Illness and The Body Theatric

Inside of the play, Ursula's sanguine temperament leads her to get into a fight where her leg is burned by her very own scalding pan. This heat and grease related injury seems fitting for a sanguine character since she is susceptible to such humoral imbalances. As a curative, she calls immediately for salad oil and cream, a likely home remedy using accessible materials to treat smaller afflictions. Knockem, when tending to her wounds, evokes horse-related terms to describe her maladies ("crown scab", "mallanders", "the scratches", and "the quitter bone i' the tother leg", "pasterns", "windgall"). Knockem's use of horse imagery is slightly disjointed in this moment; the period viewed horses as rather prestigious animals and the humoral theory even attributed the most noble humoral balances to horses, and yet, Knockem describes Ursula as though she were a general livestock animal. Knockem uses his own home receipt as a cure and plies her leg with egg white, honey, and hog's grease. Both Ursula and Knockem draw on the idea of contraries to treat this physical wound (Arikha 91). Allopathy, from the Greek word *allos* for different, is a Hippocratic and Galenic method that considers the differing and balancing

[177] Language games are also played by the characters in forms such as alliteration. When speaking of Ursula, it is said, "A pig prepare, presently, let a pig be prepared to us" (3.2.89) and later, "Good guests, good gluttons" (3.2.101-102).

properties of the illness and the properties of the cure. In this way, cream, egg whites, and honey are all considered "*contraria contrariis curantur*" because of their calming, cooling aids that counteract the burn. That being said, salad oil and hog's grease draw perhaps on more iatrochemical theories of the period that promoted "like curing like" (i.e., oil curing oil) because of their shared properties.

Theatrically, Jonson uses a similar humoral approach to rid the stage of sanguine illness. Justice Overdo proclaims, "But what speak I of the diseases of the body, children of the Fair?... Hark, O, you sons and daughters of Smithfield! And hear what malady it doth mind. It causeth swearing, it causeth swaggering, it causeth snuffling and snarling, and now and then a hurt." (2.6.59-64). Overdo provides the symptoms of the fair's illness and warns the fairgoers of possible diseases and maladies that accompany their participation in the annual event. In the play, these illnesses will be represented at the fair and their possible curatives will also be offered to the audience.

For example, Justice Overdo's disguise proves too tricky for some to recognize, and he ends up beaten and in the stocks; a fitting ending for someone that assumes an identity to find the ills of the fair. Zeal's preaching without a license similarly lands him in the stocks where the glut of the fair washes over him because he can neither follow the legal rules nor disengage from the excessive nature of the environment. Finally, Overdo's punishments are washed away when he offers forgiveness to all and a meal at his home. These examples, though disparate, suggest that Jonson considers the body theatric to be a place where the humoral theory can inform his plot devices. The excesses of his characters are balanced by their contraries and the earlier glut of words and documents are vented out at the end of the play by Overdo and his wife.

The sanguine humorality comes back as the excesses of the body are expunged by placing characters in the stocks, robbing them of their goods, and even burning them with their own pans. The chaotic heat of the action in the play's scenes often draws out the most raucous and sanguine effects possible and even the reveal of Overdo's wife in the final scene connotes a need to draw out more of the body theatric's excessive blood (in the form of Justice). Since the dramatic excessiveness of *Bartholomew Fair* is demonstrated with the use of a "play within a play" and the numerous deceptive devices and the metadramatic moments behind their orchestration (for example, see Act 5, Scene 4), it seems apt that Jonson would consider metadramatic means to address the imbalance on his stage.

At the end of the play, the devices used by the characters are exposed and a comedic marriage pilot is fulfilled. Jonson applies a traditional comedic ending. By relying on more traditional dramatic structures, Jonson makes use of tried-and-true receipts to get rid of bodies and tie up loose plot lines. Jonson also plays with the play within a play structure by using puppets to make Hero and Leander come to life. The bodies of these well-known Greek mythological characters are materialized in the puppets but are operated by human flesh. However, when the mini play concludes and the materials are no longer of use, the puppets disappear back into the materiality of the play. Similarly, they are removed from the body theatric much like excess humoral matter that has been drawn from the human body. The removal of the bodies from the stage and the breaking down of the staging materials is an abstracted form of bloodletting. Though this practice was logical and necessary after every performance, the grand amount of stuff on the stage and the high number of bodies would have made the evacuation of people and matter far more evident. By stripping the body theatric to its

core components and wiping the stage clean, Jonson and the audience are afforded the opportunity to (re)gain balance through a purgation of sorts.

Temperate Conclusions

This balance, often considered ideal for any body (abstract or concrete), could be maintained through moderation and temperance. As "the early sixteenth-century humanists Starkey and Elyot appear to have shared a perception that gluttony was a particular English problem, and the source of many of the realm's 'diseases'" (Healy 190), then curing this glut through controlled means was the contrary necessary for success. Moderation, a far more bodily term, suggested that the sanguine nature could be tamed through controlled eating and drinking with particular attention to diet, exercise, and lifestyle choices. Temperance, a far more moral term, considered moderation a means to "subdue the demands of the 'idul' belly" and address the sinful behaviors undergirding the sanguine individual (Healy 190). Both temperance and moderation are the seemingly obvious answer to the illnesses plaguing the fair, the stage, and London in *Bartholomew Fair* because of the extreme representations of Puritanism and gluttony. The absence of such moderation makes it the most transparent curative for the ailments explored by Jonson and his characters in the play. However, as theater was likely considered an indulgence, of sorts, Jonson approaches this exploration of temperance through a nuanced lens. Instead of focusing on the inherent sins of the theater (like antitheatricalism does), Jonson pushes at the very boundaries of his stage and experiments with the limits of visual, material, verbal, and dramatic excess.

CHAPTER THREE:

Fashionably Irrational: Jonson's Young Choleric Men in Every Man in His Humour

Defined by its city comedy genre, Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* has an intense focus on the development of the gentlemanly lifestyle in London and in the country. It was originally performed in September 1598 by the Lord Chamberlain's Men at the Curtain Theatre, it is Jonson's most famous humoral play in the period. It is speculated that a revised version of the play was revived in February 1605 by the King's Men for a court performance.[178] Later, on February 18, 1631, *Every Man in His Humour* would be revived again by the King's Men at Blackfriars theater. Given this success, Jonson went so far as to develop a sequel called *Every Man Out of His Humour*, which saw far less popularity. Even with a decline in appreciation for the sequel, the entirety of the performance history for *Every Man in His Humour* suggests that Stuart period audiences were quite fond of Jonson's development of the humoral comedy genre and that their entertainment interests were piqued by the genre's reliance on stock humoral characters and situations (e.g., the revelrous sanguine type drinking his fill at the local watering hole). This genre certainly offered new excitement around character and plot, but *Every Man in His Humour* also drew on a "medley of influences attributed to the *vetus comoedia* (the 'old comedy' loosely derived from Plautus and Terence and Aristophanes) with some admixture of the Tudor interlude and the *commedia dell'arte*" (Wilkes *viii*). These were older and familiar theatrical models that struck audiences by their sense of tradition and predictability, and yet Jonson queers these frameworks in *Every Man in His Humour* to craft a new dramatic form that

[178] For a longer argument about the revisions of *Every Man in His Humour*, see J.A. Bryant Jr.'s article, Jonson's Revision of *Every Man in His Humour*," *Studies in Philology*, vol. 59, no. 4, October, 1962, pp. 641-650. www.jstor.org/stable/4173398

simultaneously developed the humoral comedy genre and critiqued the cultural expression of the ever-popular humoral theory.

In *Every Man in His Humour* (*EMIH*), Jonson positions stock characters within the city comedy landscape to probe larger societal situations around the growth of London and the expanding marketplace of goods and services. As Matthew Kendrick argues,

> City comedy articulates, in dramatic form, the humoral dimensions of early modern England's crisis of poverty. This is perhaps not surprising, as city comedy is a humoral genre, overflowing with characters whose bodily and temperamental imbalances are virtually inseparable from the disorder of London society. Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* is especially sensitive to the experience of vagrancy, using humoralism to depict vagrant subjectivity as an internalization of London's increasingly harsh and chaotic socioeconomic environment. (73).

Kendrick describes this changing socioeconomic landscape as "harsh and chaotic," but it is characterized by its surplus, the quality-of-life improvements, the luxury, and the sheer expense involved in its development.[179] *EMIH*, like *Bartholomew Fair*, looks at how this shifting mindset changes the marketplace's offerings and develops new conceptualizations and modes of fashionability. Social malleability around the body spurs changes in what is fashionable to eat, wear, and even symptomatically feel (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 211-215).[180] Relatedly, Jonson uses this play to explore the shift in definitions around being a gentleman and the expanding middle class who sought to mimic the court and their visual status symbols. He demystifies the

[179] The medieval period in England saw more of a scarcity model operating in the markets with very little attention paid to such extensive luxury items available to a larger pool of society.
[180] Paster calls this the "adaptation of flesh to fashion" (*Humoring the Body* 215).

humors in this play to severely critique the cultural manifestations of choler as they are adorned by the many men on stage. Aside from a few side characters who are wives and sisters, *EMIH* attends to the in-group societal dynamics between the various young men in the play as well as the tensions between these young men and their older counterparts. Jonson's cultural critique of the humors is emphasized in his figuration of these choleric young men and their adoptive humoral demonstrations for their peers.

Specifically, in this chapter, I argue that Jonson figures the young men in *EMIH* using the choleric humor as their main driving force; they are quick to anger, are prone to verbal outbursts, and burn deeply with irrational thoughts and behaviors. Like Shakespeare's choleric characters, Jonson develops fiery men who are defined by their irritable, spirited, and often unreasonable actions, thoughts, and words (Draper 45-50). To add to the complexity of the humoral comedy genre, however, I also argue in this chapter that Jonson undergirds the choleric humor in this play with skepticism about fashionability, gentlemanly status, and performative anger and violence. In this way, Jonson's young, male, choleric characters claim humorality in those aforementioned "socially explicit terms" (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 22) so that they can gain advantages and recognition from others for being properly choleric. Further, I argue that Jonson's young choleric men, concerned more with appearances than with the actual experience of the humors, are representations of the growing controversy between health and fashion. Skepticism around medical (mal)practice, for example, meant that doctors were often thought of as either healers or poisoners and the medical market itself became flooded with untrustworthy supplies from fake practitioners.[181] Jonson may not completely disregard the humoral theory, but

[181] The legal market was also flooded with false information and bad "practitioners," which is represented when Brainworm appears to other characters "as an image of Justice and spreads misleading information and counterfeit legal opinions" (Colley 14).

in *EMIH*, he actively criticizes the societal expression and commodification of it. True humors cannot be found in *EMIH*, which is strikingly ironic given that this play is famous for being the gold standard in humoral plays.

Choleric Heat and Irrational Behaviors

In humoral theory, choler was connected to hot and dry qualities and the element of fire. Summer's hot and dry weather allowed choler to flourish, and a southern climate was most closely linked to a choleric geohumorality in people. Choler was relatively simple compared to a humor like melancholy and was thought to be expressed as one of two distinct kinds: pleasing choler, which was under the influence of the sun and seen as the more socially useful choleric humor, and violent choler, which was under the influence of Venus and seen as potentially catastrophic (Draper 45). Jonson makes it a point to establish the connection between the young men in *EMIH* and the choleric disposition using a humoral logic that assumes that their youth and their maleness make them more prone to choler. He then situates that proneness within a larger choleric framework that operates at the intersections of the environment (the setting), the situational instances that characters find themselves in (the plot), and the social dynamics of the play (characters and dialogue). The intermix of the London environment and the pressures associated with being fashionable in society, situations like cuckolding, and constant interactions with other young men or even older men create a strong choleric overlay in *EMIH*.

The symptoms often ailing those with a violent choleric temperament were described as "bilious" and these ailments were anatomically linked to their mouths, stomachs, and livers. Unlike a sanguine imbalance, which presented itself in the blood, a choleric imbalance was noticeable in the systems of digestion and filtration. In *EMIH*, Jonson uses this connection

between stomach, mouths, and choler to demonstrate men's hunger or appetite for violence and anger. For example, Stephen becomes incredibly choleric and Wellbred suggests that he remain patient before leaping into action. The following scene unfolds in response to Wellbred's notion of patience:

> STEPHEN. Whoreson cony-catching rascal! I could eat the very hilts for anger!
>
> EDWARD. A sign of good digestion! You have an ostrich stomach, cousin.
>
> STEPHEN. A stomach? Would I had him here, you should see, an' I had a stomach. (3.1.158-164)

Stephen's anger has reached its capacity and made him voraciously hungry for violence, which is represented by eating the "very hilts" of the swords that the young men in this play often brandish at one another. Edward's response pokes fun at Stephen's aggressive and seemingly hearty digestive system by comparing it to that of an ostrich, which were thought to be quite hardy creatures that could eat anything. The focus on Stephen's stomach, digestive ability, and his choler makes humoral sense since it was thought that yellow bile caused choler by overflowing in the gut, flooding through the liver, and flowing over into the mouth. With this yellow bile came excessive heat and a drying out of the entire bodily system. The physical burn of the yellow bile and resulting bodily inflammation would have had a psychosocial impact on the individual so that they were often displaying behavioral signs of violence, irrationality, and anger. Writers of the period typically viewed these temperamental tendencies as problematic because violent choler made a person insane with fury and they quickly showed signs of over-anger, a burnt nature leading to melancholy (called melancholy adust), and a system completely inflamed to the point that it couldn't process and function normally (Draper 50-60).

Choleric individuals were also thought to be quick witted, demonstrate a cloudy sense of reason at times, and were predictably fast to act on their fury in social situations. The choleric temperament was attributed to the youthful, middle years of life because of the verve with which younger people conducted themselves. This meant that social roles like brawlers and warriors, drunks and traitors, and laborers of metal were all thought to be naturally inclined to a choleric disposition (Draper 13). Cholerics were also inherently connected to an archaic sense of chivalry because their code of living promoted anger and violence to resolve disputes and their knightly acts were as much about appearance as real action. Thus, there was a conspicuous aspect of knighthood that relied on a system of acknowledgement and gratification from others.

Returning to the above exchange between Stephen and Edward, there are linguistic nods to knighthood with Stephen's bold proclamation that his anger drives him to eat sword hilts. Similarly, Bridget can be heard saying to Wellbred that, "but this motion of yours savours / of an old knight-adventurer's servant, a little too much, methinks" (4.8.113-114). There is a connection made between the cholericness of characters in *EMIH* and their sense of traditional knighthood that begins to creep into how they act and think. For example, there are numerous threats made by young men throughout *EMIH* including Bobadil claiming, "I will pink your / flesh full of holes with my rapier for this" (4.2.115-116). Much like a knight challenging an opponent, Bobadil is seen stating his violent intentions and how he plans to accomplish them. Thomas Wright argued that "others are all fiery, and in a moment, at euery trifle they are inflamed, and, till their hearts be consumed (almost) with choller they neuer cease, except they be reuenged" (qtd. in Paster, *Humoring the Body* 37). The heart consumed by love was a common knightly trope and the never ceasing nature of choler directly ties into the questing knight narrative that was crafted during the English medieval period. The burning anger and

burning passion mirrored one another in the knight trope, and both relied on choler for action and performance.

This knightly narrative spoke to the broader theory that men were particularly disposed to a choleric temperament because of their hot and dry physical natures. This meant that they were often viewed as potentially volatile and angry in their behaviors regardless of their humoral (im)balances and other aspects like their surrounding environment, location, and diet. In London, this meant that young men were likely to be extremely choleric with the packed cityscape teeming with bad air, hot summers, and pressed in bodies. The movement of London alone meant that there was a surplus of heat and miasma swirling around the city, and its infectious close quarters meant that illness and bad ideas alike were possible contagions. These choleric young men in London were provoked by a physical imbalance of yellow bile natural to the male body, but they were also influenced by the perception that a swaggering performance of anger was necessary for showing social dominance amongst their peers.

Young Choleric Men

Jonson's figuration of various kinds of young choleric men–Stephen (the wannabe fashionable type), Edward Knowell (the stately, societally-approved type), Wellbred (the drunken, riotous type), and Kitely (the cuckolded type)–in this play extends beyond a stock characterization.[182] These young cholerics certainly display the stereotypical behavioral signs of violent choler according to their status and position in society, but they also demonstrate well-

[182] Kitely and Downright both represent middle class Londoners, Wellbred represents the leisure class, and Knowell and Edward Knowell are country gentlemen (Cohen 187-188). Cob, on the other hand, is the poor laborer type, whilst Brainworm is the clever servant type that comes from a historical area known for its deception and lunacy (Cohen 185-186).

known symptoms of choleric imbalances such as verbal outbursts and angry reactions. In addition, they are far more complex in their development since their verbal and physical outbursts rely heavily on distinct lines of rhetoric focused on fighting and gentlemanly luxury, commodification and the marketplace, and fighting and fencing. Young men like Edward Knowell are often labeled in this play as having an "Unbridled course of youth in him: for that, / Restrained, grows more impatient" (1.2.114-115). Jonson is using the choleric humoral logic here to draw a distinct connection between the course of youth and the excess of choler in Edward. There is a wild nature ("unbridled") like horses that cannot be broken nor tamed by the older men (i.e., his father, Knowell) and the mere idea of reining in this youth allows it to resist and grow stronger. Jonson's use of unbridled comes with connotations of heat and passion, two specific elements that, when mentioned alongside youth and its penchant for choler, build out the cholericness of Edward. The word "impatient" in this moment also recalls the irrational actions and thoughts felt by those with a choleric imbalance.

When characterizing Wellbred, Jonson has others describe him as much declined and greatly altered. Specifically, they mention that Wellbred, "seemed as perfect, proper, and possessed / As breath, with life, or colour, with the blood / But, now, his course is so irregular, / So loose, affected, and deprived of grace, / and he himself withal so far fallen off (2.1.48-52). Wellbred's seemingly sanguine nature "with the blood" has become "irregular" to the point that he is "loose, affected, and deprived of grace." These attributes fall in line more with violent choler and suggest that the perturbations in Wellbred's body and mind have now impacted his behaviors.

Stephen is also characterized by his choleric disposition with others noting him as having an "unseasoned, quarreling, rude fashion" (1.2.30) that others cannot respond to nor tolerate.

Jonson juxtaposes the unbridled, wild nature of choler against a more measured, slow, easy way of approaching others in the world. Kitely tells Downright in Act 2, Scene 2:

> But, brother, let your reprehension, then,
>
> Run in an easy current, not o'er-high
>
> Carried with rashness, or devouring choler;
>
> But rather use the soft persuading way,
>
> Whose powers will work more gently, and compose
>
> The imperfect thoughts you labor to reclaim:
>
> More winning, than enforcing for consent. (2.2.32-38)

Kitely is advising Downright on how to manage his half-brother and chastises him for his choleric and sanguine behaviors.[183] Kitely is proposing that Downright's reprehension "run in an easy current," which suggests a fluidity (moisture), calmness, and coolness that balances Wellbred's choleric heat ("o'er-high"). This fits with Galenic humoral theory as antipathies (i.e., opposites cure each other, so cold/moist here would cure hot/dry) were popular in treating humoral imbalances.

Jonson draws on the rashness and devouring nature of choler and plays those here against the "soft persuading way" that Downright should be using with Wellbred. Jonson is also threading together the gentleness of this approach with a more rational, composed disposition that will prove to be "more winning, than enforcing for consent." Kitely's advice is humorally

[183] Choler was thought to turn easily into a sanguine temperament with the introduction of moisture (i.e., alcohol imbibed by drunks).

sound because he understands the cholericness of Wellbred and is operating within that framework to establish the best "cure" for the situation that Downright is faced with in reprimanding his sibling.[184]

According to humoral theory, the only way to tame and control a choleric temperament is through dampening tactics (diet that introduced cooling, bland foods and reduced spicy, burnt foods, medicine that purged the system of choler, taking the air, and cooling off). Brainworm, after stealing a soldier's clothes, mentions, "And, because too much heat was the cause of his distemper, I / stripped him stark naked, as he lay along asleep" (4.8.48-49). Brainworm's deviousness leaves the soldier without clothes and his actions aid his own devious agenda. He takes this moment to connect the soldier's distemper, brought on by too much drink and the heat of revelry, to his own actions of stripping him down to help cool his body and relieve the soldier's state. What might be considered a cruel act for personal gain is recast as a charitable act done for the soldier's medical benefit.

The comedic effect of this moment is highlighted as Jonson plays on the humoral logic and the notion that cooling off means stripping down to the nude to balance one's choler out. Jonson also pokes fun at the fashionability of cooling down and heating up per humoral theory's advice when he writes a witty back and forth focused on Stephen's stockings in Act 1, Scene 2. Since summer was hot, Stephen remarks that he will have to exchange his thicker, wool stockings for thinner, cooler ones to regulate his own body temperature in relation to the environment. Though the extreme heat poses a physical threat, it is reduced here to a laughable

[184] This is quite ironic, however, because scholars such as Sallie Sewell argue that Kitely, like Shakespeare's Othello and King Leontes, represents the frenzied choleric type whose jealousy makes him one of the most irrational characters on stage (180-181).

conversation about fashionable clothing choices for the weather. Moments like these allow Jonson to establish the humor in the (humors) comedy genre.

Aside from medical theory, Draper argues that the period thought that choler could also be cured through acts of self-control and thinking of others (61). An example of this choleric humoral logic is seen when Brainworm tells Stephen: "You'll be worse vexxed when you are trussed, Master Stephen. / Best keep unbraced; and walk yourself till you be cold: your choler may founder else" (1.2.29-30). Brainworm is suggesting that taking the air through a walk and doing so until Stephen is cold will cool his system and thus tame his choler. Brainworm is also promoting that Stephen practices self-control through his walking and that this will alleviate some of his choler. Larger early modern social reforms focused on curbing impulsive male anger and resistance. These reforms used moral and medical rhetoric to narratively argue that the humors and fluids that caused men to revolt could be strategically controlled for the betterment of society.[185] Knowell also suggests his son can be weaned from his affectations and interests ("Wean the boy / From one vain course of study he affects" (1.1.6-7)), which means disengagement from those activities or even from societal affairs might remedy his choleric imbalance.

Later, in Act 4, Scene 3, Jonson makes a point to remind the audience of the cholericness of Downright and Wellbred. This, like many other moments in *EMIH,* creates a constant choleric current swirling around the characters. There is never a singular choleric moment for the audience to home in on, instead, there is a slew of choleric characters, situations, and dialogue that all work collectively to frame the play as choleric. Mirroring Kitely's advice to Downright

[185] See Paster pp. 196 for a longer discussion on specific social reforms in this period.

earlier about avoid choler, we see him enter Act 4, Scene 3 to stave off any fighting and angry words exchanged by the other men in the play. He calls for everyone to "Put up your weapons, and put off this rage" (4.3.3) and refers to the fight as a "quarrel" and "brawl." Wellbred responds by claiming that his brother's (Downright) "ancient humours" (choler) began the fight with those around him, which makes the ingrained nature of Downright's choler evident, and his actions seem fitting for his given disposition.

However, Wellbred is hinting at a shared humoral disposition amongst the men in Downright's family. If Wellbred and Downright share blood, then the "ancient humours" mentioned easily apply to both men. Bridget, sister to both men, seems to verify this early modern take on inherited humoralism by stating,

> Brother, indeed, you are too violent,
>
> Too sudden, in your humour: and, you know
>
> My brother Wellbred's temper will not bear
>
> Any reproof, chiefly in such a presence,
>
> Where every slight disgrace he should receive
>
> Might wound him in opinion and respect. (4.3.16-21)

Jonson deepens Downright's and Wellbred's choleric temperaments by drawing on multiple aspects of humoral theory to suggest that their familial line, youth, maleness, and general nature all influence them many times over. *EMIH* is neither a simple nor stock humoral comedy because of the multitudinous ways in which Jonson crafts choler through the lens of traditional Galenic theory and early modern propriety.

Fashionable Choleric Behaviors

Jonson firmly establishes most of the young men in *EMIH* as naturally choleric as well as susceptible to choleric imbalances. In doing so, Jonson can then create complex choleric behaviors that align with society's ideas of fashionability and less into Galenic medical theory. As Paster argues,

> At such moments and in such phrases, Jonson invokes humorality, much as Shakespeare does, in order to represent the body and its products—even its affective products—as the endlessly renewable raw materials of social signification. Feeding one's humor, declaring one's humorality or lack of humorality, is, as we have seen, a complex social performance that relies upon the stern facts of bodily obduracy for its rhetorical persuasiveness and material power." (*Humoring the Body* 241)

Instead of the characters in *EMIH* feeling the symptoms and ailments associated with choler and languishing in their effects, they embrace their natural disposition to choler and capitalize on its influence. They perform the anger that their disposition makes them experience to fit in with their peers. They over-act the violence prone to their temperament to posture for the other young choleric men that they are socially dominant and therefore significant in the social structure. Further, they indulge in being properly choleric for the sake of conspicuousness and not because they are experiencing ailments related to an imbalance of choler.

A prime example of choleric performativity in this play is seen right away when Knowell, in Act 1, Scene 1, makes a very clear declaration that his son, Edward, wastes his time on fashionable matters of society into paying attention to more practical areas in his studies.

According to Knowell, “But, since, time, and truth have waked my judgment, / And reason taught me better to distinguish / The vain from the useful learnings (1.1.21-23). Unlike his son, Knowell’s age affords him the insight about how very little fashion can do for someone and that spending time on useless areas of study is a waste. Similarly, Knowell’s nephew, Stephen, agitates Knowell for his fashionable interests in hawking and hunting and his foolish request for books on these subjects. These typical hobbies for higher ranking men of society are precisely what Knowell believes result in ridiculous life priorities, and he condemns Stephen’s constant need to perform manly investment in these sports.[186]

Stephen’s dedication to learning these pursuits is made plain when he states, “why you now, an’ / a man have not skill in the hawking and hunting languages nowa- / days, I’ll not give a rush for him. They are more studied than the Greek or Latin. He is no gallant’s company without ‘em” (1.1.37-40). What Stephen is promoting is for men to be true gentlemen (“no gallant’s company without ‘em) through their verbal interests in hawking and hunting (emphasis on “languages" instead of participating) and that their popularity (“more studied than the Greek or Latin”) suggests a society-wide appreciation for being able to discuss the most fashionable sports. Knowell’s response is to call Stephen a “prodigal absurd cockscomb” (1.1.48), which draws focus to Stephen’s preening but useless (like a cockscomb) behaviors that are driven by conspicuous displays of status. The cockscomb, a brightly colored fleshy piece on the crest of a male chicken’s head, is thought to demonstrate to potential mates the health and vigor of a rooster. There is a hubris to Stephen’s choler that demonstrates that his interests are an act put on for the recognition of others, and he even goes so far to claim that “A gentleman must show

[186] Cohen argues that, “Stephen’s account of his uncle’s income and Jonson’s association of Knowell with a popular suburban resort combine to enhance Knowell’s character as a plain country gentleman suspicious of the city and its temptations” (185), though he certainly represents the highest social authority in this play.

himself like a gentleman" (1.1.46). Paster argues that these kinds of claims to humorality are "at the core of social performativity, the basis for any hope of preeminance, a mark of "individuality" achieved–paradoxically–through imitation" (*Humoring the Body* 218). This social performance is exactly what Knowell balks against because of its lack of utility and mere showmanship amongst the youth in the period. Just like the cockscomb, Stephen is a prominent, showy fleshy thing that accomplishes very little other than to signify to its peers a ripeness of life.

Stephen's performance extends beyond his choler to include the equally masculine aftermath of humoral melancholy. Though I will discuss melancholy–specifically melancholy adust–in more detail in the next chapter on Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, it is also used by Jonson here in *EMIH* to reiterate the excessiveness of choler in Stephen. Throughout Act 3, Scene 1, Stephen mentions his proneness to melancholy ("I am mightily given to melancholy" (3.1.75)) in a similar way that he mentions his proneness to choler. Both are fashionable affects for men to adopt depending on the situation and he uses each to fit with his social surroundings. Matthew, the town gull, tells Stephen that, "it's [melancholy] your only fine humour, sir, your true melancholy / breeds your perfect fine wit" (3.1.76-77). The two exchange rather foppish remarks about acting melancholic with their writing, poetry, and stool sitting to the point that Wellbred comments, "Would the sparks would kindle once, and become a / fire amongst 'em, I might see self-love burnt for her heresy" (3.1.90-91). Wellbred is drawing the audience's attention back to the choleric heat of the men now putting on a melancholic show.

He is also leveraging the two men's vanity ("self-love") as being too much for their bodies to the point that they burn. This is a reference to melancholy adust where the choleric heat ("sparks" and "fire") of one's body and mind become too excessive to the point that it

extinguishes the fire (adust). Not only are Stephen and Matthew cholerics turned melancholics, but they are defined by their surfeit of humors and their performative displays of what they believe each of these humors to look like in the body/mind and in their behaviors. Stephen even inquires of Edward: "Cousin, is it well? Am I melancholy enough?" (3.1.92). The qualifier of "enough" suggests that Stephen can manipulate the presentation of his melancholy and needs his cousin's recognition of his humoral exhibition to feel legitimized.

Not only is Stephen trying to gain societal gravitas with his cousin, but he also uses this moment to ensure that he is not punished by social nullification and physical isolation, which are two potential consequences of failed humoral insubordination. Paster argues that this is the "failure to suit one's own humor and behaviors to those of one's social superiors" (*Humoring the Body* 216). Audiences need to understand the social hierarchy operating amongst the men to fully grasp their sense of the humoral "right of way" being enacted in this scene.[187] First, Matthew's social inferiority dictates his need to acquiesce to the men's humors around him and adapt his own disposition to melancholy because Stephen has declared his own melancholy as being necessary for the situation.

Lesser men were defined by their bodily ability to match their own moods to that of their masters. Jonson can be seen using this humoral trope throughout his plays; most notably in servant characters like Brainworm from *EMIH* and Mosca from *Volpone*. These servants mirror the humors of their masters, and yet, they also have their own "true" selves that come through as they make moves to gain more money, power, and status for themselves. Second, Stephen is considered the country gull who outranks Matthew but is far inferior to Edward and his societal

[187] See Paster, *Humoring the Body*, chapter 4, pp. 221.

importance. Stephen's subordination to Edward means that he must take into consideration the greater man's humoral state and preference in this moment and not commit a humoral impropriety. Far worse than being fashionably misbehaved (e.g., acting melancholic when he should be sanguine) for Stephen would be for him to be completely out of sync with Edward's humors to the point that he is viewed as jumping social strata and committing a grave offense to Edward's position (Steggle 233). The performance of the humors between the social layers in this play restructures how the bodies of these men need to move around and adapt to one another as they declare humoralities or their lack thereof.

With this abundance of choleric heat, people could either find ways to cool off and air out their system, or they would become overly choleric and experienced melancholy adust (the burnout of a system as mentioned above). Whereas young men were hot and dry, older men were thought to be cool and moist, which meant they showed signs of patience, rational thought, and slower wit and action. Jonson utilizes this juxtaposition of humors as he crafts older and more melancholic men like Knowell and Justice Clement whose reason and age allows them to critique the changing times in the city and the ridiculousness of young men as they choler for sport. Jonson also uses these older characters to show how the city breeds choler in its inhabitants through the hot, dry air that moves around the crowded streets.

Choleric Comparisons to Melancholic Old Men

Choler is made even more striking in *EMIH* when it is set against the aging melancholy of the older men in this play like Knowell and Justice Clement.[188] In the same way that youth and choler are connected, so, too, are age and melancholy linked. As the body became older, it became moister, got closer to the cold earth, and became cool in nature. With this physical disposition came the melancholic temperament. A melancholic person was often considered pensive, slower to react, and sad. In some cases, melancholy even led to detrimental impacts like madness, which I will discuss in the next chapter on *The Winter's Tale*.[189] Edward Knowell describes his father by saying: "It is true, and likely, my father / may have as much patience as another man; for he takes much physic: and oft taking physic makes a man very patient (1.2.50-52). Edward's words are interesting in that they suggest that the physical imbibing of physic creates patience and thoughtfulness in Knowell. This may have been considered true in the period since the use of physic as preventative care for older people was common, and yet Knowell himself can be heard earlier in the play relying on humoral logic to explain his own tendencies to be patient.[190]

When talking to Stephen about what young men should spend their time on, Knowell explains:

> Learn to be wise, and practise how to thrive,
>
> That would I have you do: and not to spend

[188] Lawrence Levin calls Justice Clement an "example par excellence of Aristotelian moderation (293). See "Clement Justice in Every Man in His Humour," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* vol. 12, no. 2, Spring, 1972. Pp. 291-307. www.jstor.org/stable/449895

[189] Justice Clement in called the "only mad, merry, old fellow in Europe" (3.5.44).

[190] See Tonya Pollard, ""No Faith in Physic": Masquerades of Medicine Onstage and Off." *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage,* edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson, Routledge, 2017, pp. 29-42.

Your coin on every bauble that you fancy,

Or every foolish brain that humours you.

I would not have you to invade each place,

Nor thrust yourself on all societies,

Till men’s affections, or your own desert,

Should worthily invite you to your rank.

He that is so respectless in his courses

Oft sells his reputation at cheap market.

Nor would I you should melt away yourself

In flashing bravery, lest while you affect

To make a blaze of gentry to the world,

A little puff or scorn extinguish it,

And you be left, like an unsavoury snuff,

Whose property is only to offend.

I’d ha’ you sober, and contain yourself;

Not that your sail be bigger than your boat:

But moderate your expenses now, at first,

As you may keep the same proportion still.

Nor stand so much on your gentility,

Which is an airy and mere borrowed thing,

From dead men's dust and bones: and none of yours

Except you make or hold it. (1.1.60-83)

The process of aging alone has given Knowell insight into how men can be successful, how they might navigate the social world with its many influences, and how Stephen might make wiser ("Learn to be wise") and more patient decisions ("not to spend / Your coin on every bauble that you fancy") with his life. Knowell is scolding Stephen for his obtrusive ("invade each place") habits that disrupt the makeup of society ("thrust yourself on all societies") and he thinks such pursuits are fruitless ("worthily invite you to your rank"). Knowell calls Stephen's actions "respectless" and requests that he be "sober" and "contain" himself so that his ego remains in check ("Not that you sail be bigger than your boat").

Alongside these derogatory remarks about Stephen's choleric behaviors are comments insinuating that he is all flash and no substance. For example, Knowell mentions that men like Stephen often sell their "reputation at cheap market." There is commodification of Stephen's behaviors that Knowell is not condoning, and he ties London's cheap markets run by hawkers to the same kinds of men that Stephen aims to mimic. Knowell invokes a candle and/or tobacco metaphor when he says, "Nor would I you should melt away yourself / In flashing bravery, lest while you affect / To make a blaze of gentry to the world, / A little puff or scorn extinguish it, / And you be left, like an unsavoury snuff" (1.1.70-74).[191] The bright heat ("blaze" and "flash") of

[191] There is also a clear incorporation of metallurgical work in this moment with an emphasis on Stephen being melted down like metal with the application of heat to his person.

Stephen is quickly challenged and put out ("extinguish it") in the same way that one puts out tobacco ("unsavoury snuff"). Jonson then craftily pairs this choleric language with concepts from knighthood and fashionability; quick quips like "blaze of gentry" and "flashing bravery" affirm the masculine showmanship that Stephen is prone to with his cholericness. There is also the accusation that Stephen is one "whose property is only to offend" like the disgusting remnants of smoked tobacco. However, the audience might consider that Knowell is accusing him of *off*ending those around him in society instead of the knightly inclination to *de*fend others. Again, there is an emphasis on patience and taking one's time to consider how things like money are spent. There is also an emphasis on building oneself up as a worthy, notable man of substance and not bright, flashy fashionable bits that are cobbled together to fit in. Knowell distinguishes for the audience that, though choler might be fashionable and socially advantageous for young men, but it is merely performative, lacking in anything substantive for personal growth and development, and is the wrong humor to "invest" in.

The contrast between choleric young men and older, melancholic men is framed around authority, advice (like the kind Knowell gives Stephen above), and respect.[192] Kitely reminds Downright that his words presumably carry weight with his half-brother Wellbred because:

> You are his elder brother, and that title
>
> Both gives and warrants you authority;
>
> Which (by your presence seconded) must breed
>
> A kind of duty in him, and regard:

[192] Levin argues that, though the age gap between young and old men in this play is necessary for instructional purposes, it is eventually closed at the end as the processional heads off stage (300).

Whereas if I should intimate the least,

It would but add contempt to his neglect,

Heap worse on ill, make up a pile of hatred

That, in the rearing, would come tottering down,

And in the ruin, bury all our love.

Nay, more than this, brother, if I should speak

He would be ready from his heat of humour,

And overflowing of the vapour in him,

To blow the ears of his familiars

With the false breath of telling what disgraces

And low disparagements I had put upon him. (2.2.86-100)

Kitely impresses upon Downright that his title of "elder brother" gives him authority that will "breed / A kind of duty" in Wellbred so that he listens to Downright's advice and heeds it. Kitely is pivoting away from being the one to have to talk with Wellbred about his behaviors and distances himself from this task by suggesting that it will "bury all our love" if the reprimand came from his mouth and not Downright's mouth. Kitely is also suggesting that Wellbred is likely to meet him with "overflowing of the vapour" and that he'd "be ready from his heat of humour." Wellbred's choler is known to the audience at this point, but Kitely is reminding them not only of his natural temperament, but his inclination to be triggered to additional choler by Kitely's presence. In this moment, Jonson is creating a complex set of choleric conditions that

Kitely is trying to explain and navigate for the benefit of everyone. By relying heavily on Downright's status as the older brother, Kitely is attempting to craft a cooler, milder approach to such a volatile situation and person (Wellbred). Generally, *EMIH* attempts to use talking cures to deal with choler instead of more typical Galenic and folk interventions. Kitely's approach demonstrates this kind of talking-based cure and emphasizes the use of air (words) and water (patience, a slow approach) to balance choler.

Though Knowell is a constant critic of the young choleric men around him including his own son, there is a recognition in Act 2, Scene 5 where he thoughtfully poses the idea that the changing notions of fashion and gentlemanly behavior are the fault of the older generations:

> I cannot lose the thought, yet, of this letter,
>
> Sent to my son: nor leave to admire the change
>
> Of manners and the breeding of our youth,
>
> Within the kingdom, since myself was one.
>
> When I was young, we lived not in the stews,
>
> Durst have conceived a scorn and uttered it
>
> On a grey head; age was authority
>
> Against a buffoon: and a man had then
>
> A certain reverence paid unto his years,
>
> That had none due unto his life. So much
>
> The sanctity of some prevailed, for others.

But now we all are fallen; youth, from their fear:

And age, from that which bred it, good example.

Nay, would ourselves were no the first, even parents,

That did destroy the hopes in our own children:

Or they not learned our vices in the cradles,

And sucked in our ill customs with their milk.

Ere all their teeth be born, or they can speak,

We make their palates cunning! The first words

We form their tongues with licentious jests! (2.5.1-20)

Knowell first recognizes the "change of manners" and "breeding of…youth" that has taken place to result in the young men being more choleric in general. He then compares his own experience as a youth and suggests that he was trained up to respect older figures ("age was authority / Against a buffoon: and a man had then / A certain reverence paid unto his year"). He describes the change in Edward's generation as a fall that has transpired from the failure of "good example" that dashed the hopes of young people. Knowell also claims that, as children, the younger generation "sucked in our ill customs" and that their palates developed into being cunning so much so that their tongues are created by "licentious jests" told to them by their parents. The use of "we" in Knowell's framing shows his own occupied conscience around this subject and the guilt he feels about how Edward has turned out.

Though it is not explicit, Jonson uses this aged man's reflections to demonstrate the shifting nature of the market, fashionability, and even the humors. Without predecessors setting

the stage for the subsequent generations, there would not be such a focus on things like humoral performativity and fashionable expressions of illness. However, it is well within the right of older characters like Knowell to know this inherited issue, but still call out and put in check the excessiveness of the young choleric men around him like his own son.

Breeding Choler in London

Though Knowell seems to take some responsibility for the influence of older people on how society has shifted its values around vanity, luxury, and indulgence, Jonson ties these larger social movements to the city itself. As fashion evolves, so do the displays of status become linked to health, symptomatology, and declaring one's humors. The breeding of choleric temperaments comes from London's social and marketplace landscape as much as from its people. In *EMIH*, Jonson draws on the "narrative value of spatial touchstones…that ask audiences to engage with a history they already know" (Clifford 122) about London, the country, and intermix between the two. Like his use of the fair in *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson draws on the knowledge of the bustling city marketplace here in *EMIH* without even folding it into the setting of the play.

The evocation of the marketplace, instead, comes from the linguistic focus on buying and selling, the verbal mentions of the market, and the attention paid to fashionable attire, luxury goods, and social markers of wealth. The "marketplace" is at work in *EMIH* without needing to ever be present on stage or in any setting.[193] This speaks to the power it holds over the young

[193] Ralph Alan Cohen argues that, "The most noticeable improvement in the play is Jonson's enhancement of the topical comedy of place—those topographical references that amuse simply by the mention of a locale peculiarly familiar to the personal and communal experience of the audience" (184).

men in this play where it is ever looming on their minds but never physically around them. They become passive participants in London's markets as much as they are active participants in it, and they define themselves around both roles and at least to the extent that others see them participate in both roles as expected.

Once London and its markets are firmly evoked, their collective influence over the choleric natures of the young men in this play can be viewed by audiences as breeding the humoral disposition so ripe in *EMIH*. Similar to my argument in chapter one, a region's peoples often reflected their greater environment like the Scots reflected the phlegmatic nature of their surroundings because nature influenced their bodies and they adapted to and mirrored its conditions. For example, Edward tells Stephen that, "it will do / well for a suburb-humour: we may hap have a match with the city, and play him for a forty pound" (1.2.108-109). The emphasis here is on matching the humors of the person to the humors of the surrounding area, which can either be country or city in their display. Though England was thought to be moderate within their own geohumoral framing and more phlegmatic according to a southern geohumoral framing, the constant external influence of other countries through trade meant that city life fluctuated more than the country.

The London marketplace was a particularly vulnerable place for outside humoralities to come into the moderate London area and infect its disposition. Opening up trade meant opening up London and its markets to southern geohumoralities, which were often hotter and drier. In addition, diseases coming from close quarters, increased populations, and unsanitary conditions caused panic around the bad air and heat that these illnesses fed on. In *EMIH*, the heat and busyness of the city of London would have called for its inhabitants to adopt a choleric temperament to match their environment.

To expand on this notion, Jonson also includes information about a new illness sweeping through the city (mentions of "new disease," "keep warm," "out of the air," and "the air will do you harm"). This illness is one that is noted for its fever and resulting madness, which is framed around the character's conversations about bad air and fast-moving contagion. Kitely goes on to explain:

> A new disease? I know not, new, or old,
>
> But it may well be called poor mortals' plague:
>
> For, like a pestilence, it doth infect
>
> The houses of the brain. First it begins
>
> Solely to work upon the fantasy,
>
> Filling her seat with such pestiferous air,
>
> As soon corrupts the judgment; and from thence
>
> Sends like contagion to the memory:
>
> Still each to other giving the infection.
>
> Which, as a subtle vapour, spreads itself
>
> Confusedly through every sensitive part,
>
> Till not a thought, or motion, in the mind,
>
> Be free from the black poison of suspect.
>
> Ah, but what misery is it, to know this?

Or, knowing it, to want the mind's erection,

In such extremes? Well, I will once more strive,

(In spite of this black cloud) myself to be,

And shake the fever off, that thus shakes me. (2.3.55-72)

Kitely's description suggests that the mind is the first bodily organ that is influenced by the illness ("doth infect / The houses of the brain") and that hallucinations or imaginings occur from it ("work upon the fantasy"). The pestiferous air is not only indicative of infection and miasma, but it also speaks to a poison that "corrupts the judgment" and taints a person's memory.

Kitely expounds on the contagion of the illness, mentioning that it moves as a "subtle vapour" that spreads into "every sensitive part" until the entire bodily system ('thought, or motion, in the mind") is infected by the "black poison." There are a few specific humoral notes that the audience must attend to here to understand the full humoral logic. The first is that using the color black connotes that the poison was somehow related to southern climates, which brought with them dark (mainly black) colored humors. The second is that Jonson's focus on the air as the contagion-carrier means that he is building up a climate of infection that has swept in through a weather system. Bad air was thought to move in patterned ways much like a storm or dark cloud that came quickly into the city, dumped its contents, and wreaked havoc, and then exited. Jonson's use of this imagery around the air and illness not only adds mystery but suggests that the infection could be coming from the warm, southern airs brought up by the trade ships to London. The third and final humoral note is that this illness causes excessive heat and disrupted thoughts; these were indicative of a plague caused by hot, dry influences in the body and geohumorally they were linked to southern located countries. Again, Jonson seems to be subtly

pointing out to the audience that the new illness infecting lots of people throughout the city and country metaphorically reflected the flooded markets of London receiving too much international humoral influence from dry, hot, southern places. This influx of southern goods, people, and humors meant more choler coming into the moderate and oft-times phlegmatic London environment.

With the expansions of marketplaces in London, as discussed in the previous chapter on *Bartholomew Fair*, also comes the broadening of access to foreign goods deemed "exotic" in this period. Some, like spices, were coveted for their abilities to add flavor and newness to London's food and drink offerings. Others, like herbs and plants such as tobacco, were thought to have medicinal and societal benefits.[194] The commodification of these products was quick in London and upper-class people sought them out as symbols of status and wealth. As the tobacco industry grew, so too did the fashionability of smoking it for fashionable purposes.[195] Like the body growing too hot and burning out, tobacco involved the over-smoking of the plant that led to burned out ash. Jonson uses this rhetoric to draw parallels between the choleric humor and the act of smoking tobacco. In doing so, Jonson makes a larger point about how stately men of society use choler to pass in London (Romaniello 158-159). They don the choleric humor to fit into the London environment and the bustling markets, as well as to live and move readily amongst their peers.

Jonson's greater point about choler is then figured into the new chivalric knight that acts, talks, and looks like a traditional medieval knight, but lacks the substance and true conviction to

[194] For a larger discussion on tobacco, early modern markets, and the humors, see Matthew Romaniello, "Who Should Smoke? Tobacco and the Humoral Body in Early Modern England." *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, vol. 27, no. 2, Summer, University of Chicago Press, 2013, pp. 156-173.
[195] This was particularly true for men since smokers were often associated with manly figures like the swaggering pirate or the pensieve student (Romaniello 156).

the cause that this archaic male figure used to live and die by. Theirs is a flimsy, performative choler that masquerades as robustly dedicated to a choleric temperament but is lacking in depth and honesty. It poses a far greater danger than the true choleric temperament because of its performativity. Edward tells Stephen: "So graced, gilded, or (to use a more fit metaphor) / so tin-foiled by nature, as not to ten housewives' pewter (again' a good / time) shows more bright to the world than he! … To conceal such / real ornaments as these, and shadow their glory, as a milliner's wife / does her wrought stomacher, with a smoky lawn, or a black cypress" (1.3.91-96). Edward's emphasis is on the "gilded" nature of some men by his mentions of tin-foil and pewter; these are thin, inexpensive metallic coverings that are more for appearances and less for substance or quality. Edward is also drawing attention to the cheap, external coverings like fabrics ("smoky lawn" and "black cypress") that cover the more intricate, expensive goods hiding just under the surface ("wrought stomacher"). The trappings of choler are readily accessible to them–the tobacco, the weapons, and the behaviors–and Jonson defines these men by their humoral accessories.

Paster writes extensively on the belching quarrels of *EMIH* and how choler drives the plot and dialogue of the play as references to choleric associations crop out constantly.[196] The focus on metal, specifically iron and metallurgy suggest Jonson's keen eye toward the hot environment that molds the obstinate object into something shiny, fashionable, and at times, functional. Jonson was likely referencing here the Greco-Roman god Hephaestus/Vulcan, who was god of blacksmiths, laborers, and metallurgical workers.[197] Hephaestus' hot environment

[196] See Paster's *Humoring the Body*, chapter 4.

[197] In most mythological tales, Hephaestus was given a disability and shown as the "lame" god of Olympus. Some attribute the disability to birth and others describe it as an acquired disability from his fall from Olympus. This might be why idleness is linked to the rhetoric around blacksmithing and the humor of choler.

shaped how he interacted with the world and it often made him quick to anger but productive in in the forge as he hammered out ample armor for the gods.[198] The laboriousness of metal work and choler are juxtaposed linguistically in *EMIH* to the idleness of melancholy. Edward tells Stephen that, "Or service of some virtuous gentleman, / Or honest labour: … But men of thy condition feed on sloth, / As doth the beetle on the dung she breeds in, / Not caring how the metal of your minds / Is eaten with the rust of idleness (2.5.99-105). The idleness of melancholy eats away at the hardiness of the mind and chips away at the strong, metallic nature that choler affords men's bodies. There is a bodily productivity that Edward associates with choler that melancholy works actively against with its idle mind work. The larger societal shift in the iron/metal work industry to more luxurious products and a greater quantity of offerings in the early modern period reflects the changing nature of the entire London marketplace and shows how all goods and services can be influenced by money, status, and power.

By extension, medical goods and services were available on the marketplace and then they were poised to include more offerings and more luxurious options. Jonson is also arguing about the transmutation of men through the hot, fiery environment of London. Much like alchemical reactions and the metamorphosis of metal during the metallurgical process, men's bodies are undergoing a major shift in how they are figured by their surroundings and how their temperament reflects this change in the greater societal landscape. There is a fashionability of vice portrayed in this play, which Jonson portrays as reliant on building a choleric humoral reputation amongst your peers. Social pressure, just like heat, molded and transformed bodies in

[198] Hephaestus was intimately connected to the goddess of love, Aphrodite, and both demonstrated equally passionate personalities. As intense as Hephaestus' anger was, Aphrodite's love shone just as bright.

London into more fashionable representations of men and women, which aligned closely with the leisure class and the nobility.

Trends in Tobacco

As the marketplace grew in London and fashion demanded the adoption of new products from other countries, the expanding market sought out new medical treatments. Returning to the earlier discussion on tobacco, this fiery product was brought to London in the early modern period. It was often thought to have health properties, however, some believed it to be a vile habit done more for show than for medical purposes (Romaniello 159). King James wrote a treatise in 1604 called *A Counterblaste to Tobacco,* which expounded heavily on the ill effects of smoking tobacco and the moral impropriety demonstrated by smokers. James draws on geohumoral and humoral theories alike to suggest that the plant's indigenous roots go against English temperance, which is why it does not bode well for English bodies:

> For Tobacco being a common herbe, which (though under divers names) growes almost every where, was first found out by some of the barbarous Indians, to be a Preservative, or Antidot against the Pockes, a filthy disease, whereunto these barbarous people are (as all men know) very much subject, what through the uncleanly and adust constitution of their bodies, and what through the intemperate heate of their Climat: so that as from them was first brought into Christendome, that most detestable disease, so from them likewise was brought this use of Tobacco, as a stinking and unsavorie Antidot, for so corrupted and execrable a Maladie, the stinking Suffumigation whereof they yet use against that disease, making so one canker or venime to eate out another.

James is drawing on (geo)humoral theory by mentioning the hot and dry ("intemperate heat" nature of tobacco and the people whose culture it was stolen from and brought to England. James is claiming medical and humoral superiority for those in Christendom in this treatise and is relying on humoral logics around choler to drive his point home about avoiding tobacco. Unlike the proposed medicinal qualities, tobacco, according to James, is just one evil addressing another ("so one canker or venime to eate out another") and it holds no medical value.

Later in the treatise, James will specifically mention that the plant was never approved by "Doctors of Phisicke" and it's hot and dry qualities work against the "naturally colde and wet" qualities of men's brains.[199] Jonson is clearly attuned to the discussions going on in social and medical spheres around tobacco including his awareness of James' position on the substance. He even uses Bobadil to discuss tobacco at great lengths:

> Sir, believe me, upon my relation, for what I tell you, the world shall not reprove. I have been in the Indies (where this herb grows) where neither myself, nor a dozen gentleman more (of my knowledge) have received the taste of any other nutriment, in the world, for the space of one and twenty weeks, but the fume of this simple only. Therefore, it cannot be, but 'tis most divine! Further, take it in the nature, in the true kind so, it makes an antidote, that (had you taken the most deadly poisonous plant in all Italy) it should expel it, and clarify you, with as much ease, as I speak. And for your green wound, your Balsamum, and your St. John's wort are all mere gulleries, and trash to it, especially your Trinidado: your Nicotian is good too. I could say what I know the virtue of it, for the expulsion of rheums, raw humours, crudities, obstruc-tions, with a thousand of this kind;

[199] This directly contradicts Nicholas Monardes' text, *Joyfull Newes Out of the Newe Worlde* (1577) that advocated for tobacco's drying out heat (Romaniello 159).

> but I profess myself no quack-salver. Only, thus much, by Hercules, I do hold it, and will affirm it (before any prince of Europe) to be the most sovereign and precious weed that ever the earth tendered to the use of man. (3.5.63-79)

Bobadil's mention of "divine" and "sovereign and precious weed" sets the precedent that tobacco is the most luxurious, royal, and godly medicine that can be found. His focus on the naturalness of the "herb" adds tension to the medical conversation around tobacco since it was not a compound crafted by apothecaries nor was it a cheap alchemical solution offered by the very "quack-salver(s)" that Bobadil claims not to be in this moment. Words like nutriment, grow, nature, plant, weed, and earth are all suggestive of Galenic and folkloric treatments, which relied extensively on organic matter as medicinals. Bobadil is also using this speech to call out other fake curatives that the market is flooded with: "your green wound, your Balsamum, and your St. John's wort / are all mere gulleries, and trash to it" (3.5.72-73). By proclaiming that the finest tobacco (mainly "Trinidado" though he says "Nicotian" can also be good) serves as an antidote to other poisons and will readily expel "rheums, raw humours, crudities, obstructions," Bobadil is perpetrating a commonly held belief that this choleric substance can be a purgative of sorts and heal the body.

Though some certainly used tobacco in this period for medical and humoral reasons, far more used it for fashionable means and smoked as a way to show their status. Jonson connects the act of smoking tobacco with the young choleric men in *EMIH* so that they become simultaneous demonstrations of each other. Cholericness is captured in the physical properties of tobacco, smoking represents the buildup of choler and its eventual combustion, and the burned-out pipes and lighting apparatuses (touch paper, a candle, or a spill) embody the melancholy adust that often follows a choleric flare up. *EMIH* is peppered with lighting apparatus and pipe

talk between the young men since it represents yet another fashionable hobby they can partake in for show. However, these moments are disrupted by mentions of tobacco-related deaths (e.g., there is mention of at least six men dying from smoking and the "bushel of soot" that comes with it). As some indulge, others call it "rougish tobacco," claim that it is "good for nothing but to choke a / man, and fill him full of smoke and embers" (3.5.88-89), and some even suggest that "it will stifle them all in the end" (3.5.95).[200]

The divine tobacco that Bobadil is peddling is likened to "little better than ratsbane, or rosaker," which were arsenic ingredients meant to kill vermin.[201] The fashionability of tobacco for some becomes a condemnable vice for others, and the character of Cob is even beaten because he "spake against their vagrant tobacco" (3.6.39) which others saw as "he to deprave / and abuse the virtue of an herb, so generally received in the courts / of princes, the chambers of nobles, the bowers of sweet ladies, the / cabins of soldiers!" (3.6.56-59). Jonson quickly morphs the medical and humoral rhetoric that Bobadil uses in Act 3, Scene 5 into moral and fashionable rhetoric in Act 3, Scene 6. This quick transformation of rhetoric around tobacco embodies the contentious and fluid nature of the commentary on medicine versus recreation and health versus fashion, which undergirds the entirety of *EMIH*. Further, the fiery nature of tobacco and its controversial use reflects the same division in this play and in early modern society regarding the true and performed humor of choler.

[200] This buildup of sediment was thought to happen directly in the body's blood and caused melancholy (Romaniello 163).

[201] Bobadil will even suggest that they "will have a / bunch of radish, and salt, to taste our wine; and a pipe of tobacco, / to close the orifice of the stomach" (1.4.145-146). The belief that certain cool foods and the smoking of tobacco to help with the choler–as represented by the opening of the stomach–is distinctly humoral and argues for a Galenic approach to treatment.

Popular Violence and Fashionable Fencing

There is also a great deal of talk in the play around death and killing, though choleric violence in *EMIH* is tempered by fashion. Instead of hand-to-hand combat, medieval sword fighting, using knives, or turning to other methods of torture, *EMIH* relies on the language and acts of rapier fencing, which was at the height of fashion for the period. With rapier fencing comes a footwork and proper form, which are both integral components of dancing as well as this style of fighting. Fencing embodies a formal kind of violence that has dedicated moves and gentlemanly behaviors. For example, Act 4, Scene 9 makes mention of the following: beating, gross battery, gentelezza, reverse, retricato, assalto, and brave steel. These terms sound violent since they are mainly cacophonous in their construction, however, they are also words borne from the romance languages (Italian and Spanish) around the elegance of fencing. Therefore, the rhetoric of fencing blends both harsh attacks and aesthetically pleasurable moments for the audience's aural experience.

Bobadil, earlier in the scene, even mentions that he'd pick nineteen men and teach them the special rules (punto, reverso, stocatta, imbroccata, passada, montanto) of fencing. He then proceeds to do some shorthand "killing" (e.g., challenge 20, kill 20, challenge 20 at 200 a day, 5 days a thousand will be dead, 40 thousand times 40) computation (see 4.7). This is a rather comedic moment that seems to be for appearances and bragging purposes more than actual violence. Bobadil is all words and numbers, and yet has not truly done any of the killing and harm he claims he can do to others. Further, he undercuts the strength of his threats by couching them alongside the "special rules" of fencing and controlling for the chaos he plans to reckon on others.

Jerónimo de Carranza, creator of the Spanish school of fencing, wrote "The Philosophy of Arms" or "De la Filosofía de las Armas y de su Destreza y la Aggression y Defensa Cristiana" in 1569. Such a treatise was read broadly[202], and Jonson even mentions the famous fencer when Bobadil says, “A most proper, and / sufficient dependance, warranted by the great Caranza” (1.5.96-97). Fencing was far more structured, beautiful, and elegant than other forms of fighting. Both dancing and fencing required the proper form and footwork by the participants to be successful.

Dance, in this period, was a social multimedia event that allowed for animated, expressive communication between people without the need for words (Daye 138-140). James I notably paid a lot of money for dance tutors for his children so that they could excel in this artform (Daye 140). In addition, he often commissioned masques since they were part of the monarch’s hospitality and political grandness within an “international context of diplomacy” (Daye 137; 149). Jonson draws on both the traditions of dance and fencing in Act 1, Scene 5 to suggest that the fencer has a keen, “true sense of judgment of the eye, hand, and foot” that enacts violence in a fashionable, controlled manner. Unlike the unwieldy choleric that beats other men or heaves about a broadsword, the fencing type uses stoccatas (measured thrusts) and Montantos (calculated upright thrusts) to harm their opponents.

In this way, the young men in *EMIH* are controlled, fashionable violent cholerics whose concern is more with form than function when it comes to their violence. The performance of violence that fencing embodies moves the act beyond choleric reaction from these characters.[203]

[202] It should be noted that rapier fencing is still quite different from the version of fencing that many audiences today might understand.

[203] Cohen argues that Jonson refers to notable London locations of violence such as Fleet Street, which had a reputation for “fashionable quarrels” (185).

Instead, the young choleric men use fencing language and even the brandishing of their swords to feign choler to those around them. Though they come close to blows and can certainly perform the actions of fighting, they are always parted (see 4.2 for an example) before any serious violence occurs to or from anyone. Their choleric heat swells up and burns brightly, but before combusting completely, it fizzles out into smaller sparks, wisps of smoke, and ash.

The changing marketplace of London, the commodification of tobacco, and the popularity of fencing are all ways in which Jonson critiques the shifting fashions of city life and their greater impact on society outside of court. As goods and services became less about necessity and more about interests, hobbies, and luxury, a general reframing took place in this period about what was considered fashion or medicine.

Choleric Conclusions on Medicine and Fashion

The fashionability and medical necessity of something like tobacco, for example, leaves the audience vulnerable to questions about what they partake in for the sake of their own health and/or fashion. With these questions comes an inherent skepticism around which lines of theory or practice they should believe in, which medical decisions they should trust, and where the intersection happens between these two very differently shaped areas of living (medicine and recreation). This is certainly not Jonson's only play concerning medical theories; *The Alchemist* (1610) actively explores how alchemy is proposed to spiritual, mental, and physical wellbeing, but is merely a mythological idea pitched as a commodified object. The philosopher's stone cannot turn materials into gold for the sake of the holder, and thus it loses credibility to care for and fix all health issues.

Alchemy operated on the idea of perfect proportions and valued metallic virtues and the ordering of those virtues to create the ideal mixture of health in the body (Tillyard 59-60). Jonson critiques the cure-alls that are cropping up in the market like those previously mentioned that Bobadil says do not work compared to tobacco and he likewise criticizes the people who use these kinds of products to take advantage of the consumer. They are proposed as health and medical materials aimed at helping people, but truly they are false promises being sold for the sake of profit. The fashionability of cure-alls that stem from alchemy and iatrochemistry, both part and parcel of Paracelsian medical theory and practice, is of concern to Jonson and he uses both *EMIH* and *The Alchemist* to investigate this shift in the medical model. This is particularly apt since King James I condemned tobacco and yet embraced Parcelsius' medical theories and treatments like iatrochemistry and the use of metallurgical concoctions for healing. Most believed that the hot and dry qualities of metal as represented in alchemical solutions led to fire, which was the noblest of elements and could provide perfect health in the human body (Tillyard 56-57). Ironically, these are the very qualities that James and others condemned about tobacco, though everyone appeared to understand the humoral natures of both the body and the treatment even if they couldn't agree on the means.

Jonson crafts Act 3, Scene 4 and its entire 59 lines to riddle out how the humors embody the ambiguous line between commodity/fashion and medical theory/practice. The scene opens with Cob and Cash discussing choler and humors:

> COB. Fasting-days! What tell you me of fasting days? 'Slid, Would they were all on a light fire for me! they say the whole world shall be consumed with fire one day, but would I had these ember- weeks and villainous Fridays burnt, in the mean time, and then—

CASH.: Why, how now, Cob? what moves thee to this choler? Ha?

COB. Collar, Master Thomas? I scorn your collar, I, sir; I am None o' your cart-horse, though I carry and draw water. An' you offer to ride me, with your collar, or halter either, I may hap show you a jade's trick, sir. (3.4.1-10)

The choler ("light fire for me") that consumes Cob to the point that he feels is fully "burnt" into an "ember" by his temperament. Cob though mistakes Cash's mention of choler for collar, which is either a functional way for horses to pull carts or a fashionable item worn by gentleman. Cob's humoral confusion is similarly emphasized when he mentions that he can "carry and draw water," which contradicts his earlier declaration of being choleric. The comedic turn is from medical disposition and potential bodily discomfort for Cob to fashionable ornamentation of cholericness.

However, Jonson is also suggesting that humoral knowledge can be easily misconstrued by people, especially those like the simple water bearer. Cob and Cash continue the ambiguous humoral word play:

COB. Nay, I have my rheum, and I can be angry as well as Another, sir.

CASH. Thy rheum, Cob? Thy humour, thy humour? Thou mistakst.

COB. Humour! Mack, I think it be so, indeed: what is that humour? Some rare thing, I warrant.

CASH. Marry, I'll tell thee, Cob: it is a gentleman-like monster, bred in the special gallantry of our time by affectation; and fed by folly.

COB. How? Must it be fed?

> CASH. Oh ay, humour is nothing if it be not fed: didst thou never hear that? it's a common phrase, feed my humour.
>
> COB. I'll none on it: humour, avaunt, I know you not, be gone. Let who will make hungry meals for your monstership, it shall not be I. Feed you, quoth he? 'Slid, I have much ado to feed myself; especially on these lean rascally days, too; and't had been any other day but a fasting-day (a plague on them all for me) by this light, one might have done the commonwealth good service, and have drowned them all i' the flood, two or three hundred thousand years ago. Oh, I do stomach them hugely! I have a maw now, and 'twere for Sir Bevis his horse, against 'em. (3.4.11-31)

Cash's explanation that a humor is a "gentleman-like monster, / bred in special gallantry of our time by affectation" closely aligns with Jonson's view on the difference between natural dispositions based on medical theory and the fashionable appearances of putting on humors. The affectations Cash describes are often articulated displays of behaviors, patterns of speech, and presentations of self. Therefore, humors are born from the period's prioritization of these affections, which leads to society's "special gallantry" characterizing English society, particularly the city of London. Cash's emphasis on gentleman-like and monster in this moment suggests the crafted nature of upper-class humoral displays are the issue; they are "fed by folly" and masquerade themselves as gentlemanly behaviors but truly they are monstrous. Much like the miracle medicinals of the period, humors are given a specific pretense in society that sells them as the more serious, health-related concept.

Cash's comments argue that humors are yet another plaything for society to wear, change out, and manipulate in the same way they do new hats. Further, Cob's and Cash's elaboration on the necessity of feeding humors suggests that most (including Jonson) see the humors as

fashionable "things" that need to be fed with money, goods, behaviors, and a general lifestyle. If these were truly medical imbalances of concern, individuals would be using curatives and treatments to rebalance their bodies and rid their systems of the toxic or bad humors. To feed one's humors would be medically unsound and would put the body and mind at risk for further illness. Again, the audience is primed to think deeply about how medical information and even practice are quickly appropriated by society for fashionable purposes.

The broadening of the conversation about the validity of medical theory as well as the potential consequences of conflating medicine with fashion probed the social discourses that formed around medicine in the period (Magnusson 19). As a result, the professionals practicing medicine began to shift in the market to the point that the number of non-licensed practitioners rivaled the number of legitimate practitioners (Pettigrew 16).[204] Authorities in medicine were put under heavy scrutiny by those far less educated simply because fear and skepticism of medical ethics grew in this period around effective methodologies and theories that lacked substance other than for fashion purposes. Issues of who should practice, who should be the regulatory oversight for practice, and the use or misuse of medical texts and other forms of knowledge (e.g., public anatomy labs) were all clouding medical discourse.

In addition, literary figures like Jonson and Shakespeare not only crafted medical narratives to provide social meaning to medical thought, but they also altered ideas around medical practice including drawing attention to the access that practitioners had to bodies and what that meant for privacy, intimacy, and even death (Pettigrew 22).[205] Some scholars like Michel de Montaigne and Sir William Perkins even went so far as to condemn doctors for

[204] Legitimate here meant formally and informally trained in some way and included university-trained physicians, apothecaries, barber-surgeons, midwives, and wise women.
[205] See also, p. 74.

creating issues to peddle fake curatives and sell their supposed legitimate theories (Pettigrew 73-80). The shifting economic market also operated off of "the privatization of land and the infiltration of the guilds by merchant capital, which transformed many skilled artisans and agrarian laborers into vagrants who turned to criminality and cony-catching in order to survive" (Kendrick 77). Every aspect of the market from medicine and to artisanal metalwork became flooded with poor quality goods and trickery. This led to disarray in the social order as the consumer was continuously vulnerable and at a loss.

EMIH "explores the tension between [this] social order and the disorder engendered by conditions of hardship and desperation" (Kendrick 79). This growing anxiety over desperate acts created skepticism about medical legitimacy. In *EMIH* as the young choleric men perform their humoralities for those around them, this anxiety is reflected as their true humors are masked by their performed humors. Their cholericness is less about the physical heat and buildup of choler and instead they focus on their anger and acting on their irrational thoughts.[206]

Their continuous considerations of social status and situational dynamics speaks to the larger concern of propriety and fashionability. Even the older men around them see their behavior as nothing more than putting on appearances and they condemn the foolishness of the youths for using their choleric passions for ridiculous social gain. Similarly, the brandishing of swords and their exuberant verbal threats only produce a choleric atmosphere in the play without ever creating distinct violent moments that lead to dire consequences. The choler on Jonson's stage is as real as the actors donning costumes and playing characters like Stephen, Wellbred, and Knowell. The declared cholericness of these men holds no medical weight and though some

[206] Levin argues that Justice Clement serves to oppose such irrational characters, specifically with their dislocations of language and verbal misunderstandings (298).

characters draw on humoral logic and treatment to address issues, the advice often falls short or is not heeded by those who want to "be choleric" more than address any true imbalances.

Further, the expanding marketplace in London demonstrates the shift in medical theory to commodification of the humoral theory including the treatments and preventatives. Most products were even pitched as cure-alls, quick remedies, and healthy preventatives. The influx of the medical material goods in London confused and took advantage of the consumer. As a result, medical authority was challenged by unlicensed professionals, untrained hawkers, and practitioners who relied on anecdotal information instead of empirical methods and medical texts.

Tobacco was a prime example of the Derridean pharmakon whose purpose and use could pose either medical benefits or detriments to one's body. As fierce as tobacco advocates were for the smoking of the plant, so, too, were groups (including the king) that opposed its cultural connections and humoral impacts. This growing skepticism about the overlap between fashion and medicine allowed for new theories and approaches to develop and either become more popular than traditional Galenic humoral theory or at the very least blend with it (like Paracelsian iatrochemistry). Further, the expanding medical marketplace provided supernatural, folk, and even fake practices with the opportunity to compete. As a result, new avenues of exploration and experimentation opened, which eventually led to the initial steps toward the Scientific Revolution and the period of Enlightenment.[207]

[207] See Claire Preston's *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation in Seventeenth-Century England* for a clearly articulated and extensively researched argument on this topic.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Caring for the Melancholic Body and Mind: Royal Tending Practices for King and Country in The Winter's Tale

Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* has a title that immediately draws attention to two aspects of the play most relevant to the focus of this chapter: the first focuses on the (oral) traditions of storytelling.[208] Specifically, the correlation often stereotypically drawn between women and the role of oral storytelling as they preserved family histories, detailed out matriarchal traditions, and shared secret recipes for healing. The orality of storytelling or "old wives' tales" suggests a broader thematic look in this play at how knowledge is passed between people, specifically women, so that key information could be maintained in families (i.e., medical recipes, familial history, and household tricks). The anatomy of a woman's tongue was specifically considered different from the male anatomy, where "innate transformative power" was imbued in how a woman's tongue was shaped (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 108).[209] This secretive knowledge and power held by women was considered, to some extent, related to the occult in this period because of their cunning ability to use their words. Therefore, women's proclivity for healing coupled with their penchant for sharing practical knowledge verbally was quickly correlated to witchcraft of both good, white magic and bad, black magic varieties.

Traditionally, especially in the rural areas of England, wise women who were practiced in the "quasi-occult arts" were often relied on to provide healing and divination to the local

[208] *The Winter's Tale* draws heavily on Robert Greene's 1588 play called *Pandosto*. It is considered a (late) romance because of its complex mix of three tragic acts paired with the two comic acts that comprise its ending. *The Winter's Tale* was written around 1610/1611 and published in the First Folio in 1623.

[209] This was especially true for women thought to be "witches maleficia" (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 14) or evil witches that used spells.

communities (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 121). This was primarily due to the lack of accessible and affordable healthcare open to those outside of the court (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 121). Such women were often more trusted in rural areas than doctors because of their familiarity with local illnesses, common ailments, as well as their extensive information about the communities they served.[210] They were also considered much cheaper and often provided a blend of medical preventatives and curatives based on folk medicine, Galenic humoralism, and even Paracelsian iatrochemistry. Outside of medicine, women were also gradually gaining more authority in the English renaissance and their roles were continuously expanding and evolving in society (Vaught 160).[211] This changing status of women created some societal anxiety that women would potentially overturn the domestic hierarchy and stereotypical hesitancies developed around "unruly wives" and "lewd tongues" belonging to powerful women that would challenge men (Vaught 161-62).[212] Thus, a tenuous balance was struck for women regarding their ability to offer help, advice, and even medical attention to the men around them without seeming too ambitious or threatening.

The second focus of the title, *The Winter's Tale*, points to the Galenic association between winter and the increased amounts of black bile in the body because of colder and drier qualities in the environment. These winter weather shifts were associated with old age, the element of earth, and melancholic illness.[213] The aging body was thought to reflect the deteriorating environment around it during wintertime and the body's loss of heat in the lower

[210] This included a familial or individual medical history and the humoralities of people in these communities.
[211] Mark Breitenberg has argued that this increased female authority stems from the Protestant emphasis on companionate partnerships in marriage.
[212] Vaught discusses how women were thought to be sexual and rhetorical threats because of their mouths and that controlling women's tongues was the only way to rein in the power of women.
[213] They were also associated primarily with women's natural humoral dispositions compared to the early modern idea that men were naturally hotter and drier.

segment meant that the bodily world of the individual and the physical world's similar loss of heat during the season were indicative of the aging process (Paster, "Melancholic Cats" 115-117).[214] It was also believed that winter favored melancholy because of the influence of Saturn and an astral determinism that allowed the cold and dry climate to draw out a saturnine disposition (Chiari, *Representations of Weather* 83; 123). This humoral temperament was broadly called melancholy and included behavioral signs of being gloomy, surly, moody, and rather forlorn (Lindemann 16). Such melancholic sadness was idealized for sad storytelling because of its generally depressing, grey nature ("sad tales best fit winter" (2.2.33)). I argue that these historical and textual pieces establish that *The Winter's Tale* is operating within a strong melancholic humoral framework like Shakespeare's other works such as *Hamlet* and *As You Like It*.

Specifically, I will use this established melancholic humoral framework to argue in this chapter that the character of King Leontes embodies the early modern concept that excessive jealousy and rage eventually spark choleric, angry outbursts. This accumulation of emotional and behavioral excess consumes a person to the point of a residual melancholic imbalance in the mind and body (Lindemann 43). Referring to chapter three, this process is called melancholy adust and results from someone reaching their combustion point because their choleric imbalance is too strong. As Paster states, "Like other contemporary playwrights, Shakespeare found in language of the humors and their four qualities of cold, hot, moist, and dry a discourse for signaling the relationship between embodied emotion and perceptible behaviors, between the

[214] Aging human bodies were also thought to be constantly getting lower and closer to the earth. This meant a bending and breaking down of the body so that it was distanced closer to the element of earth as well as the final laying of the body into the earth once that aging body had died (Paster, "Melancholic Cats" 118). Similarly, early modern thinkers writing on melancholy like Robert Burton often linked senescence to increased melancholy because older individuals thought of life's woes and death more than younger individuals (Lindemann 48).

mind's inclination and the body's temperature. Extremes of emotion correlate with extremes of temperature" (*Humoring the Body* 85). The extremes of Leontes' emotions in *The Winter's Tale* correlate with the choleric heat, which, through the adust process, turns melancholic cold in his body, and as a result, his entire system (including his mind) is made vulnerable and ill. In early modern terms and even in Shakespeare's own language in the play, Leontes' melancholy (humoral disposition) makes him experience madness (a behavioral state) and its many symptoms (e.g., withdrawing, wild imaginings). Unlike our post-Enlightenment ideas of mind-body duality, early modern individuals considered mind and body intrinsically linked to each other to the extent that their treatment and cure required a multiplicity of approaches. Leontes' humoral disposition and melancholic state challenges the simple medical/non-medical binary that a modern audience might automatically assume, and his sickly mind and sickly body both need integrated tending practices for them to heal in tandem.

To provide care for such a nuanced illness meant that the period's treatments were not strictly medical in nature and often mental health issues like melancholy were tended to by the clergy through "spiritual physic" that was administered through tools like relics, prayer, exorcism, confession, the laying of hands, and communion (Lindemann 44). Religious healing was seen as just as vital as medical healing to fully address ailments caused by supernatural or magical reasons. As Mary Lindemann argues,

> In these cases, sufferers and their families turned to priests and ministers for help, but also consulted cunning-folk whose white magic (that is, beneficent magic compared to the black or maleficent magic of witches, demons, and devils) could break spells or cast out demons. Few relied on either secular or spiritual healing exclusively; most people used several cures or forms of medicine concurrently or sequentially. (15)

Drawing on Lindemann's argument, I propose that Paulina represents this blend of religious and medical healing that is necessary to cure Leontes' melancholy. By embodying this kind of "white magic" and using traditionally religious methods such as prayer and confession, Paulina's true and honest nature is paired strategically with her medical knowledge and folklore practices to tend to the king after the loss of his entire family. Lindemann argues that there is a historical trend of having a variety of healers to tend to melancholy and that "the roots of madness were so multiple and could spring from physical, intellectual, moral, or religious factors, mad-doctors came from many walks of life….Ministers, priests, divines, surgeons, family members, and others who did not necessarily have medical training were as likely to care for the mad as university-trained physicians" (43). Paulina's character incorporates many of the roles Lindemann identifies above in addition to others like political advisor and non-blood family companion to address Leontes' specific kind of melancholic madness.

As one of Shakespeare's more pastoral plays, *The Winter's Tale*'s lengthy foray into a sheep shearing festival plotline brings the folk aspect of Shakespeare's upbringing into focus. Though writing for court and the London public, Shakespeare's personal experience with a more rural lifestyle is imbued into this play and his familiarity with folk medical practices is reflected in the character of Paulina even though she's a member of the court rather than a pastoral character. The turmoil in politics, religion, economics, and society created an ethos of general mistrust, and the subsequent seventeenth century developed into a time of questioning and skepticism in all matters of life (Mullaney 71-72). Such skepticism was reasonably applied to critiquing established medical theories such as the Galenic humoral model, and new room was made in the sociomedical sphere for other thinkers and practitioners that challenged this common medical model. There was a growing belief in Paracelsus' theories of iatrochemistry (and, by

extension, alchemy) because of its acceptance by King James I as an official medical practice. James demonstrated an interest in iatrochemistry and Paracelsus' work as early as 1580-1590 before his ascension to the English throne. This interest started when he initially visited Denmark to marry Anne. Whilst there, he met with Servinus and Thomas Craig who were both Paracelsian physicians. Craig would become the official Chief Mediciner in James' English court and other Paracelsian physicians would be added to the king's medical cabinet over the years of his reign. Iatrochemistry became the official medical ideology at court by the end of the first decade of the 17th century, though this rubbed against the English Galenic medical colleges.[215] Paracelsus posited that physicians should consult with "old women and gypsies" to learn more about the body and curing its many ailments (Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge* 12). Paracelsus posited that educated medical practitioners and formally uneducated women alike were both unclear how remedies–especially plants–worked in the system, but both groups used these methods as successful curatives and should thus be considered equally knowledgeable about the body (Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge* 12).[216] This idea grew from Galen's understanding that women knew plants and herbs, and since his methods advocated for homeopathy and contraries to be used for illness, then women and the occult space of the home must have some relevant role in medicine (Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge* 103-104).[217] For both Galen and Paracelsus, women represented a "crucial but obscure role in medical knowledge" (Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge* 15). Shakespeare captured this intricate role of female caretaker in *The Winter's Tale*

[215] See Jonathan Gil Harris' *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic* for more reading on this medical development between Queen Elizabeth's reign and James' reign.
[216] Women were often viewed as holders of medical knowledge based on their gender being tied to secrets and the occult practices.
[217] Women represented the *home* part of homeopathy such that the domestic space was defined around women's role in local medical authority.

Paulina by crafting her as a representation of the entirety of the medical complex with its equally religious and practical sides represented.

This chapter therefore focuses on how Paulina does not inhabit just one role, but instead begins the play as a married woman and mother that tends to a queen. Later, we see her as a widower whose daughters all but disappear in the play and she is only providing guidance and medical attention to the king instead of to her own family. Paulina's domestic role combines with her quasi-professional role to care for Leontes's melancholy, however, both roles are rooted in the period's medical practice regardless of how the treatments might appear to modern audiences. This chapter will explore Shakespeare's figuration of Paulina and how it breaks her out of any standard paradigm of the period: physician, female caretaker, magic user (black or white) or occult practitioner, and upper-class woman.

This chapter will also explore how Shakespeare's development of Paulina as a multi-faceted caregiver is proven vital for healing Leontes as a king, but also for healing the kingdom of its related ailment. In the early modern period, it was thought that a king going mad was directly correlated to their kingdom going mad (Lindemann 45). Part of this thinking was driven by the idea that the macrocosm (the kingdom) and the microcosm (the king) were inherently linked, reflected one another, and that both were in a "continuous reciprocal causation" with each other (Paster 163).[218] A melancholic and mad king portended more than a simple humoral imbalance, instead, it was a matter of state that had to be dealt with effectively and completely because "mad business could disrupt or immobilize courts and governments" (Lindemann 45-46). A similar notion was discussed in chapter one when the Macbeth's become humorally

[218] Paster is synthesizing quoted content by philosopher Andry Clark, p. 150.

imbalanced and influence the larger Scottish body politic. Since Paulina's character is a composite of realistic and literary healers whose robust tending practices—inaccessible to any other character in the play— this specifically allows her to treat Leontes's melancholic madness and the kingdom of Sicily in *The Winter's Tale*.

Melancholy and Madness

Since melancholy was thought to stem from an excess of black bile in the body, then the resulting symptomology included sadness, pensive reflection, gloom, contemplation, and a depressed spirit. Early modern medical theorists viewed melancholy as mutable (Lindemann 44-45),[219] which meant that a variety of behaviors and attitudes were attributed to the temperament of melancholy. In contrast to the other humors discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation, this particular humor of melancholy was complex, expansive, and intersectional in the presentation of its symptoms. Elizabethan physician, Philip Barrough, wrote (c. 1590) about melancholy that:

> The most common signes be fearfulness, sadness, hatred, and also that they be melancholius, have straunge imaginations, for some think them selves brute beastes, & do counterfaite the voice and noise, some think themselves vessels from earth, or earthen pottes, therefore they withdrawe them selves from them that they meet, lest they should knocke together [and break]…. Many of them do alwayes laugh, and many do weep, and

[219] See also Steggle, p. 224.

> some think them selves inspired with the holie Ghost, and do prophecy uppon thinges to come." (qtd. in Hunter and Macalpine 27-28)

Barrough is pointing out that melancholy stems from extreme negative emotions, that those afflicted believe themselves unnatural and false, that they frequently withdraw from society, and that they display a host of extreme emotional reactions including those often associated with religious fanaticism. The gamut of melancholy's causes and symptoms establishes for medical practitioners and theorists alike that a range of treatments is necessary to cure this dispositional imbalance.[220] Further, the seemingly supernatural causes of melancholy typically called for supernatural interventions that combined magic and religion. Divine madness and religious melancholy were thought to stem from a person's fear of losing salvation, their religious doubt, or sin unshriven, and the causes created a mental break in the person (Lindemann 27).

In folk medicine, this religious melancholy was believed to be cured by white magic's use of prayer and incantation because it was considered best practice to counteract the black magic inherent in religious perturbations of the mind. Galenic medicine, on the other hand, might attempt to use sympathetic healing practices through diet and exercise to both heat the body's cold temperature and cool the mind's frenzy. Finally, Paracelsian medicine wanted to create a practice more closely aligned to Christian theology. For example, Paracelsian medicine viewed illness in spiritual terms such that religious melancholy was thought to be caused by archeus, which bound the heavens to the material and transmuted both into spiritual energies. The archeus invaded the body and upset the mind through spiritual power, but it was also thought to govern

[220] Melancholy was considered on a broad medical and social spectrum and references to it exist in literary texts as early as Homer's Achilles and in widespread texts such as the bible (e.g., Job is mainly written as melancholic) (Arikha 116).

all the processes behind living beings and was considered the key to alchemical reactions. In this way, Paracelsian treatment might propose penance paired with some kind of iatrochemical purgative to alleviate the ailment (Lindemann 15-16). Thus, the mutable understanding of melancholy calls for a similarly mutable healer whose training extends far beyond one line of practice.

Aside from being framed as a sad tale set in a metaphorical winter, *The Winter's Tale* highlights the process of how melancholy transpires in a man (specifically a king), ruminates inside of him, and is treated and eventually cured using a skill set only Paulina possesses. At the beginning of the play, Leontes only identifies that he has an "infection of my brains" (1.2.145), and that this infection appears to stem from the onslaught of jealousy and rage he feels about his wife's behavior towards his best friend, Polixenes.[221] Leontes' unfolding state of madness is also recognized by others, including Paulina, as violent imaginings morphing him into another person altogether ("dangerous unsafe lunes i'th' King beshrew them" (2.2.31)). In this period, jealousy and rage were thought to cause numerous illnesses, which is why influential thinkers such as Francis Bacon wrote treatises warning people to actively avoid feeling these emotions so that they could remain healthy and stable (Hobgood 31). Even the anxiety over becoming too jealous was a problem in the period because those anxious, fearful feelings alone were thought to cause sickness or even death due to rumination and excessive fear in the body (Paster 144-45). The fear of becoming jealous and full of rage, medical thinkers argued, caused the heart to go "stony cold" and a resulting pallor and weakness in the body occurred (Hobgood 30). A person's natural

[221] The medical thought of the period suggests that Leontes is suffering from a humoral imbalance. Though all humoral imbalances were serious medical issues that need immediate care and attention, the most corrupt humor is considered burnt or adust; specifically, "melancholy adust" was the worst affliction of the humors (Tillyard 65). Preventing Leontes from becoming melancholic adust would be a priority for everyone around him at court. See chapter three for more on the melancholy adust process and how it stems from an overly choleric body.

body was hot and full of blood, but fear and its related emotions forced the body to compensate for this cold, stony heart by sending more blood to it. A chill was then created throughout the body by a general lack of blood as the circulation process aided only the heart, and a cold, dry humoral state took over the individual (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 144).[222] Medical theorists proposed that the darkening of the splancha (a general term for internal organs) including the spleen (the control center for black bile and thus melancholy) was caused by the filling of the body with other liquids–mainly black bile–through the influx of these emotions (Pollard 96). The womb was also seen as becoming darker and filling with these fluids when women became pregnant, and the dark color was contrasted against the growing new life inside of them (see Pollard 85-101).[223] The "brooding" nature of the body was linked to the gestational process above as well as to the brooding behavioral signs those with melancholy often showed externally. The dark, cool, and dry nature of melancholy, when extrapolated to a larger scale, was thought to represent a life-consuming force driven toward despair and death.[224]

As melancholy became an established illness with a litany of symptoms, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a shift around the humor. Melancholy quickly became more of an expression of fashion and status and less of a medical imbalance that concerned people. Lindemann argues that most types of melancholy that Robert Burton captured in his tome on the humor arose in the period because they were "modish as a disease of courtiers" that relied on performing the symptoms of the humoral imbalance instead of experiencing them (45). Mary

[222] Texts such as Thomas Walkington's *The Opticke Glasse* proposed that the lack of moisture and blood in the body meant that the melancholic and choleric humoral states were inferior to the sanguine and phlegmatic states.
[223] The womb was also considered, for the same reasons, to foster disease and birth monstrosity (Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge* 17).
[224] Melancholy was also linked to lycanthropy and the presence of corrosive, nefarious bodily acids for similar historical reasons (Arikha 15; 218).

Floyd-Wilson's scholarship extends this thought and describes this shift as the "Elizabethan vogue of melancholy" (*English Ethnicity* 67). Floyd-Wilson further argues that the fashionability of melancholy promoted the "northern appropriation of ancient Africa's melancholic darkness" (*English Ethnicity* 71) to demonstrate how geohumoralism figured melancholy and race together. Geohumoralism stated that there was an inherent, inward blackness of southern peoples that could be cultivated into a more delicate, and subtle humor by northerners (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 7).[225] For example, Timothy Bright wrote *A Treatise of Melancholy* (1586), which separated out natural melancholy rooted in blackness versus cultivated melancholy rooted in whiteness (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 75). Bright's treatise also described melancholy as a lifestyle choice that was a "carefully cultivated addiction" that aimed for the humor to be genial (qtd. in Steggle 22). Later, Robert Burton would synthesize these earlier theories to propagate that the ideal, genial, English melancholy had taken the southern kind of melancholy and refined it into a cooler, more positive version befitting English people.

This fashionable, cultivated type of melancholy can be seen represented in Shakespeare's characters of Hamlet and Jacques (*As You Like It*); they embody the period's fascination with male melancholy that is idealized in the elite male subject whose higher social class and higher intelligence afford them the opportunity to cultivate their humors (Floyd-Wilson 12).[226] They also represent imaginative and fantasy-prone men whose minds are used to garner power, but are often experiencing severe mental disturbances (Healy 186). As these characters become imbalanced and melancholic on stage, they become more exaggerated in their affective language

[225] See also p. 70.

[226] For a longer conversation on male melancholy, see Adam Kitzes' *The Politics of Melancholy from Spenser to Milton*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Also, refer back to chapter three on Jonson's *EMIH* and the fashionability of choler.

and the number of introspective moments (often in the form of soliloquies or monologues) on stage increase. Jacques is a notorious melancholic who revels in his high intelligence, as well as his lethargy, gloominess, and sadness (Steggle 224). When the audience first meets Jacques, he is demanding more singing from Amiens, a courtier who attends to Duke Senior in exile. Amiens states, "It will make you melancholy, Monsieur Jacques" and Jacques replies, "I thank it. More, I prithee, more! I can suck melancholy out of a song as a weasel sucks eggs. More, I prithee, more!" (2.5.10-13). Jacques' frequent use of "more" demonstrates the excessiveness of his humors and the exaggeration that he wishes to induce through his request to hear a song from Amiens. By thanking melancholy and asking for more, Jacques demonstrates the pleasure he feels from his humoral state. Further, he embraces any moment to fall into this state of being ("I can suck melancholy out of a song") and attempts to perform this act to the fullest extent ("as a weasel sucks eggs"), which suggests a performative dimension to his melancholic state and his motivation to remain melancholic.

Hamlet, however, is driven mad by his perpetual temperament and finds no relief in being melancholic, and yet he demonstrates an academic cultivation of the humor.[227] He remains acutely aware of his melancholy and "berates himself here as one whose cognitive faculties are literally darkened (muddied) and slowed by the workings of the melancholy humors bred of grief, lethargy, disappointment, misogyny, and thwarted ambition" (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 47). A specific example of Hamlet's constant attention to his melancholy is in Act 2, Scene 2, where he states,

[227] Sophie Chiari discusses the associations between scholarly or academic men and melancholy in *Shakespeare's Representations of Weather, Climate, and the Environment* (see p. 119). This association is often tied to King James I, who was considered the perfect scholarly melancholic (Chiari, *Representations of Weather* 122-23).

> I have of late, but wherefore I
>
> know not, lost all my mirth, forgone all custom of exercises,
>
> and indeed it goes heavily with my disposition that this
>
> goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory;
>
> this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave
>
> o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with
>
> golden fire—why, it appeareth nothing to me but a foul and
>
> pestilent congregation of vapors. (*Hamlet* 2.2.257-64)

Hamlet's entire disposition is naturally prone to melancholy ("goes heavily with my disposition") and it makes him see the world around him in ways that others, like those who are perhaps sanguine, do not see ("that this goodly frame…seems to me a sterile promontory"). Instead of the beauty of the sky and the openness of the earth ("this most excellent canopy…this majestical roof fretted with golden fire"), Hamlet sees the world in quite contrary terms ("it appeareth nothing to me but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapors"). In addition, he manages to combine appreciation and desensitization as he simultaneously sees the beauty and openness of the world, admires it all, and then regrets his inability to enjoy them. Hamlet's use of the rhetoric of self-examination lends itself to a scholarly kind of melancholy caused by deep, contemplative thinking, and quizzical inward examination. The presentation of cultivated melancholy in Jacques and the scholarly melancholy of Hamlet aligns with how playwright Jonson understood and wrote about the humors. Jonson's understanding of the Galenic humoral

theory was that it was not simply a rigid medical approach, but instead operated as flexible and carried with it certain cultural manifestations, which made it applicable to affectation, accessory, and eccentricity (Steggle 230).[228]

This understanding, to some extent, seems to contradict how Shakespeare grapples with humoral theory in *Macbeth* where one's inherent individual disposition blends with the larger environment to create more stable, predictable patterns of temperament and behavior that are more medical and fashionable. Therefore, Shakespeare's development of the characters of Jacques and Hamlet suggests his broader interest in exploring the complexity of melancholy and how its many facets might show up in a variety of characters and contexts. This interest is further explored in Shakespeare's development of Leontes' melancholy, which is similar to how he crafts Macbeth's phlegmatic temperament: it emerges from a more medical and Galenic process that draws on individual humoral dispositions and the experience of emotions in the body mixed with certain circumstances.

The first half of *The Winter's Tale* is framed around a domestic dispute between King Leontes of Sicilia and his wife, Queen Hermione, because Leontes feels that she is having an extramarital affair with his close friend, King Polixenes of Bohemia. Leontes' suspicions breed deep-rooted feelings of jealousy and rage in him as he views Hermione and Polixenes interacting and sees their friendly touching as proof positive that they are guilty of this accused affair ("paddling palms and pinching fingers, / As now they are, and making practiced smiles" (1.2.115-16)). He uses this rather *a posteriori* method to suggest that, in addition to an affair, his son, Mamillius, and his forthcoming child, Perdita, are bastards who were conceived out of this

[228] This is called, in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor*, "confluxions of identity" where a variety of means influence how character's humors might change or be changed (Steggle 232).

adulterous relationship. Such an unwieldy wife would have created anxiety for Leontes, but there is an added layer of insecurity over the legitimacy of his familial line. If Leontes is correct in his assumptions about Hermione and his children with her, then his throne is no longer secure, and he lacks a true heir. This anxiety creates an irrational response in Leontes, and he soon collapses his own world by imprisoning his pregnant wife and rebukes his children (living and soon to be born).

Leontes appears to be "caught in the web of skepticism" driven by what he sees around him instead of what he knows about his wife and friend (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 94). This is what David Hillman calls "visceral knowledge" where Leontes knows of the adultery because of his bodily response, their bodily responses to him and to each other, and his body's connection to the broader environment (e.g., his eyes viewing their hands or his son looking like his friend and not himself).[229] Leontes' skepticism can be understood by its association to a specific type of female hysteria and melancholy that stemmed from a woman's uterine ailment (Peterson 5).[230] It was thought that the uterus caused strong feelings of vulnerability, skepticism, and insecurity in women, which made them more likely to feel suspicious of their husbands and prone to violent outbursts of jealousy. However, unlike the period's gendered stereotypes around women and emotionality, *The Winter's Tale* queers this narrative by showing Leontes as the hysterically jealous, violent, and "on the verge of" madness character that audiences at the time would have expected from Hermione. Shakespeare might also be using Leontes' character to draw attention to the period's penchant to believe that though women were naturally inclined to melancholy because of their cold/moist nature, it was actually early modern men that had the

[229] See "Visceral Knowledge" in *Shakespare's Entrails: Belief, Scepticism, and the Interior Body*, 2007, pp. 1-58. A parallel could be drawn here to Othello's experience of jealous rage and accusations of Desdemona's adultery.
[230] See also p. 19.

literacy and social capital to write freely about their melancholy and grapple with their mental health in a public sphere.[231] As such, Leontes' melancholy is naturalized in this setting and the expression of his melancholic behaviors and symptoms throughout the remainder of the play are rationalized within a melancholic framework.

Medically, Leontes' actions over these jealous accusations at the start of the play would have been viewed as an internal combustion of choleric anger within Leontes. All of the heat associated with his jealousy and rage would have consumed the heat and moisture in Leontes' body, which would cause it to dry out and become cold (Paster, *Humoring the Body* 141; 161). Paulina describes how this jealousy has overtaken Leontes' body by saying, "it is a curse / He cannot be compelled to't–once remove / The root of his opinion, which is rotten / As ever oak or stone was sound. (2.3.87-90)). Paulina's language highlights the infectious nature of this jealousy inside of Leontes and that the roots of adultery must be cut out because of their rotten nature. Leontes' toxicity reaches a breaking point within him and this process creates "spent rage" and a subsequent melancholy adust aftermath where the burning, hot emotions and liquids have been dried up and put out in his body and mind (Paster, "Melancholic Cats" 118). Unlike *Pandosto*'s slower kind of jealous build-up, Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* embraces a quick kind of jealousy that mirrors the intense love turned murderous rage in *Othello* (Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity* 149). Shakespeare builds a humoral logic out in this play by showing that Leontes' inability to see the truth about his wife and accept his children as his own comes from his melancholic disposition. As Leontes' body and mind have dried up (lost moisture) and burned out (cooled) from his jealousy, he would not have felt his own nor his wife's own normal appetites and desires—sexually for each other, for the success of their offspring, and for their

[231] See Lindemann, pp. 16-18.

kingdom's growth and dominance through their partnership. Instead, Leontes is no longer a natural being because he has lost the heat and moisture that Aristotle (and many others) thought gave humans life and reason.[232]

This melancholy is deepened by the events that follow Leontes' choleric outrage and the personal fallout has a lasting impact on Leontes for sixteen years. Leontes says,

> Upon them shall
>
> The causes of their death appear, unto
>
> Our shame perpetual. Once a day I'll visit
>
> The chapel where they lie, and tears shed there,
>
> Shall be my recreation. So long as nature
>
> Will bear up with this exercise, so long
>
> I daily vow to use it. Come, and lead me
>
> To these sorrows. (3.2.233-240)

Leontes' ownership over what he has done ("The causes of their death appear") to his family signifies his regret ("shame perpetual") and his inability to make excuses for his actions. Even the repenting that Leontes plans to do "once a day" demonstrates the resounding impact that his humors have on his mind and body. Unlike a quick, momentary surge of humoral imbalance,

[232] See Paster's *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* for a longer conversation about melancholy, the unnatural, and lycanthropy, pp. 160-162.

Leontes' melancholy remains with him constantly and his pensive, affected state makes him repent daily. Unlike the brevity of Leontes' choleric mood at the start of the play, his melancholy appears to be a more prolonged temperament. Leontes' melancholy, aside from being a sustained temperament, presents itself in the king as the kind that develops into madness. Paulina, when coming to Leontes with baby Perdita, clearly identifies this madness: "Than you are mad, which is enough, I'll warrant" (2.3.71). This moment, paired with Paulina's earlier mention of the "unsafe lunes" in Leontes' brain, and his own recognition of his wild visions and imaginings about his wife and Polixenes, substantiates the larger picture that Leontes' condition is far beyond a temporary humoral state and is more serious than originally assumed. After his family is gone, Paulina considers his condition further and views it as beyond what normal guilt and grief should produce in a man ("He is touched / To the noble heart. What's gone and what's past help / Should be past grief." (3.2.218-220)). Unable to undo their deaths, Paulina is claiming here that his melancholy should no longer be gripping Leontes, and yet, his humoral imbalance touches him all the way into his noble heart. It is also made evident to the audience that Leontes is aging ("So sure as this beard's gray" (2.3.161)), which makes him prone to melancholic madness. With his individual temperament already leaning toward the melancholic because of his age, the situation in the play that Shakespeare crafts and Leontes' reactions to it create a robust, multipronged set of circumstances that exacerbate the melancholy into madness. In addition, Shakespeare uses similar language to describe Leontes' melancholic madness that he used in *Macbeth* to describe Lady Macbeth's melancholic madness: "transported," "No settled senses of the world can match/ The pleasure of that madness" (5.3.70-71), "I am sorry, sir, I have thus far stirred you; but / I could afflict you farther" (5.3.75). The use of transported looks, unsettled senses, and stirrings call up the supernatural aspects of melancholy and Shakespeare

even goes so far as to invoke ghosts in this play as he did in *Macbeth* ("Were I the ghost that walked, … Then I'd shriek that even your ears / Should rift to hear me; and the words that followed / Should be, "Remember mine." (5.1.63-67)). These linguistic choices cue the audience to identify and understand the extent of Leontes' melancholic madness.[233] They also remind the audience of the earlier violent hysteria associated with women that Leontes began this play showing, which creates continuity in how Shakespeare is depicting the humoral imbalance in the king.

The protracted nature of Leontes' melancholic madness is also of deep concern because it causes Leontes to withdraw for sixteen years from society, which has a direct influence over how the kingdom of Sicily has been operating in the interim. In Act 4, Scene 1, Time comes onto the stage and says, "Leontes leaving– / Th'effects of his fond jealousies so grieving / That he shuts up himself" (4.1.17-19). By shutting himself up from his people and duties, Leontes' melancholy feeds on his mental and bodily instabilities to the point that they pose a much larger threat to the related body politic of Sicilia. Edward Forset, in *A comparative discourse of the bodies natural and politique*, discusses the relationship between the ordering of the humoral body in a ruler and the subsequent ordering of the social body by saying,

> So if the Soueraigne in theprecincts of his regiment, shall suffer an ouergrowing inequalltie of greatnesse to get an head, it will quickly gather to it selfe a syding faction of like disposed disturbers, which will make a shrewd aduenture, both of ouertopping him, and ouerturning. (32)

[233] Audiences had likely seen *Macbeth* at this point and would have some level of prior contact with this supernatural material.

Forest makes evident the deep-rooted connection between the social and physical bodies and the influence of order on both systems. An imbalanced system reflects a similar disordered society, which results only in chaos and unrest. Dion, one of the lords of Sicily, draws Paulina's attention to this bigger problem when he says,

> You pity not the state nor the remembrance
>
> Of his most sovereign name, consider little
>
> What dangers by his highness' fail of issue
>
> May drop upon his kingdom and devour
>
> Incertain lookers-on. What were more holy
>
> than to rejoice the former queen is well?
>
> What holier, than for royalty's repair,
>
> For present comfort and for future good,
>
> To bless the bed of majesty again. With a sweet fellow to't? (5.1.25-35)

Leontes' inability to remarry over the past sixteen years that have passed in the middle of the play has meant that the kingdom's future is in jeopardy. Though the audience is not made privy to the current state of affairs in Sicilia, Dion makes it plainly known that the lack of an heir ("What dangers by his highness' fail of issue") presents a major problem for the country ("May drop upon his kingdom and devour / Incertain lookers-on"). The vulnerability of the state's body reflects the vulnerability in Leontes' body and both, according to Dion, need "royalty's repair" to

provide both “present comfort” and “future good.” Shakespeare uses Leontes’ melancholic madness to show the connection between king and kingdom, but he also uses it to emphasize the elevated stakes of the situation when both microcosm and macrocosm are threatened by a dysfunction of the humors. Unlike Shakespeare’s other melancholic men (i.e., Jacques and Hamlet), Leontes’s melancholy distinctly morphs into madness, and it is clearly distinguished in this play as a serious medical condition with lasting effects, not a courtier’s fashionable affectation. This distinction draws notice to the overall complexity and amorphous nature of melancholy, which marks it out as a humoral disposition ripe for intricate, diverse healing. Therefore, an equally complex healer is necessary in treating the nuances and intricacies of melancholy.

Paulina’s Rotating Roles

Much like the substantiation of Leontes’ melancholy, Paulina’s figuring as the ideal healer for his condition is done early and is constantly reestablished. Paulina is initially portrayed as Hermione’s loyal friend and attendant who fiercely defends her virtue and who is recognized by other attendants, like Emilia, for her unwavering sense of truth and right in this situation (“Most worthy madam, / Your honor and your goodness is so evident / That your free undertaking cannot miss / A thriving issue; there is no lady living / So meet for this great errand.” (2.2.43-47)). Paulina even recognizes that persuading the jealous and angry Leontes “becomes a woman best” (2.2.33) and offers to use the newborn Perdita to make Leontes come to terms with the reality of his situation (“If she dares trust me with her little babe, / I’ll show’t the King, and undertake to be / Her advocate to th’ loud’st. (2.2.38-40)). However, it is during

this defensive act that Leontes quickly accuses Paulina of having an illusory connection to witchcraft and suggests that her care is truly an attempt to harm him. He claims, "A mankind witch! Hence with her, out o'door- / A most intelligencing bawd" (2.3.67-68). Such characterizations, historically, are attributed to women like Paulina whose knowledge stems from shared, familial practice and informal, experiential learning.[234] Later, he will call her a "callet" (2.3.90), a "crone" (2.3.76), and a "gross hag" (2.3.107) to intensify her association between Paulina and suspicious black magic. This early portrayal of Paulina's verbal care then colors his interpretation of her actions, and he is suspicious of the power her words might hold (see 2.3). This fear is driven by the period's concern over the physical power that words held over the material world. Abstract words were thought to carry through "vaporous particles in the breath" and they created tangible bodily effects (i.e., voice, breath, mouth, tongue) (Pollard 171; 178).[235] Leontes goes so far as to declare that Paulina is "Of boundless tongue, who late hath beat her husband / And now baits me." (2.3.90-92). The threat of Paulina's womanly tongue is personified here as a weapon that beats and baits the men around her into submission. By labeling Paulina as a witch and developing an air of suspicion around her, Leontes is immediately marking her type of "care" as occult and her role as healer now carries the connotations of being a wise woman.[236] Leontes' condemnation of Paulina's black magic does not, however, reflect a cultural universal.

[234] For an extensive and informative argument on this topic, see Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550–1650*. Routledge, 2016.

[235] Pollard suggests that the physiology of language had material consequences for the speaker's and listeners bodies (178).

[236] Historically, there was a higher rate of wise women as practitioners in rural areas, which is primarily due to the lack of stable healthcare outside of court, the inaccessibility of practitioners, and the expense of university-trained physicians. Wise women were also readily available because they were often your family members or neighbors who could either be called upon or contacted for help. Though Paulina is an upper-class woman, she maintains an ethos of being a wise woman of sorts in this play.

Wise women in this period, as mentioned earlier, were often hired more frequently in rural areas in England and their work was trusted by their local communities. This trust in female practitioners comes from their social authority through their familiarity with the body and their status as either friend, neighbor, or relative.[237] Further, wise women were not suspected of malpractice in ways that university trained physicians were by those in non-London locales (Kerwin 62-65). The work of wise women was also trusted in terms of education and qualifications because many female practitioners, especially midwives, went through apprenticeships, attended lectures and demonstrations, read from formal and informal texts, stayed up to date on practices, and were extensively knowledgeable about the growing pharmacopeia and popular treatments.

Leontes' suspicion of Paulina does reflect the idea that some people thought wise women were dubious practitioners because of the growing rates of hawkers that tried to sell cure-alls and the potentially dangerous treatments that some physicians were attempting to peddle to patients.[238] This harsh treatment of wise women was capitalized on during the period by formally trained physicians as they undertook a "war on words" and made "textual attacks" on female healers to destabilize their medical model, turn clients away from their doors, and discredit their practice (Pettigrew 17).[239] Ironically, these female practitioners use their practice to ward off evil spirits and illness even though they are expected to promote these behaviors. However, the social reputation of these women overshadows the realistic understanding of their practice, and their ill-

[237] See Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550–1650*. Routledge, 2016.

[238] Cure-alls, especially those rooted in alchemy, were often sold by con men during plague times.

[239] Medical "quackery" was a target for these campaigns, though they were often marred with gender and educational biases instead of truly trying to root out bad medical practice (Pollard, "Spelling the Body" 176). See also, Pettigrew, pp. 44-46.

conceived reputations are easily drawn upon by Leontes to discredit Paulina during their confrontation.

Feeding into the period's gendered views of orality and black magic was the belief that women associated with witchcraft plagued the air and its inhabitants with their "noise" (Enterline 29). This evil was spread through the ambient air similar to *Macbeth*'s Weird Sisters (Gagnon 20). Thus, Paulina's "boundless tongue" (2.3.90) challenges the authority of Leontes and she is seen as using her language to influence his kingly decisions about his wife and children (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 108).[240] Leontes suspicions boil over and he claims, "thou art worthy to be hanged/That wilt not stay her tongue" (2.3.108-09). As mentioned in a previous chapter, King James wrote a treatise on witchcraft and advised that everyone be leery of women using words to influence others.[241] King James' writings were also aligned in this period with other notable thinkers such as William Perkins, an English cleric. Together, they attacked the power of the spoken word and tried to discredit "language's capacity for material effects" in a 1608 publication. Later, they were joined by other major Protestant leaders as they attempted to show that, medically, all spells were unreliable, lacked effectiveness, and "lack method and habit" (Pollard, "Spelling the Body" 175). The intersectionality between folk magic and female practitioners was particularly troublesome for James because they relied heavily on word cures or word medicine that drew on seemingly nonsense syllables and prayer to heal (Pollard, "Spelling the Body" 171-72). This practice could also be easily confused with more sinister

[240] A woman's power was also thought to be held predominantly in her verbal and sexual mouths (genitals). These mouths are often thought to spread "poison" that opposes the traditional, Christian, patriarchal social structure (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 119-20).

[241] Though more flushed out in another chapter in this dissertation (*Macbeth*), it is also important to note that James was likely skeptical of the link between witches and words because of their identification with Catholicism and the ritual/ceremonial practices of the Catholic religion (Pollard, "Spelling the Body" 172).

methods of casting spells that were associated with exorcisms, charms, and incantations that aimed to possess the demonic and bind human and evil magic together.[242] Paulina is mindful of these associations and Leontes' resulting suspicion, and proclaims in her own defense, "If I prove honey-mouthed, let my tongue blister" (2.2.34). By calling out the potential for her to be "honey-mouthed" and lie to Leontes, Paulina asserts that she is being honest and will accept any punishment (tongue blistering) should she be proven false.

Paulina, also predicting this stereotypical association, responds by claiming her intention outright to Leontes:

> Good my liege, I come –
>
> And I beseech you hear me, who professes
>
> Myself your loyal servant your physician,
>
> Your most obedient counselor, yet that dares
>
> Less appear so in comforting your evils
>
> Than such as most seem yours – I say I come
>
> From your good queen. (2.3.52-58)

Paulina reaffirms her loyalty and servitude to Leontes and then situates herself as both his physician and his obedient counselor. She is also mentioning the disservice his other counselors have done him by condoning his vengeful acts against his family to unsettle his sense of trust

[242] This confusion likely stems from the same use of rhyme, sets of words, repetition, verse, word formulas, and a general performance to the language being used (Pollard, "Spelling the Body" 172).

toward them and endear him to her particular kind of counsel instead. At first glance, the care Paulina offers here seems metaphorical because it comes from her words ("beseech you hear me"). However, given that early modern tending included more religiously based tools grounded in discourse, the audience can view her titles of counselor and physician as evidence of her medical position for the remainder of the play.

After Hermione and Mamillius die and the oracle is provided to Leontes, his worldview shifts, which seems to result in a general shift in how he views Paulina and her care. Part of this shift comes from Paulina's own brutal breakdown in Act 3, Scene 2 of all the wrong that Leontes has committed because of his jealousy. She commences this speech with a proclamation that Hermione is dead and that Leontes is to hold all of the blame:

> But, O thou tyrant,
>
> Do not repent these things, for they are heavier
>
> Than all thy woes can stir. Therefore betake thee
>
> To nothing but despair. A thousand knees,
>
> Ten thousand years together, naked, fasting
>
> Upon a barren mountain and still winter
>
> In storm perpetual, could not move the gods
>
> To look that way thou wert. (3.2.204-211)

Already she is counseling him to feel the despair that he has wrought upon himself, and the country and she begins to ply her medical treatment by suggesting that his emotional state must be embraced fully. She rebukes the notion that common repenting practices, even to the extreme, will not work. Leontes stunningly puts faith in her practice (Enterline 32) and her potentially infectious words (miasma in a way) are reinterpreted as helpful guidance. In this moment, he seeks care from Paulina, the very woman he has disparaged and whose practices he previously viewed as dubious. In fact, he tells her to "Go on, go on. / Thou canst not speak too much. I have deserved / All tongues to talk their bitt'rest." (3.2.211-213). Much like a bitter medicinal, Leontes is accepting that the painful reminders of his family's demise rest solely on him, and he encourages Paulina to use her mouth and words to do her caretaking.

Central to this shift in Leontes' perceptions of Paulina are her social status and gender. Paulina's role as an upper-class woman affords her immediate access to the king's care after his wife dies and his children are gone. Paulina's upper-class status affords her access to the physical space of court, and she comes to represent historical women such as Alethea Talbot-Howard and Elizabeth Grey as she uses her noble status to act as an acceptable kind of practitioner.[243] Though Leontes hurls insults at Paulina for her potential connections to witchcraft, she is privileged with her rank within his court and her advice is still heeded at times regardless of how unruly her tongue becomes in front of him. This, paired with her goodly, truthful, and honest nature that everyone speaks so highly of during the play, creates a recognition in Leontes that she is likely the only one that provides him with care and relief. Leontes' earlier accusation of "mankind witch" might also be interpreted in a new way to suggest that Paulina is both male (mankind) and

[243] See Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts*. Routledge, 2009. See also, Claire Preston, *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

female (witch), which allows her to embody a duality of gender and affords her the roles of caretaker and advisor to Leontes. No longer viewed in negative terms, Paulina's witchcraft can be taken as white magic that is aimed at healing, remedying the body of ill, and combating evil. Because of these various roles as counselor, white magician, quasi-physician, and religious healer of sorts, her methods carry more weight and reputational pull than other court advisors and healers that presumably surround Leontes. Also, unlike the remaining men at court, Paulina is one of the few characters present through the time jump that loved Hermione and remembers her in familiar ways that Leontes loved and remembers her. He claims that her truth speaks to him more after his wife's death than anyone else's pity speaks to him, and he begs that she "lead me [him] / To these sorrows" (3.2.239-240).

Since Leontes has dispatched her husband, Paulina is free from a male authority figure and perhaps accepts the role as Leontes' educator to fill the void of no longer caretaking for her own family and household (Vaught 165). Later, after the audience is told of Antingonus' death in certain terms, the Third Gentleman declares, "But, oh, the noble combat that twixt / joy and sorrow was fought in Paulina: she had one eye / declined for the loss of her husband, another elevated that / the oracle was fulfilled (5.2.68-71). Dealing with her own loss, Paulina views her care of Leontes as paramount to ensuring the oracle comes to fruition and her own needs are subsumed to the needs of Leontes and his kingdom. Paulina's attempts to treat Leontes over the years are driven not just by the oracle, but by her own knowledge that Hermione is alive and her ability to predict that Perdita will come back into the fold. Paulina remaining in the good graces of Leontes seems pertinent for the long-term work that Paulina will have to perform throughout the years to keep him ever mindful of what he has done so that, when the time comes, he can embrace his revived wife and new-found daughter.

Paulina's multitudinous healing roles represent that progressive combination of methodologies that early modern medicine advocated for specifically when treating melancholy. She is an empiric and a magician, a midwife and physician, and she carries all the status of a trusted counselor and confidant, and simultaneously holds no status (especially after Hermione is gone and Antigonus dies). The audience is given visual cues that Paulina is an attendant and medical practitioner when she, like all of Shakespeare's midwives, carries Hermione's daughter into court to see King Leontes. Like Juliet's nurse, Titus, and even Lychorida, Paulina's role is notably feminine, and her tending is visually linked to the care of her queen and the princess. Paulina's "womanly" skills are complicated at times with more medically specific language that allow her to flex her role from female caregiver to female practitioner. For example, she uses terms like "remedy" (5.3.77), "purge" (2.3.37), "rotten" (2.3.88), and "poisoned" (3.2.185), which carry with them connotations of medical symptoms, but are also complicated by an underlying theme of religious significance.[244] She uses these words to frame her counsel and verbal care for Leontes, and in doing so, creates an ethos of care in the play.

Paulina's medical language can also be viewed as being rooted in her maternal role. At the beginning of the play, Paulina's daughters are present but eventually disappear when the time jump occurs. However, her motherly nature adds to her ethos of care. As she arrives in Act 2, Paulina states,

> Not so hot, good sir. I come to bring him sleep.
>
> 'Tis such as you, That creep like shadows by him and do sigh

[244] For further reading on knowledge and domestic care keeping in *The Winter's Tale*, see Walter SH Lim, "Knowledge and Belief in" The Winter's Tale"." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 2001, 317-334.

At each his needless heavings- such as you

Nourish the cause of his awaking. I

Do come with words, as medicinal as true,

Honest as either, to purge him of that humor

That press him from sleep. (2.3.33-39)

By claiming that her words are, "honest" and "true," and that they alone can ease the restlessness of the king, Paulina claims authority in this traditionally male space. Unlike the previous doubts about her trustworthiness and even witchcraft associations, Paulina makes sure to assert her authority through sincere and honest communication. There is a servile element to her comfort ("I / Do come with words") where her preparation of coming to the king to cure his ailments demonstrates her attunement to the king's needs. There is no extensive dialogue between Leontes and Paulina where he goes through his symptomatology, and she makes inquiries about his ailments. Instead, she arrives in the scene immediately prepared to ply him with both medicinal help and counseling for his problems.

Paulina goes so far in this moment as to scold the king's male confidants for creeping like "shadows" and sighing at his condition. Their apathy and masculine lack of care, according to Paulina, feed his inability to sleep ("such as you / Nourish the cause of his awaking"). Their incompetence spurs Paulina to attempt to actively restore the king to a balanced, normal state and she sees their reaction and inaction to his condition as lamentable the way a mother might feel for her child's sick state. Further, like a mother soothing a sleepless child, Paulina plans to cure the king's "needless" suffering and her focus is on curing his humors that keep him from

sleep.[245] By relieving Leontes' mind with her "needful conference," Paulina uses her words to try to alleviate his melancholy. This kind of motherly tending is often associated with aging women, especially attendants and nurses (Vanita 316).[246] Peter Erickson argues that it is Leontes' child-like obedience that solidifies Paulina's motherly care toward him because, after the loss of his wife, she begins to embody home for him (i.e., she becomes his closest companion and confidant) in a way that his other counselors cannot fulfill.[247] Erickson also argues that, because Paulina adopts a maternal role toward Leontes, her actions can be seen as enabling instead of curative (822-25). Since religious melancholy was linked to sin unshriven, then the continuous reminders from Paulina about Hermione, Mamillius, and Perdita serves as a negative reinforcement of his melancholic state.

Leontes' obedience (he turns to Paulina and asks her "True?" (5.1.12)) is problematic because the king should not be constantly deferring to Paulina ("till thou bidd'st us" (5.1.82)) about decisions being made in Sicily. Finally, her care is viewed as potentially problematic when she requires an oath from Leontes about not marrying until Hermione is restored ("Never, Paulina, so be blest my spirit" (5.1.7)). This moral authority reaffirms Paulina's position as Leontes' spiritual counselor and serves as evidence that his moral quandary prompts him to turn

[245] Presumably his physicians have been consulted about his condition and cannot provide him with relief. Barbara Howard Traister argues that Shakespeare's works are rife with either "passive doctors" and "active healers," where the active healers are often the least assuming, non-medical practitioners in the play (48-50).

[246] Vanita draws on the caretaking model of the Virgin Mary to suggest ways that Paulina cares for those around her like a mother.

[247] Paulina is also seen providing motherly care to Hermione. In Act 5, the audience is filled in on the action of the past sixteen years and the recent developments in Sicilia. The Second Gentleman notes that Paulina, "privately twice or thrice a day/ ever since the death of Hermione visited that removed/house" (5.2.98-100). Mary Ellen Lamb suggests this is evidence that Paulina is caring for Hermione, and that the two to three visits each day are to feed the queen (536). Like a mother, she is providing sustenance to Hermione, and her level of care far exceeds that of a typical servant. In this argument, it suggests that part of Paulina's care for the king relies on her care for the queen; by caring for Hermione's body, she is caring for Leontes' body and his redemption later in the play (her final act of curing him).

to a source of relief that extends beyond traditional medical practice.[248] Since the early modern period saw an evolution of spiritual healing for melancholy, the moral implications of Paulina's care are made more evident to the audience (Kerwin 219-20). The care of ethos that Paulina establishes incorporates these spiritual tones, which scholar Ruth Vanita argues is an interpretation of the New Testament commonplace that the church (as in the abstract concept) is a female entity or that it occupies the feminine role in the corporate relationship (318). This argument creates a right of religious author and duty of care attributed to Paulina as the figure (embodiment) of the church in Leontes' eyes, and she incorporates these other roles as maternal and religious caretaker into her identity.[249] This religious authority is reflected in Paulina's focus on penance as a way to cure Leontes' melancholy (Lim 320).[250] According to medieval political theology, Leontes' body natural (i.e., his actual, physical body) is distinguished from his body corporate (i.e., his kingly body), and both are being attended to by Paulina's counsel in different ways (Olwig 70-93). Leontes' body natural receives Paulina's more direct medical attention to balance out his humors and address his ailments, whilst his body corporate receives a broader, more spiritual type of counsel that aims to heal his soul and his suffering country. Paulina's proposed treatment for Leontes is perpetual penitence for the vicious acts against his own wife and children, and she suggests that he cannot be prescribed too much nor ever stop the prescribed dosage of penitence (Erickson 189). Like the words cures of (white) magic mentioned in the first chapter on *Macbeth*, there is a physicality and intentionality behind prayer that focuses on

[248] The connection between the moral and medical can be understood through Todd H.J. Pettigrew's argument that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, apothecaries and priests often served the same function in that they offer both counsel and curative medicines (92-122).

[249] Goldman argues that there are distinct parallels between Paulina and the biblical figure of Paul because of their shared name and their shared theological preaching. He also argues that Paulina can be interpreted as Paul on the road to Damascus, who represents the subconscious guilt living within Leontes in this play.

[250] Historically, King James considered himself the nation's moral physician and drew on iatrochemical practices to counsel and cure his people and government (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 55-56). Paulina's own care and counsel are conflated in this play and reflect a similar practice.

language and its impacts on the body and mind. For example, repeated processes and words, and measured and timed language are a shared part in both practices. Therefore, Paulina draws on these overlapping methods between folk magic and spiritual healing to provide Leontes with a more holistic treatment plan. As mentioned before, Paulina's condemnation of Leontes' actions in Act 3, Scene 2 uses phrases like, "A thousand knees," "naked," and "fasting," which are all suggestive of externalized repenting practices that, though often used, are not enough to atone for Leontes' sins. Considering the impact his actions have had on his country, these repetitive movements are particularly inadequate and draw attention to the Catholic nature of these practices that are ineffective and performative. However, she still advises him over the sixteen-year period to never forget his wife, his children, nor his actions, and to repent continuously. This externalized penitence is exemplified in Paulina's figure through continuous kneeling and fasting. In a visual manner, her figuration becomes a caricature of Edmund Spenser's figure of despair from *The Faerie Queene* and that her figuration as sorrow fills the space of the sixteen-year time lapse of the play (Erickson 189).[251] Leontes, and the play's audience, are never released from the knowledge of what was done to Hermione and her children, and Paulina serves as a constant reminder to all about how we should feel about these atrocities. Such authority makes Leontes' self-subordination to Paulina's advice more understandable since he is following a line of advice that is medical and religious; she is no longer an anxiety or threat to him, but a path to salvation.

[251] Erickson argues that this specific model of despair may be drawing from and even critiquing the Lutheran model of repenting, which involves self-deprecating behavior and shame with no salvation in sight (190-191).

Paulina's Cure: A Blend of the New and Old

Paulina appears to be the culmination of all of Shakespeare's possible healers since she draws on a host of roles to accomplish her task of caring for and curing Leontes. Her upper-class status affords her access to the king, but her role is immediately relegated to womanly duties such as midwifery and nursing. However, she also provides Leontes with care and counsel in a way that reflects how Shakespeare has written many of his other magical women that advise kings. Though she is often tied to the occult, she is also freed from the grips of those associations at times by being a mother and wife. Essentially, her maternal and married experiences allow her to provide Leontes with wise woman guidance that is viewed as folksier and more traditional.

Paulina also represents Shakespeare's own skepticism around some medical practitioners such as apothecaries, barber surgeons, and men that sell fake cures (Pettigrew 103).[252] Shakespeare combines Paulina's social rank, religious disposition, and intelligence to substantiate her medical knowledge in a religious context. They also allow her to demonstrate a conscience behind her decisions, which cannot be said for figures like the "unethical poisoner" apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet* (Pettigrew 103). Further, she is an effective practitioner that uses a variety of methods to treat Leontes' melancholy that other Shakespearean physicians like the doctor in *Macbeth* cannot achieve with their treatments. Paulina's specific blended care seems apropos to Leontes' melancholic madness. It was thought that witchcraft stemmed from an excess of melancholy in the body and that the devil's actions are associated with melancholic madness (Closson 68-69). The complexity and vastness of melancholy meant that the Galenic humoral model was slowly unable to fully treat and/or cure melancholy and writers such as

[252] Pettigrew argues that Shakespeare was likely skeptical of medical professionals because of his upbringing in a more rural area and his familiarity with the effective practice of wise women. Further, Shakespeare's London would have shown him the crooked practice of medicine as the field became professionalized.

Burton even went so far as to suggest that Galenic practices were insufficient to address the many complex facets of melancholy.[253] Instead, the incorporation of folk medical practices and magic seemed useful for treating melancholy in different ways, and the adoption of Paracelsian treatments in England seemed most fitting for the diagnosis and treatment of some kinds of melancholy.

This blended and expanded medical approach thus explains Paulina's holistic methodology and makes her the ideal physician for Leontes' condition of melancholic madness (Koizumi 126). Paracelsus posits that, unlike Galenic practice that balances the humors through a condition's opposite, curing a melancholic state requires a treatment of "likeness" or "poison with poison" (Pollard 31).[254] Both folk medicine and Paracelsus placed emphasis on the effectiveness of poisons, and Paulina's treatment appears to incorporate both of these methods to find a cure for Leontes.[255] Paracelsus argued that the body politic was often sick from the infection caused by the "infiltration by hostile, foreign bodies" in the common form of Catholics, Jews, and witches (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 14-15). On an abstract level, Paulina's earlier connection to witchcraft represents a social poison that can draw out the melancholy from Leontes and his country since the root cause and cure are located in the same type of poison (language).[256] Melancholy, in *The Winter's Tale*, then becomes an exemplar of Jacques

[253] Burton predicts the downfall of the Galenic humoral theory as the primary practice of medicine because of its inability to diagnose and cure melancholy (Chiari, *Representations of Weather* 118-19).
[254] For exemplary arguments on Galenic and Paracelsian medical practices, see Todd Howard James Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Narratives on the Early Modern English Stage*. University of Delaware Press, 2007 and Lucinda McCray Beier, *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England*. Routledge, 2015.
[255] Syphilis was one of the first notable illnesses that was resistant to homeopathy. Its symptoms did respond, however, to mercury, which substantiated the need for Paracelsian alchemical treatments (Harris, *Foreign Bodies* 52). Most Paracelsian treatments included mercury, which was a notable poison to the human body.
[256] Paracelsus promoted the use of toxins, alchemy, and iatrochemistry to cure illness.

Derrida's *pharmakon,* where the illness is treated with its own root cause.[257] Specifically, Paulina's poison—in the form of language and counsel—is a discursive one that draws on spells, motherly tending, and verbal curatives. To cure Leontes, she must then use a "caustic healing" process to address the deep-rooted melancholic madness (Gourlay 386).[258] Paulina relies on verbal reminders that seem to harm Leontes ("strik'st me") and cause him pain: "I think so. Killed? / She I killed? I did so, but thou strik'st me / Sorely to say I did. It is as bitter / Upon thy tongue as in my thought. Now, good now, / Say so but seldom" (5.1.16-20). The bitterness of the thought and the words on Paulina's tongue emphasizes the "cordial comfort" (5.3.77) that Paulina represents to Leontes. Cordials were Galenic pharmaceuticals that took shape as sedatives, elixirs, and liqueurs infused with various herbs, spices, and other ingredients that balanced the humors internally. Unlike purgatives that worked by removing the bad humors, cordials operated inside the body and mind. Cordials as a medical method did provide some relief, and yet they were still uncomfortable, disgusting, and even painful treatments.

Aside from drawing out the melancholy with poison and "likeness" in treatments, Paulina also relies on a more traditional Galenic method of purgation to rid Leontes of his melancholy. Both Todd H.J. Pettigrew and Gail Kern Paster suggest the importance of purgation in *The*

[257] For the theoretical unpacking of the pharmakon, see Jacques Derrida, "Plato's Pharmacy." *Dissemination,* trans. Barbara Johnson, 1981. For the pharmakon's application to *The Winter's Tale*, see Yuto Koizumi, ""What? Hast Smutched Thy Nose?": Medical Discourse in The Winter's Tale." *演劇研究*, vol. 37, 2013, 126.

[258] In Paracelsian terms, Paulina's caustic healing practices are meant to draw out the illness from Leontes, thus causing him pain. This pain, however, is unclear in its mental or physical nature. Though it is hard to tell from the vague references in Act 5 about Paulina's specific care for Leontes and the subsequent pain endured, any application of the pharmakon or iatrochemical treatment would be excruciating, even if it were internal.

Winter's Tale with her wise words and their impact on the king's body and the body politic.[259] In Act 2, Scene 3, Paulina says,

> …I
>
> Do come with words, as medicinal as true,
>
> Honest as either, to purge him of that humor
>
> That press him from sleep. (2.3.33-39)

Paulina is not using any of the typical comedic purgatives that Shakespeare often threw into his plays for a few cheap laughs: vomit, leeches, laxatives (Steggle 220). Instead, it is her words–something deemed too powerful and false earlier–that rid the king's body of his ill humors. Paulina's use of words to heal draws on her associations with witchcraft, taps into more rudimentary folk practices of word cures, and folds in more religious practices such as prayer. Further, as Paulina presumably purges the infection of melancholy from Leontes through her words, we can assume that the devil is also departing the afflicted body, which returns us to the hysterical exorcism and revivification process popular during the time for melancholic illnesses (Closson 69).

Aside from being a blended practice Paulina's healing appears to be rather aggressive. This abrasiveness is not lost on other characters; Cleomenes scolds Paulina for her continuous chastisement of the king ("Not at all, good lady. /You might have spoken a thousand things that

[259] See Todd H.J. Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Narratives on the Early Modern English Stage*. University of Delaware Press, 2007 and Gail Kern Paster, The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England, Cornell University Press, 1993.

would/ Have done the time more benefit and graced/Your kindness better" (5.1.22-23)).[260] At this point, Dion states that Paulina's treatment causes Leontes to suffer, and in turn, makes the kingdom suffer. The previously mentioned moment where Dion calls Paulina's harsh care out demonstrates the connectedness of the king's two bodies and the possible neglect of the body politic by Paulina's care.[261] As Nicole Greenspan describes, "like the biological body, the collective body politic was subject to infection and disease which required identification and treatment" (212).[262] However, Paulina is arguably caring for the body politic through her directed care for Leontes' mind and body.

If the two are connected, then her attention toward Leontes' body impacts the corpus politicum substantially. For example, Paulina might not be concerned with Leontes securing the throne with offspring since she knows Hermione still lives and she predicts that his future will involve the return of a married Perdita and an inevitable reconciliation with his wife. Thus, the heir is already secure, and she does not emphasize the need to get Leontes wedded, bedded, and sexually active to reproduce a male child for the sake of his throne, his legacy, nor his country. Dion seems to be impressing upon Paulina the need for quick care in response to healing the body politic, and yet Paulina advocates for slow care of Leontes' melancholy. The slow care method, I argue here, fits with the prolonged melancholy that Leontes has experienced and demonstrates Paulina's measured care-tending as it relates to the symptomology displayed by the

[260] Paulina, aside from being his caretaker, also represents his keeper of memory. She acts as the moral historian and reminds him of his indiscretions, which in turn services her treatment plan.
[261] The king's corporeal body and the public body of God and the people that he represents.
[262] For further discussion of the body politic, see J. G. Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

king. Paulina is operating through a line of treatment that relies on sympathetic "slow" methods to achieve a cure for the king.

Paulina's connection to larger spheres of influence and even her possible connections to the gods and the oracle also allows her to aptly take care of Leontes and his many bodies. Since the period thought that melancholic madness stemmed from supernatural causes, then Paulina's use of supernatural methodologies is appropriate and effective in treating Leontes. Paulina rebukes Dion's accusations by citing Apollo's oracle,

> There is none worthy,
>
> Respecting her that's gone. Besides, the gods
>
> Will have fulfilled their secret purposes.
>
> For has not the divine Apollo said—
>
> Is't not the tenor of his oracle?—
>
> That King Leontes shall not have an heir
>
> Till his lost child be found? Which that it shall
>
> Is all as monstrous to our human reason
>
> As my Antigonus to break his grave
>
> And came again to me, who, on my life,
>
> Did perish with the infant. 'Tis your counsel

My lord should to the heavens be contrary,

Oppose against their wills. (5.1.34-46)

The use of the oracle can be interpreted as either linking Paulina back to the occult, leveling Apollo with the Christian God figure, or perhaps a combination of the two. In either instance, the oracle itself seems to inform the regimentation of Paulina's care for Leontes and attempts to establish some form of credibility behind her decisions over the past sixteen years.[263] Her use of the very oracle that Leontes sought after to justify his imprisonment of his wife and his skepticism around his children also speaks to a broader persuasive capacity that she holds in this play. Though she may not immediately be considered an effective nor ambitious political advisor the way Shakespeare's Tamora, Volumnia, and even the Weird Sisters might be, Paulina's vision for king and kingdom remains the clear path through which Leontes must navigate to be reconciled at the end of the play.[264]

In addition, since Paulina bases her process on the blending of oracle and divine inspiration, her methodologies cannot be so easily cast in the evil shadow of heresy and witchcraft. Thus, her source of medical knowledge, aside from her practical experience, appears to come from godly inspiration and draw on supernatural approaches deemed in this period to effectively cure melancholic madness. This connection to a higher power makes her access and

[263] Such external penitence is embodied in Paulina through her continuous kneeling and fasting and she is likened to the figure of despair (Erickson 189). Though not entirely clear, this may be a nod toward the Lutheran model of repenting, which involves self-deprecating behavior and shame with no salvation in sight (Erickson 190-91). Aside from the figure of despair, some scholars have drawn parallels between Paulina and the biblical figure of Paul because of their shared theological preaching and their similar names and some have even interpreted Paulina as Paul on the road to Damascus, who represents the role of the subconscious or guilt in this play (Goldman). No matter which interpretation of Paulina that is taken, it is evident that her advice is steeped in religious discourse and her advice concerns itself with the moral nature of Leontes. Further, this kind of discourse and moral advice actively distances Paulina from the previous accusations of witchcraft and condones Leontes' reliance on her advice.

[264] These women were also associated with magical practice.

care to the king warranted, since she appears the most worthy and skilled to do so and gives her a more substantial claim to knowing what will cure Leontes of his melancholy. Paulina's response to Dion and Cleomenes in Act 5 demonstrates this knowledge ("'Tis your counsel / My lord should to the heavens be contrary, / Oppose against their will" (5.1.44-46)) and suggests that she is clearly privy to the larger scope of care necessary to resolve the issues in this play. Her connection to the gods—especially Apollo— allows her cure to function simultaneously on a grand scale to heal all of Sicilia. This is evidenced in Leontes' claim, "The blessed gods / Purge all infection from our air" (5.1.167-68); by purging the infection from Leontes in act 5, Paulina has seemingly purged the entirety of the kingdom's infection.

Part of this purgation is represented by the hot, moist air associated with the changing of the seasons and the introduction of spring. The vitality shown in the Bohemian sheep shearing festival suggests a larger shift in this play away from winter and toward the lively season of spring that is teeming with reproduction and birth, wetness from the rains, and vibrant colors of green. Spring cures in this period were often used for melancholy because they involved sweat and purgation, and they actively drew on the oppositional qualities to winter to alleviate the ailment of melancholy (Lindemann 26). Leontes even greets Florizel, Perdita, and Cleomenes by saying, "Welcome hither, / As is the spring to th'earth" (5.1.150-151), which draws attention to the changing of the seasons. Florizel adds to this environmental rhetoric when he claims that they have crossed a "prosperous south wind friendly" (5.1.159) to make it to Sicily. Combined, the coming of spring and the prosperous south wind invocate an increase in warm air and moist conditions, which begins to balance out the cold and dry melancholy humor in the state. The reintroduction of these qualities into the kingdom reflects the revivification process of the dead that is embodied in Hermione and linked to Leontes' cured melancholy at the end of the play.

The final act also demands that the characters and audience revisit Paulina's relationship to witchcraft and the evolution of how her practice is perceived in this play (Rosenfield 107). Before revealing the statue of Hermione, Paulina yet again denies any connection to witchcraft again by saying that, "But then you'll think think- / Which I protest against-I am assisted / By wicked powers" (5.3.89-91). Paulina's care in act 5 is fraught with conflicting interpretations; her actions are either a miracle, medical resurrection, revivification, necromancy, or even theatrical staging, so providing the audience with a clear directive on how to perceive the results of what she has accomplished seem necessary for this moment. This clarification, just like the accusations of witchcraft, fittingly comes from Leontes: "If this be magic, let it be an art / Lawful as eating" (5.3.110-11) immediately releases Paulina from any occult implications, and suggests that her possible magical actions are lawful and should be appreciated for what this means for the future of the kingdom ("an art"). Paulina is not the only healer to use this method in Shakespeare's works; *Pericles*' Cerimon, who is inspired by Aesculapius, also revives the dead through art (Peterson 19). By separating the craft from witchcraft and aligning it with artistic craft and medical craft, Leontes is acquitting Paulina of any illegal action, and praises her work as lawful, good intentioned, and a vital act. Leontes mitigates his earlier accusations and demonstrates that he and the audience have successfully reduced their own cognitive dissonance as they normalize Paulina's practice and view her approach as medically, socially, religiously, and politically necessary.[265]

[265] This might also shed some light on how society reframes the reliance on wise women for care in this period and distances the female practitioner's daily work from associations with witchcraft and the Devil.

Carekeeping Conclusions

The crisis Leontes produces in the beginning of *The Winter's Tale* stems from a deep-rooted anxiety and requires an equally deep-rooted curative. As Lindsay Kaplan and Katherine Eggert suggest, this male anxiety, by the end of the play, is tempered by female authority (110). Leontes' male anxiety creates a surge in choler, a burnout which leads to melancholy adust, and a much longer lasting melancholic madness, and it is because of Paulina's associations with medicine, witchcraft and the supernatural, religion and spirituality, and motherly healing that she can provide Leontes with moral and physical care (Gourlay 382-83). She uses a blend of Galenic humoral knowledge and Paracelsian iatrochemistry to establish a medical approach rooted in language, and simultaneously draws on folklore practices, magical healing, and religious intervention to purge, poison, balance, and comfort Leontes' body and mind.[266] Paulina embodies the shifting theoretical model and subsequent practice of medicine taking place in the early modern period where melancholy requires much more than a singular branch of care to address it completely. Barbara Howard Traister argues that Shakespeare typically creates this kind of narrative "for his genuine cures, his difficult cases, he calls not on the accepted medical profession but on empirics who operate alone and with secret remedies" (51). For Paulina, her exceptional authority grants her access to the king's body and the subsequent body politic of Sicilia, and the compendium of her knowledge exemplifies the secret, idealized remedy necessary to cure king and country. Further, this secret remedy that Shakespeare concocts for Paulina seems to integrate numerous medical approaches grounded in an interdisciplinary methodology that acceptable male healers cannot or will not learn and use.

[266] We might also frame this argument with the idea that the iatrochemical poison that is necessary to curing Leontes' melancholy requires a cure of despair, longing, and drastic melancholic behavior that can only be delivered by Paulina's specific set of skills that is grounded in both moral and practical knowledge.

REFERENCES

Agrippa von Nettesheim, Heinrich Cornelius, and Compagni, V. Perrone. *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres*. Edited by V. Perrone Compagni, E.J. Brill, 1992.

Arikha, Noga. *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours*. 1st ed. New York, NY: Ecco, 2007.

Austin, J.L. "Performative Utterances." *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, edited by Vincent Leitch, William Cain, Laurie Finke, Barbara Johnson, John McGowan, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Jeffrey Williams, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2010, pp. 1289-1301.

Behre, Keri Sanburn. "Look What Market She Hath Made." *Early Theatre*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2018, pp. 127–144.

Berkeley, David. "Shakespeare's Severall Degrees in Bloud." *Shakespeare's Theories of Blood, Character, and Class: A Festschrift in Honor of David Shelley Berkeley*, edited by Peter C. Rollins and Alan Smith. Bristol: Peter Lang, 2001.

Biggins, Dennis. "Sexuality, Witchcraft, and Violence in Macbeth," *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 8, 1976, pp. 255-277

Blissett, William., Julia Patrick, and R.W. Van Fossen, editors. *A Celebration of Ben Jonson; Papers Presented at the University of Toronto in October 1972*. University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Botvinick, Marshall, editor. *Staging Ben: A Collection of Essays on the Theatricality of Jonson's Plays*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.

Brears, Peter. *All the King's Cooks: The Tudor Kitchens of King Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace*. Souvenir Press Ltd., 2011.

Bristol, Michael D., ed. *Shakespeare and Moral Agency*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009.

Brown, Andrew. "Theater of Judgment: Space, Spectators, and the Epistemologies of Law in Bartholomew Fair." *Early Theater*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2012, p. 154. Issues in Review, doi.org/10.12745/et.15.2.915.

Bryant, Jr., J.A.. "Jonson's Revision of "Every Man in His Humour"," *Studies in Philology*, vol. 59, no. 4, October 1962, pp. 641-650. www.jstor.org/stable/4173398

Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, edited by Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicholas K. Kiessling, Rhonda L. Blair, and introduction by J.B. Bamborough, Oxford University Press, 1989.

Campbell, Colin. *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Writers Print Shop, 2005.

Carlin, Claire L. *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe*. Springer, 2005.

Carlin, Martha. ""What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?": The Evolution of Public Dining in Medieval and Tudor London." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 1, 2008, pp. 199-217. University of Pennsylvania Press, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2008.71.1.199

Carson, Neil. *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Cazes, Hélène. "Apples and Moustaches: Montaigne's Grin in the Face of Infection."

Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe, edited by Claire Carlin, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 77-93.

Cerasano, S.P.. "Theatre Entrepreneurs and Theatrical Economics." *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, edited by Richard Dutton, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp.

Charron, Pierre, and Lennard, Samson. *Of Wisdome Three Bookes*. Printed for Edward Blount & Will. Aspley, 1620.

Chiari, Sophie. *Shakespeare's Representation of Weather, Climate and Environment: The Early Modern 'fated Sky'*. Edinburgh University Press, 2019.

Chiari, Sophie, and John Mucciolo, editors. *Performances at Court in the Age of Shakespeare*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Christophe-Agnew, Jean. *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought*, 1550-1750. Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Clifford, Catherine. "The Old Name is Fresh About Me: Architectural Mimesis and Court Spaces in All is True." *Performances at Court in the Age of Shakespeare*, edited by Sophie Chiari and John Mucciolo. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Closson, Marianne. "The Devil's Curses: The Demonic Origin of Disease in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 63-76.

Cohen, Ralph Alan. "The Importance of Setting in the Revision of "Every Man in His

Humour”,” *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 8, no. 2, Spring 1978, pp. 183-196. www.jstor.org/stable/43446901

Cole, Lucinda. "Of Mice and Moisture: Rats, Witches, Miasma, and Early Modern Theories of Contagion." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2010, pp. 65-84. doi: 10.1353/jem.2011.0007.

Colley, John Scott. “Opinion, Poetry, and Folly in “Every Man in His Humour”,” *South Atlantic Bulletin*, vol. 39, no. 4, November 1974, pp. 10-21. www.jstor.org/stable/3198225

Correll, Barbara. “Scene Stealers: Autolycus, The Winter’s Tale and Economic Criticism.” *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*, edited by Linda Woodbridge. Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Dawkins, Richard. *The Selfish Gene*. 30th Anniversary ed. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Daye, Anne. “The Banqueting House, Whitehall: A Site Specific to Dance. Historical Dance.” *Bedford*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2004, pp. 3-22.

Derrida, Jacques. "Plato’s Pharmacy." *Dissemination*. Translated by Barbara Johnson. University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Donaldson, Ian. *Jonson and Shakespeare*. Humanities Press, 1983.

Draper, John W. *The Humors & Shakespeare's Characters*. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1945.

Dutton, Richard. “The Court, The Master of Revels, and the Players.” *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, edited by Richard Dutton, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 362-380.

Egan, Gabriel. “The Use of Booths in the Original Staging of Jonson's Bartholomew Fair.” *Cahiers élisabéthains*, vol. 53, no. 1, 1998, pp. 43-52. Sage Publications, doi.org/10.1177/018476789805300108.

Elyot, Thomas, Sir. *The Castel of Helth, 1541*. Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, 1937.

Enterline, Lynn. “"You Speak a Language that I Understand Not": The Rhetoric of Animation in The Winter's Tale.” *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 1, 1997, pp. 17-44.

Erickson, Peter B. "Patriarchal Structures in The Winter's Tale." *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1982, pp. 819-829.

Feerick, Jean E. *Strangers in Blood: Relocating Race in the Renaissance*. University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Fisher, Frederick J. “The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 30, 1948, pp. 37-50. Cambridge Core, doi.org/10.2307/3678697.

Floyd-Wilson, Mary. "English Epicures and Scottish Witches." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 2, 2006, pp. 131-161. doi.org/10.1353/shq.2006.0056.

---. *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

---. “English Mettle.” *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, edited by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 130-147.

---. *Occult Knowledge, Science, and Gender on the Shakespearean Stage*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Foakes, Reginald A., editor. *Henslowe's Diary*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Forset, Edward. *A Comparatiue Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique VVherein out of the Principles of Nature, Is Set Forth the True Forme of a Commonweale, with the Dutie of Subiects, and Right of Soueraigne: Together with Many Good Points of Politicall Learning, Mentioned in a Briefe after the Preface* by Edvvard Forset. 1606. Online.

Gagnon, Claude. “The Animism of Ambient Air at the End of the Middle Ages.” *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Claire Carlin, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 16-32.

Galen. “Corpus Medicorum Graecorum.” *On My Own Opinions*. Akademie Verlag: Berlin, 1999.

---. “That the Best Physician is also a Philosopher.” *On My Own Opinions*. Akademie Verlag: Berlin, 1999.

Gaunt, J. L. “Popular Fiction and the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century.” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, vol. 72, no. 1, 1978, pp.1-13. The University of Chicago Press Journals, doi.org/10.1086/pbsa.72.1.24302214.

Gillen, Katherine. “Female Chastity and Commoditized Selfhood in ‘Bartholomew Fair.’” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 55, no. 2, 2015, pp. 309–326.

Goldman, Peter. "The Winter's Tale and Antitheatricalism: Shakespeare's Rehabilitation of the Public Scene." *Anthropoetics*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2011.

Gourlay, Patricia Southard. "“O My Most Sacred Lady”: Female Metaphor in The Winter's Tale." *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1975, pp. 375-395.

Greene, Robert, et al. *Greene's ‘Pandosto' or ‘Dorastus and Fawnia,' Being the Original of Shakespeare's ‘Winter's Tale,'*. Chatto and Windus, 1907.

Greenspan, Nicole. "Religious Contagion in Mid-Seventeenth Century England." *Imagining Contagion in Early Modern Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, pp. 212-227.

Greg, W. W. Henslowe Papers, 2 vols. London: AH Bullen, 1907.

Griffith, Eva. *A Jacobean Company and Its Playhouse: The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theater (c. 1605–1619)*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Guyton, Arthur C., et al. *The Works of William Harvey*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. *Project MUSE* muse.jhu.edu/book/28650.

Halpern, Richard. “Marlowe’s Theater of the Night: “Doctor Faustus” and Capital.” *ELH*, vol. 71, no. 2, Summer 2004, pp. 455-495. The Johns Hopkins University Press, www.jstor.org/stable/30030058.

Hampton, Timothy. “Strange Alteration: Physiology and Psychology from Galen to Rubelais.”

Reading Early Modern Passions, edited by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 272-295.

Hanmer, Thomas. *The Works of Shakespeare*. Oxford, 1743–44, vol. 2. https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/10029653.

Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England*. *Vol. 25*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

---. ""Some love that drew from him oft from home": Syphilis and International Commerce in The Comedy of Errors." *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson, Routledge, 2017, pp. 69-92.

Hawkes, David. *Idols of the Marketplace: Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in English Literature, 1580-1680*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

---. "Exchange Value and Empiricism in the Poetry of George Herbert." *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*, edited by Linda Woodbridge. Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Haynes, Jonathan. "Festivity and the Dramatic Economy of Jonson's Bartholomew Fair." *ELH*, vol. 51, no. 4, 1984, pp. 645–68. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2872778.

Healy, Margaret. *Fictions of Disease in Early Modern England: Bodies, Plagues and Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

Heaton, Kenneth W. "Somatic Expressions of Grief and Psychosomatic Illness in the Works of William Shakespeare and his Coevals." *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, vol. 73, no. 4, 2012, pp. 301-306.

Henslowe, Philip, Edward Alleyn, and Robert Greene. *Henslowe Papers: Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary*. London: AH Bullen, 1907.

Howard, Jean E. *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England*. Routledge, 1994.

Howard Traister, Barbara. ""Note Her a Little Farther": Doctors and Healers in the Drama of Shakespeare." *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson, Routledge, 2017, pp. 43-53.

Hobgood, Allison. *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Ichikawa, Mariko. "Were Property Booths Used in the First Performance of Jonson's Bartholomew Fair?" *Theater Notebook*, vol. 71 no. 2, 2017, pp. 72-93. Project MUSE, muse.jhu.edu/article/667957.

Isaacson, Emily Ruth. "The Workman, Sir! The Artificer!": Artifice, Theater, and Puppets Performing in Ben Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair" and "A Tale of A Tub." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2014, pp. 41–60. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/44066189.

Jonson, Ben. "Bartholomew Fair." *Five Plays*, edited by GA Wilkes, Oxford's World Classic, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 483-605.

---. “Every Man in His Humor.” *Five Plays*, edited by GA Wilkes, Oxford’s World Classic, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 1-98.

---. *Every Man Out of His Humor*. Edited by Helen Ostovich, Manchester University Press, distributed by Palgrave, 2001.

---. “Epicœne.” *The Revels Plays*, edited by Richard Dutton, Manchester University Press, 2008.

---. “The Alchemist.” *Five Plays*, edited by GA Wilkes, Oxford’s World Classic, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 349-482.

Kaplan, M. Lindsay, and Katherine Eggert. “"Good Queen, My Lord, Good Queen": Sexual Slander and the Trials of Female Authority in" The Winter's Tale."” *Renaissance Drama*, vol. 25, 1994, pp. 89-118.

Kastan, David Scott, and Stallybrass, Peter. *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*. New York, Routledge, 1991.

Keenan, Siobhan. *Acting Companies and their Plays in Shakespeare's London*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014.

Kendrick, Matthew. “Humoralism and Poverty in Jonson’s “Every Man in His Humour”,” *South Central Review*, vol. 30, no. 2, Summer 2013, pp. 73-90. www.jstor.org/stable/44016831

Kenny, Amy. *Humoral Wombs on the Shakespearean Stage*. Palgrave Studies in Literature, Science, and Medicine, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Kerwin, William. *Beyond the Body: The Boundaries of Medicine and English Renaissance Drama*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2005.

Kim, Jaecheol. "The Plague and Immunity in Othello." *Comparative Drama*, vol. 51, no. 1, 2017, pp. 23-42. doi: 10.1353/cdr.2017.0001.

King, John, ed.. *Foxe's Book of Martyrs: Select Narratives*. Oxford's World Classics, Oxford University Press, 2009.

Kitzes, Adam. *The Politics of Melancholy from Spenser to Milton*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Klein, David. "Time Allotted for an Elizabethan Performance." *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 4, 1967, pp. 434–38. JSTOR, doi: 10.2307/2867646.

Koizumi, Yuto. ""What? Hast Smutched Thy Nose?": Medical Discourse in The Winter's Tale." *演劇研究*, vol. 37, 2013, pp. 115-137.

Lamb, Mary Ellen. "Engendering the Narrative Act: Old Wives' Tales in" The Winter's Tale", "Macbeth", and" The Tempest"." *Criticism*, vol. 40, no. 4, 1998, pp. 529-553.

Langley, Eric. "Plagued by Kindness: Contagious Sympathy in Shakespearean Drama." *Medical Humanities*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2011, pp. 103-109.

---. *Shakespeare's Contagious Sympathies*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Lanyer, Aemelia. "Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum." *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney, and Aemilia Lanyer: Renaissance Women Poets*, edited by Danielle Clarke, Penguin, 2000.

Laroche, Rebecca. *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550–1650*. Routledge, 2016.

Levin, Joanna. "Lady MacBeth and the Daemonologie of Hysteria," *ELH*, Spring, 2002, vol. 69, no. 1, pp. 21-55

Levin, Lawrence. “Clement Justice in Every Man in His Humour,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* vol. 12, no. 2, Spring, 1972, pp. 291-307. www.jstor.org/stable/449895

Levin, Richard. “The Structure of Bartholomew Fair.” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1965, pp. 172-179. JSTOR, doi: 10.2307/461264.

Lim, Walter SH. "Knowledge and Belief in" The Winter's Tale"." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 2001, pp. 317-334.

Lindemann, Mary. *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Lindsay, Robert, and Mackay, Ae. J. G. *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland : from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Zeir. Printed for the Society by W. Blackwood and Sons, 1899. Written and collected by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, being a continuation of the translations of the chronicles written by Hector Boece, and translated by John Bellenden; now first published from two of the oldest manuscripts, one bequeathed by Dr. David Laing to the University of Edinburgh, and the other in the library of John Scott of Halkshill, C.B.*, Edited by Æ. J.G. Mackay. Online.

Loewenstein, Joseph. “The Script in the Marketplace.” *Representations*, vol. 12, 1985, pp. 101-114. The University of California Journals: Representations, doi: 10.2307/3043780.

Long, Pamela O. *Artisan/Practitioners and the Rise of the New Sciences, 1400-1600*. Oregon State University Press, 2011.

Loxley, James and Fionnuala O'Neill Tonning. "Significant Others: On the Comparison of Shakespeare and Jonson." *Shakespeare,* vol. 12, no. 4, 2016, pp. 335-337. doi: 10.1080/17450918.2016.1208675.

Lynch, Tony. "Iago's Evil." *Literature & Aesthetics*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2012, pp. 21-35.

Macalpine, Ida, and Hunter, Richard Alfred. *George III and the Mad-Business*. 1st American ed., Pantheon Books, 1970.

Manning, Gillian. "An Echo of King James in Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair." *Notes and Queries*, vol. 36, no. 3, 1989, pp. 342–344.

McCray Beier, Lucinda. *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England*. Routledge, 2015.

Morley, Henry. *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*. 4th ed., London, New York, G. Routledge, 1892.

Moss, Stephanie. "Transformation and Degeneration: The Paracelsian/Galenic Body in Othello." *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson, Routledge, 2017, pp. 151-170.

Nichols, John. *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James The First.* Vol. 3. London: JB Nichols, New York: Burt Franklin: Research and Source Works Series #118, 1828.

Mullaney, Steven. "Affective Technologies: Toward an Emotional Logic of the Elizabethan Stage." *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2007, pp. 71-89.

Neely, Carol Thomas. 'Some love that drew him oft from home': syphilis and international commerce in The Comedy of Errors. *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage,* edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson. Aldershot, England, Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, Literary and Scientific Cultures of Early Modernity, 2014.

Pafford, J.H., editor. *The Winter's Tale*, Arden Edition, 1962.

Parker, R.B. "The Themes and Staging of Bartholomew Fair." *University of Toronto Quarterly*, vol. 39 no. 4, 1970, pp. 293-309. Project MUSE, muse.jhu.edu/article/559794.

Paster, Gail Kern. "Becoming the Landscape: The Ecology of the Passions in the Legend of Temperance." *Embodiment and Environment in Early Modern England*, edited by Mary Floyd-Wilson & Garrett Sullivan. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 137-152.

---. *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

---. *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*. Cornell University Press, 1993.

---. "Melancholy Cats, Lugged Bears, and Early Modern Cosmology: Reading Shakespeare's Psychological Materialism Across the Species Barrier." *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, edited by Gail Kern Paster,

Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 113-130.

Paster, Gail Kern., Rowe, Katherine, and Floyd-Wilson, Mary. *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004.

Paynell, Thomas, et al. *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni: or, The Schoole of Salernes Regiment of Health Contayning Most Learned and Judicious Directions and Instructions, for the Guide and Government of Mans Life. Dedicated Vnto the High and Mighty King of England, from That Vniversity, and Published (by Consent of Learned Physitians) for a Generall Good. Reviewed, Corrected, and Inlarged with a Comentary, for the More Plaine and Easie Vnderstanding Thereof. Whereunto Is Annexed, a Necessary Discourse of All Sorts of Fish, in Vse among vs, with Theyr Effects, Appertayning to the Health of Man.* Printed by B. Alsop and T. Favvcet, Dwelling in Grub-Street Neere the Lower Pumpe, 1634.

Perry, Curtis. "Commerce, Community, and Nostalgia in The Comedy of Errors." *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*, edited by Linda Woodbridge. Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Peterson, Kaara L. "Performing Arts: Hysterical Disease, Exorcism, and Shakespeare's Theater," *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2004. Literary and Scientific Cultures of Early Modernity, pp.3-29

Pettigrew, Todd Howard James. *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Narratives on the Early Modern English Stage*. University of Delaware Press, 2007.

Pollard, Tanya. ""No Faith in Physic": Masquerades of Medicine Onstage and Off." *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson, Routledge, 2017, pp. 29-42.

Porter, Chloe. "'In the Keeping of Paulina': The Unknowable Image in The Winter's Tale." *Making and Unmaking in Early Modern English Drama*. Manchester University Press, 2014.

Reed, M. Ann. "Contributions of Shakespeare's Paulina to the Contemporary Practice of Poetry Therapy-Mending the Troubled Mind." *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, vol. 2, no. 26, 1999, pp. 103-110.

Rosenfield, Kirstie Gulick. "Nursing Nothing: Witchcraft and Female Sexuality in" The Winter's Tale"." *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, 2002, pp. 95-112.

Reasons for the Punctual Limiting of Bartholomew-Fair in West-Smithfield, to Those Three Days to Which It Is Determined by the Royal Grant of It to the City of London. Printed in the Year, 1708. Eighteenth Century Collections Online 1, Entry: T168486. go.gale.com/ps/i.do?ty=as&v=2.1&u=euge94201&it=search&p=ECCO&dblist=ECCO&qt=BIB_ID%7ET168486&lm=&sw=w.

Reiss, Timothy J. *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe*, Stanford University Press, 2003.

Rollins, Peter C., et al. *Shakespeare's Theories of Blood, Character, and Class: A Festschrift in*

Honor of David Shelley Berkeley, edited by Peter C. Rollins and Alan Smith. Peter Lang, 2001.

Romaniello, Matthew P. "Who Should Smoke? Tobacco and the Humoral Body in Early Modern England." *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2013, pp. 156–173.

Rosenfeld, Sybil Marion. *The Theater of the London Fairs in the 18th Century*. University Press, 1960.

Salingar, Leo."Crowd and Public in Bartholomew Fair." *Renaissance Drama*, vol. 10, 1979, pp. 141–159. The University of Chicago Press Journals, doi.org/10.1086/rd.10.41917169.

Sewell, Sallie. "The Relation Between The "Merry Wives of Windsor" and Jonson's "Every Man in His Humour"," *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, vol. 16, no. 3, July 1941, pp. 175-189. www.jstor.org/stable/23675180

Shakespeare, William. "As You Like It." *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015, pp. 1613-83.

---. "Hamlet." *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015, pp. 1764-1853.

---. "Henry IV, Part I." *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and

Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015, pp. 1165-1244.

---. "Henry IV, Part II." *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015, pp. 1245-1326.

---. "Macbeth." *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015, pp. 2721-73.

---. "Othello." *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015, pp. 2084-2158.

---. "The Merchant of Venice." *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015, pp. 1327-1405.

---. "The Winter's Tale." *The Norton Shakespeare: Third Edition*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Suzanne Gossett, Jean E. Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Gordon McMullan, Norton & Company, 2015, pp. 1764-1853.

Shapiro, James. *Rival Playwrights: Marlowe, Jonson, Shakespeare*. Columbia University Press, 1991.

Slotkin, Joel Elliot. *Sinister Aesthetics: The Appeal of Evil in Early Modern English Literature*.

Springer, 2017.

Smith, Alan. “Of Lively Grapes and Windy Hops: Blood and Drink in Renaissance English Literature.” *Shakespeare's Theories of Blood, Character, and Class: A Festschrift in Honor of David Shelley Berkeley*, edited by Peter C. Rollins and Alan Smith. Peter Lang, 2001.

Smith, Molly. *The Darker World Within: Evil in the Tragedies of Shakespeare and His Successors*. University of Delaware Press, 1991.

Spenser, Edmund. “The Faerie Queene.” *Edmund Spenser’s Poetry*, edited by Anne Lake Prescott and Andrew Hadfield, 4th ed., Norton & Company, Inc., 2014, pp. 5-502.

Spivack, Charlotte. *The Comedy of Evil on Shakespeare's Stage*. Associated University Press, 1978.

Steggle, Matthew. “The Humours in Humour : Shakespeare and Early Modern Psychology.” *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Comedy*. First edition, Edited by Heather Anne Hirschfeld. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Stegner, Paul D. "Masculine and Feminine Penitence in The Winter’s Tale." *Renascence*, vol. 66, no. 3, 2014, 189-201.

Stellingwerf, Steven. *The Gingerbread Book*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991.

Streitberger, W.R.. *The Malone Society Collections Volume XIII: Jacobean and Caroline Revels Accounts 1603-1642*, The Malone Society, 1986.

Strier, Richard. “Excuses, Bepissing, and Non-being: Shakespearean Puzzles about Agency.” *Shakespeare and Moral Agency*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009.

Sutton, John. “Spongy Brains and Material Memories”. *Embodiment and Environment in Early Modern England*, edited by Mary Floyd-Wilson & Garrett Sullivan. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 14-35.

Sweeney, John Gordon. *Jonson and the Psychology of Public Theater: To Coin the Spirit, Spend the Soul*. Princeton University Press, 2014.

Teague, Frances. *The Curious History of Bartholomew Fair*. Bucknell University Press, 1985.

"The Banqueting House." Survey of London: Volume 13, St Margaret, Westminster, Part II: Whitehall I. Edited by Modntagu H Cox, and Philip Norman. London: London County Council, 1930. 116-139. British History Online. Web. 20 November 2017. www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol13/pt2/pp116-139.

The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll. Edited by B.F., edited and designed for the web by Robert Brazil, 2002. https://sourcetext.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1600_dodypoll_original.pdf.

Thomas Neely, Carol. “Hot Blood: Estranging Mediterranean Bodies in Early Modern Medical and Dramatic Texts.” *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*, edited by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson, Routledge, 2017, pp. 55-68.

Tillyard, E. M. W. *The Elizabethan World Picture*, vol. 162, New York: Vintage, 1959.

Totaro, Rebecca, and Ernest B. Gilman, eds. *Representing the Plague in Early Modern*

England, vol. 14, Routledge, 2010.

Totaro, Rebecca, ed. *The Plague Epic in Early Modern England: Heroic Measures, 1603–1721*. Routledge, 2016.

Vanita, Ruth. "Mariological Memory in" The Winter's Tale" and" Henry VIII"." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2000, 311-337.

Vaught, Jennifer C. *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature*. Ashgate, 2008.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Routledge, 2017.

Vesalius, Andreas, et al. *On the Fabric of the Human Body. Book I, The Bones and Cartilages: a Translation of De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem*. Norman Pub., 1998.

Walsh, Kristen. *The Fabric of Society: Cloth and the Performance of Identity in Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair."* State University of New York at Albany, 2012.

Waith, Eugene M. "The Staging of Bartholomew Fair." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1962, pp. 181-195. JSTOR, doi: 10.2307/449498.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Routledge, 2013.

Wickham, Glynne, Herbert Berry and William Ingram, eds. *English Professional Theater, 1530-1660*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Wood, David Houston. "He Something Seems Unsettled": Melancholy, Jealousy, and Subjective Temporality in" The Winter's Tale." *Renaissance Drama*, vol. 31, 2002, 185-213.

Woodbridge, Linda. *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Wright, Thomas, and Dewe, Thomas. *The Passions of the Minde in Generall In Sixe Bookes*. Corrected, enlarged, and with sundry new discourses augmented, edited, printed by Augustine Mathewes for Anne Helme, and Are to Be Sold at Her Shop in Saint Dunstons Church-Yard in Fleetstreet, 1620. Online.

Figure 1. Four humors from The Book of Alchemy by Thurn-Heisser in Leipzig, Germany (1574). Credit: Jean-Loup Charmet, Science Photo Library.

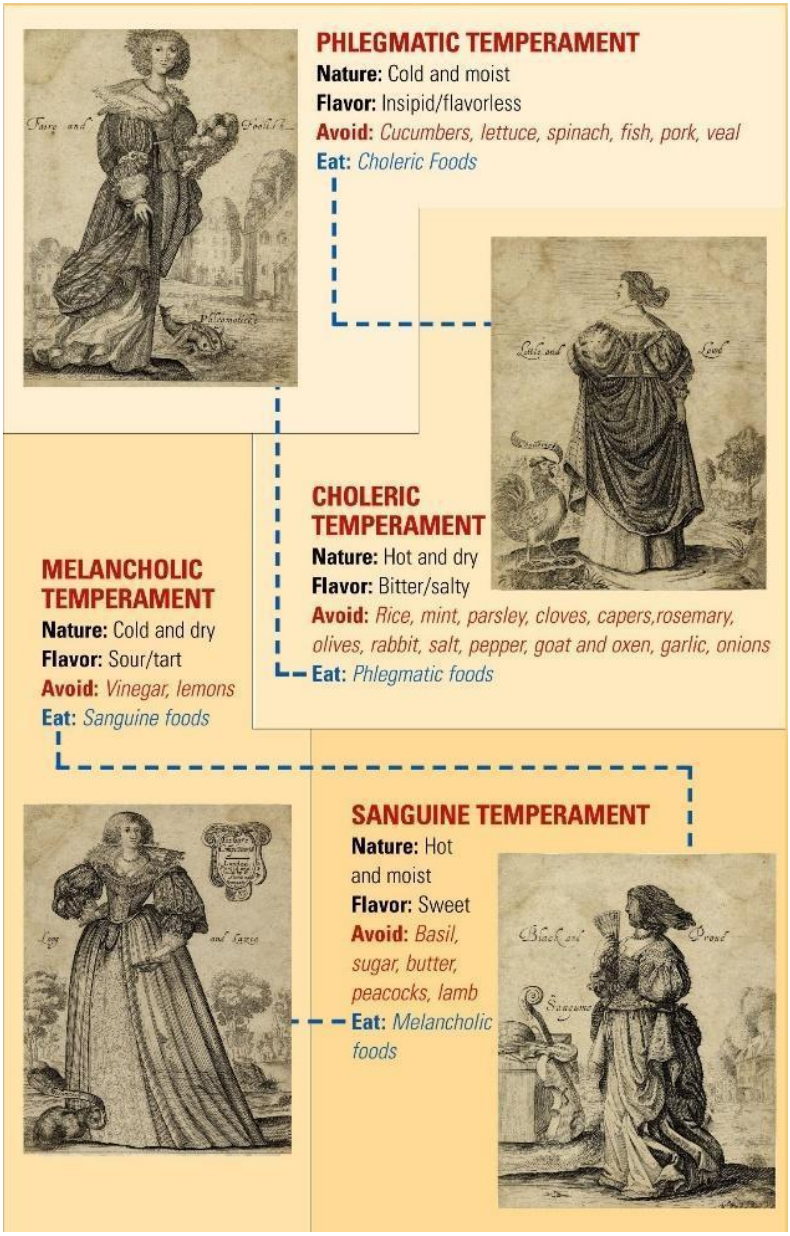


Figure 2. William Marshal's "The foure complexions". Engraving, 1662. Folger Shakespeare Library. https://shakespeareandbeyond.folger.edu/2015/12/04/the-four-humors-eating-in-the-renaissance/

Bodily Humor:	***Temperament:***	***Natural Element:***
Yellow Bile	Choleric, Bilious	Fire
Black Bile	Melancholy	Earth
Phlegm	Phlegmatic	Water
Blood	Sanguine	Air

Figure 3. Humoral table from the University of Oregon's "Galenic Physiology." https://pages.uoregon.edu/dluebke/WesternCiv102/GalenicPhysiology.html

APPENDIX B: CHAPTER ONE, GEOHUMORAL COGNITIVE DISSONANCE

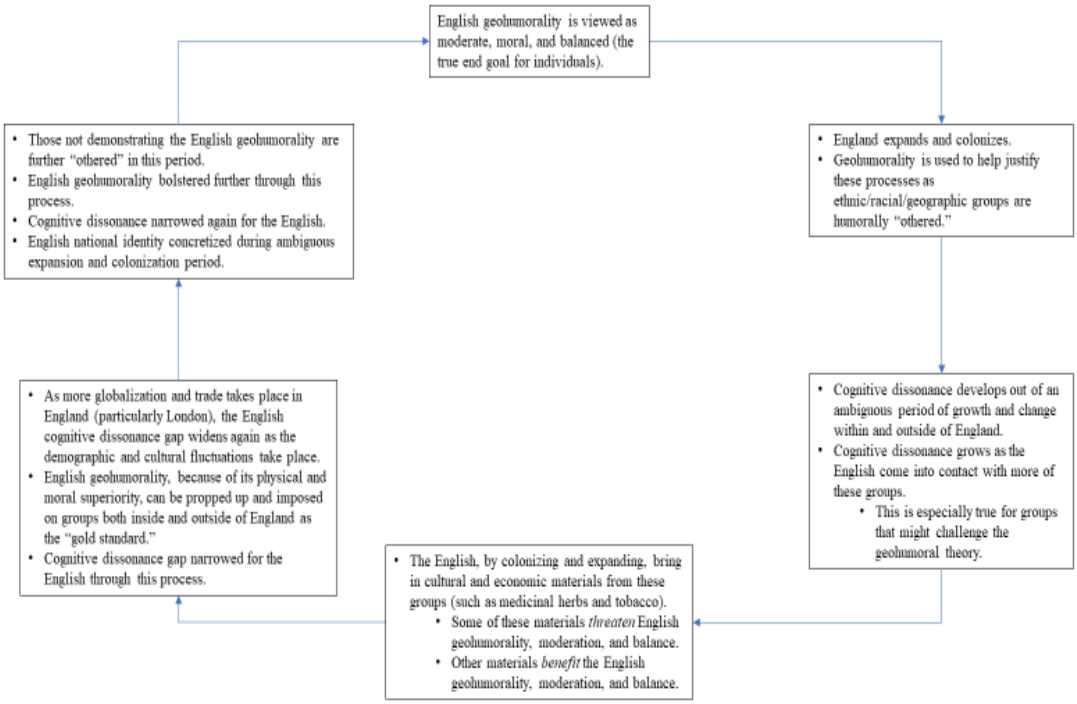
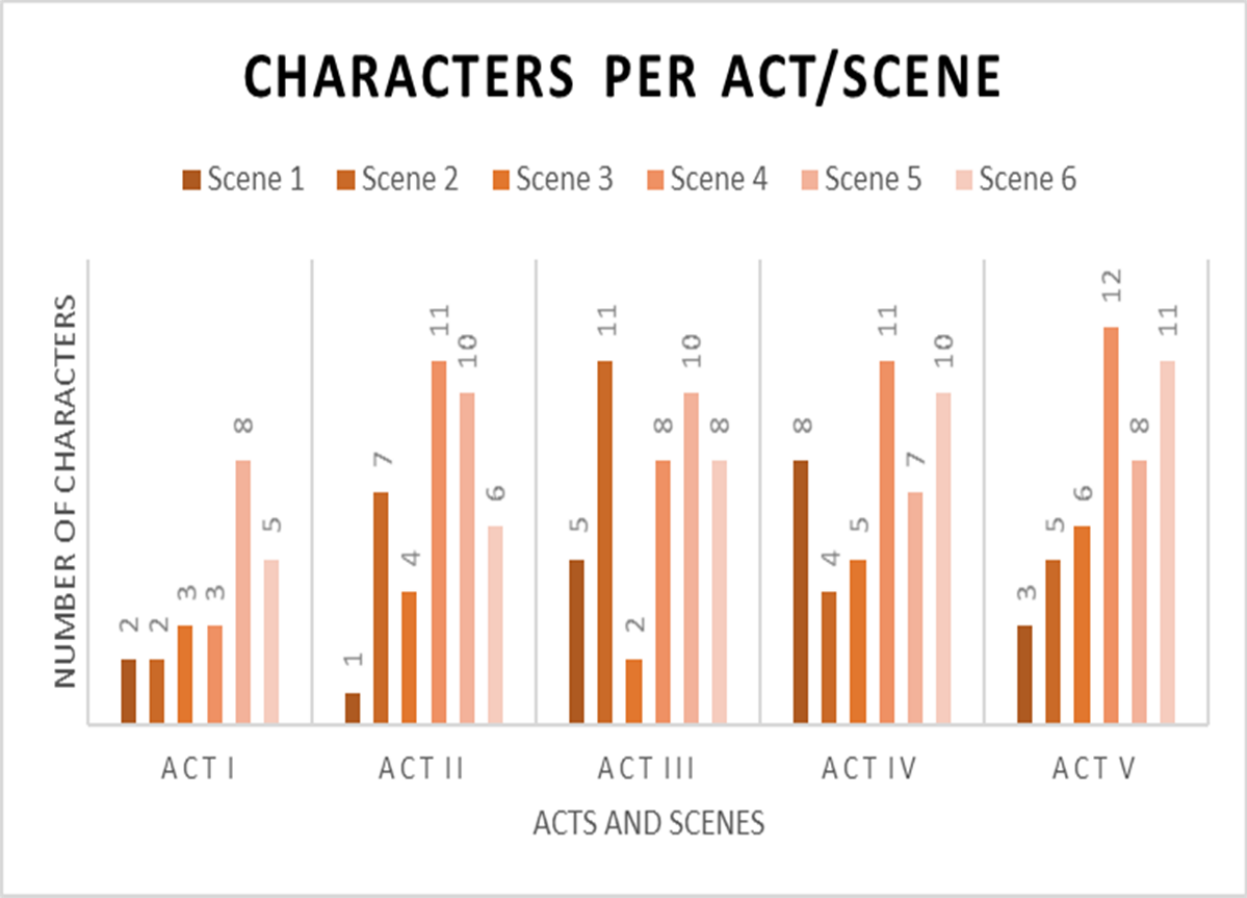


Figure 4: Process of English cognitive dissonance widening and narrowing through the geohumoral theory.

APPENDIX C: CHAPTER TWO, *BARTHOLOMEW FAIR* CALCULATIONS



Graph 1. A Mapping of the Number of Characters in *Bartholomew Fair* Per Act and Scene (Six Scenes Per Act)

Note: If a re-entry to the same scene by a character occurred, this instance was only counted as one body present. Data represents the totals for Act/Scene combinations. Induction opens with 1 character (Stage-Keeper) and then introduces 2 more (Scrivener and Book-Holder). Induction has 3 total characters. Epilogue has 1 character (unknown, but likely the Stage-Keeper). *Induction may not be present for the King James performance and is replaced with another opening.

Historical background on staging costs for the Master of the Revels
1573-74: Average cost of the season's plays ~75 pounds
1579-80: Average cost of the season's plays ~25 pounds under Master Tyllney
Budget and cost increases during later Elizabethan period and Jacobean period

Direct notation of the use of booths in the Revel's accounts as budgeted and paid for:

Canvas for the Boothes and other necc̄ies for a play called Bartholmewe ffaire
Cost: 41 shillings 6 pence

The total amount of provisions for the entirety of the 1614-1615 Revels season:

Cost: 50 pounds, 14 shillings, and one pence.

The cost for the listed canvas booths and other necessities for Bartholomew Fair equates to **~4.1%** of the reported expenses by the Office of the Revels for this season.

Though the cost for these materials are not a huge percentage of the overall expenses (e.g. compared to lighting costs), it is still significant enough that it compares to more elaborate stage materials like a similarly expensive dragon found in Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (see Henslowe Papers; Halpern).

Cost comparison from other seasons and items:

1605-06, Plates for candlesticks, 6 dozen, 16 shillings
1605-06, Canvas, 12 ells (45 inches per ell), 12 shillings
1607-08, Wire, 28 shillings
1608-09, Fuel, 8 pounds
1609-10, Tyles, 18 shillings
1610-11, Painted cloths for the music house and the stage at court, 42 shillings
16010-11, Curtain of silk for the music house, 20 shillings
1613-14, Building two rooms and a music house in Whitehall, 12 shillings and 6 pence
1615-17, Taffeta curtain, 60 shillings

Figure 5. Budget information from Revels documents. Sourced from W.R. Streitberger, *The Malone Society Collections Volume XIII: Jacobean and Caroline Revels Accounts 1603-1642*, The Malone Society, 1986.

	Induction	Act 1	Act 2	Act 3	Act 4	Act 5	Epilogue
Scene 1	1 (39 lines long)	1	0	0	0	1 (16 lines long)	1 (13 lines long)
Scene 2	5 (105 lines total*)	1	6	2	6	5 (Purecraft valuing herself ~22 lines)	
Scene 3		0	0	0	0	5 (play within a play)	
Scene 4		2	5	16	3	3 (2 in puppet show)	
Scene 5		1	4	3 (extended ballad)	0	0	
Scene 6		0	0	7	0	1	
Total	6 (almost entire Induction)	5	15	28	9	20	1 (entire epilogue)
Range of Lines/Act	144 TOTAL	37-151	42-167	38-279	94-202	20-334	12 TOTAL
Average Number of		98	99	126	127	134	

Lines/Act							

Table 1. Verbal Vending and Consuming in *Bartholomew Fair*

Note: For this table, the number of vending-based speech acts by characters were tracked. Any selling of goods or services included, but conservatively done for this first round of analysis. Data represents the totals for Act/Scene combinations. See example below for a clearer idea of verbal vending in the play.

Verbal Vending Example:

COSTARDMONGER. Buy any pears, pears, fine, very fine pears!

TRASH. Buy any gingerbread, gilt gingerbread!

NIGHTINGALE. Hey now the Fair' a-filling!

Oh, for a tune to startle

The birds o' the booths here billing

Yearly with old Saint Bartle!

The drunkards they are wading,

The punks and chapmen trading;

Who'd see the fair without his lading?

Buy any ballads; new ballads? (2.2.30-39)4