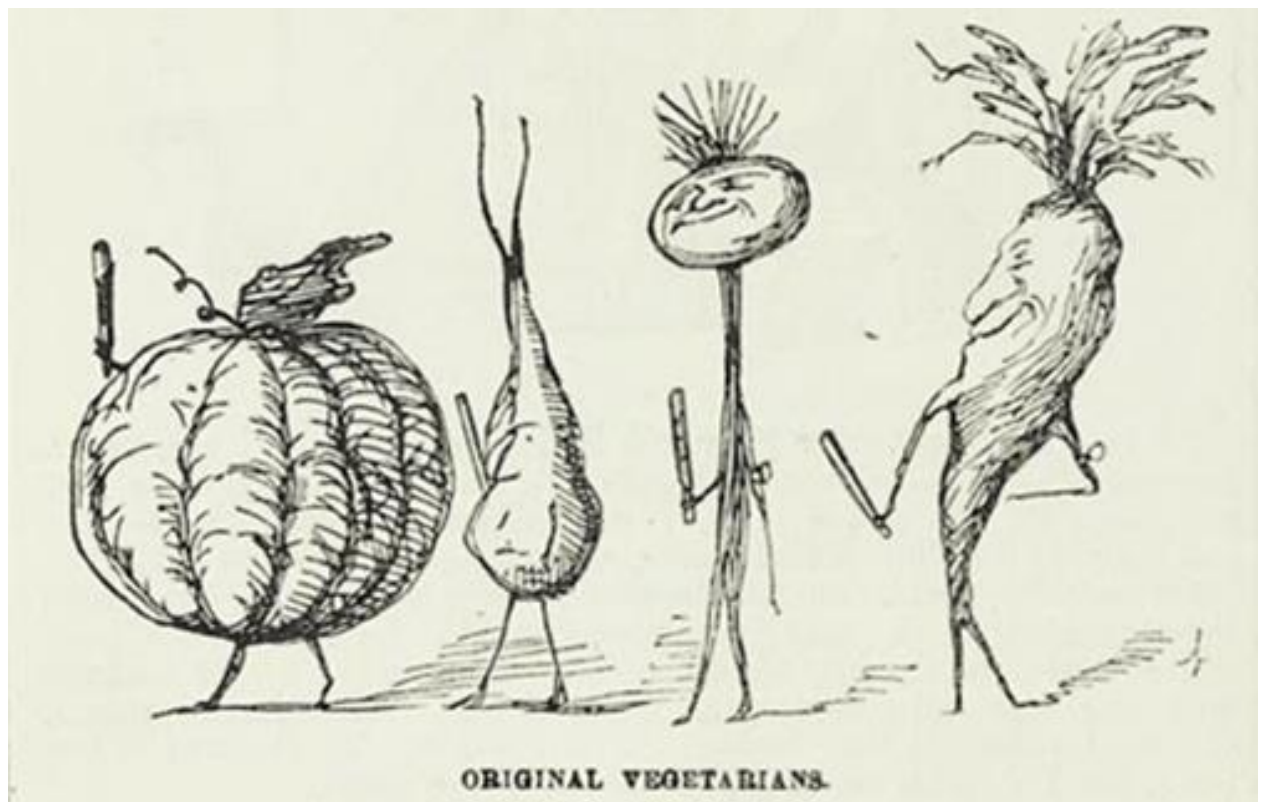


'You Are What You Eat': Food and Identity From the Middle Ages to the Modern

**Food and Drink History Reading Group
University of Warwick
2021 Conference**

Abstract Booklet



Unknown Artist, 'Original Vegetarians', *Punch*, 1848

PANEL ONE – BODY, SOUL, AND COMMUNITY: FOOD, DRINK, AND RELIGION IN PRE-MODERN EUROPE

9:30-10:30 (BST), Thursday 17th June

Chair: Serin Quinn

Mazi Kuzi (Tel Aviv University), *Are You Really What You Eat? Eating and Morality in Last Supper Sculpture in Twelfth-Century France*

Despite of the centrality of the consumption of the host in medieval liturgical practices and exegeses, sculptured images of the Last Supper in twelfth-century France do not portray the disciples in the act of eating. Rather it is only the act symbolizing the betrayal of Christ that is portrayed, namely: Judas Iscariot eating the morsel of bread. In this paper, I shall explore the binary aspects represented by Judas Iscariot and Saint John, Christ's beloved disciple in the Last Supper imagery. I argue that through the act of eating, they both represent the two poles of morality. While Judas is depicted eating, John is depicted leaning on Christ's breast. Although Judas actually consumes the bread, his act has no implications regarding his worthiness of redemption. In contrast, John embodies he who truly believes and loves Christ, and who thus earns the reward of eating from the Bread of Heaven. Based on theological writings I show that the image of Judas constituted an exemplum for the question of the worthiness of an individual to receive the Host. Moreover, I show how the image of John represented the right way by which to participate in the Communion. In these Last Supper images, the two apostles – John and Judas, embody the different ways of assimilation with God and the true way to Him. This depiction of the act of eating, or restraint of eating, functions as a moral sign, that contributes to establishing the identity of the righteous.

Keywords: Eucharist; Last Supper; Romanesque; France; Middle Ages

Biography: Mazi Kuzi is a Ph.D. candidate in the History of Art Department at Tel Aviv University. Her dissertation, written under the supervision of Prof. Assaf Pinkus, explores representations of the act of eating as a crucial moral, theological, and communal concern in twelfth-century Romanesque ecclesiastical sculpture in France. Mazi is a fellow at ISEF (The Israeli Scholarship Education Foundation) Ph.D. program for excellence in academic and social leadership, and a recipient of the Rotenshtreich Scholarship for outstanding Ph.D. candidates in the field of the humanities. She is also a board member of Imago, the Israeli association for visual culture in the Middle Ages.

Vincent Roy-Di Piazza (University of Oxford), *'I saw Jesus Christ at a London Inn, and he told me: Do not eat so much'--Gluttony, mental intoxication and spiritual fasting in the manuscripts of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772)*

In April 1745, Swedish parliamentarian, anatomist and philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg had a vision of Christ at an inn in London. He recorded how the only words then pronounced by the Lord consisted in a laconic order: 'Do not eat so much'.

What did it all mean? Through the case study of Swedenborg, this paper surveys eighteenth century religious and medical debates about overeating, food-deprivation and temperate regimens. In Sweden, gluttony was a much-despised sin, and king Adolph-Frederick was famously mocked for dying after eating fourteen plates of his favourite meal --a mixture of lobster, caviar, sauerkraut and kippers poured with champagne, topped with little brioches served in hot milk. The paper explores Swedenborg's views on nutrition, from his records of fasting-induced divination to the possibility of sustaining one's soul directly from feeding on the ether. By doing so, it shows how Swedenborg's letters and manuscripts reveal an original approach to diet and regimen, and how such an approach influenced his later career as a mystic claiming constant communication with the spirits of the dead. More broadly, the paper contextualizes Swedenborg's views within the dominant physiological and theological understandings about how nutrition affected mental health and spiritual growth during the eighteenth century.

Keywords: Gluttony; Mysticism; Fasting; Eighteenth Century; Swedenborg

Biography: My name is Vincent Roy-Di Piazza, I am a doctoral candidate and history tutor at the University of Oxford. I am an Early Modern historian, specializing and teaching in history of science, medicine, religion and Scandinavia. My thesis focuses on the soul-body interaction theories of Swedish philosopher and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg. My broader themes of research include Scandinavian science, the religious Enlightenment, and currents related to Swedenborg's posterity (spiritualism, occultism, Romantic literature, anti-slavery, mysticism). My latest article publications explore literary representations of the afterlife, the plurality of worlds debate, Swedish science and discourses on the North / Borealism. <https://history.web.ox.ac.uk/people/vincent-roy-di-piazza>

Daniel Gettings, (University of Warwick), *'Streetlookers' and confiscated pails: wells and the construction of community in early modern England.*

This paper seeks to continue in the footsteps of Mark Jenner who in the 2000 book *Londinopolis* wrote an essay on water supply and community in London from 1500 – 1725. While convincing, Jenner's focus was on the conduits, large structures that 'stood in all the major thoroughfares of London' and provided water to crowds of thirsty citizens.¹ Wells by contrast received limited attention. They are discussed briefly and in general terms before Jenner is able to move on to the conduit, the topic he's really interested in.

The broader historiography of English wells has focused on holy wells in the context of the reformation, and in recent years has left the 'ordinary' village well underrepresented in the literature. These sites were exceedingly significant however in the day to day lives of early modern England. The collection of water was a hard task that had to be performed daily and what well an individual drew from could be governed by complex traditions, agreements or legal arrangements that were far older than they were. It was also a task performed almost exclusively by women. The well site and the drawing of water, therefore, became an opportunity through the medium of gossip to share news of transgression and regulate community morality.

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Through sources like court records and coroners' reports, this paper seeks to explore how local community could be constructed at the early modern well site and how far Jenner's 'moral economy of water' translates to contexts outside of London.

Keywords: Water; Well; Community; England

Biography: Daniel Gettings is a first year PhD student at the University of Warwick supervised by Beat Kümin. His thesis is entitled, 'Sustaining Body and Soul: The early modern English and their water, 1550 - 1750'. He completed his BA in History and his MA in Early Modern History at the University of Warwick in 2019 and 2020 respectively. His research interests include water, popular religious belief and everyday life in early modern England.

PANEL TWO – NOURISHING CHANGE: MODERN FOOD REFORM MOVEMENTS

11:00-12:15 (BST), Thursday 17th June

Chair: Louise Morgan

Shrikant Botre, (University of Warwick), *Reproductive Diet of a Brahmachari: Celibacy, Nutrition, and Caste in Late-colonial Western India*

As a man eateth, so he becometh. This universally popular proverb was a bottom line of the dietetic advice scripted in the late-colonial Marathi sexological writings on practicing *Brahmacharya* (Celibacy). Several such moralist adages were deployed in the sex reform literature to underline the relevance of food for creating a sound body and mind. The connection made between diet, sex, and ‘self’ even led to the construction of a nutritional code of conduct for the so-called *Brahmachari* (Celibate Man). What was the purpose behind articulating a distinct sexual behaviour via discussing food consumption practices? What was the relationship between nutrition, celibacy, and sexual hygiene in the modern Hindu society?

Based on analysing the most popular Marathi sex-educator Shivananda’s writings on *Brahmacharya*, this paper examines how sexological dietary advice shaped and was shaped by concerns over “reproducing” caste in late-colonial western India. In so doing, I situate the sex-talk about practicing celibacy in the context of modern Indian caste and gender politics to make two interrelated arguments. 1) Food was one of the most important mediums through which Marathi sexual-health writings converted *Brahmacharya* into a reproductive discourse. 2) The newly made procreative construction of *Brahmacharya* shaped by the rhetoric of nutrition, was foundational to re-making hierarchical relations of modern caste power.

Keywords: Aahar (Diet); Sexology; Brahmacharya (Celibacy); Reproduction; Caste; Power

Biography: I work on entangled histories of social hierarchy, health, and power – specifically, on how cultural constructions of science shaped late-colonial and post-colonial Indian understandings of modernity. Broadly informed by the politics of progressivism, my research interest lies at the intersection of caste, food, sexuality, and print media networks. While working as a Wellcome Trust fellow, my postdoctoral research focuses on dietetics and the making of early twentieth-century Indian vegetarianism. The doctoral research I completed in 2017 illuminates the politics that made construction of sexual science as the location of reconstructing modern caste power in late colonial western India.

Oihane Etayo, (University of Warwick), *Gendering food reform: women’s realities of food activism in nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain*

Food activism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain is considered to have provided opportunities for women to reflect and react about the ways in which political and economic transformations affected their lives. During this

period, the nourishment of the body was generally considered to be part of the “private sphere”, hence food and diet reform have been argued to serve as entryways into socially accepted, “legitimate” political activism for many women, who challenged the official exclusion of their experiences and voices from spaces of decision making. However, when analysing the gender dynamics of different movements that fell under the general umbrella of food reform, movements like vegetarianism, bread reform, veganism, or anti-vivisectionism amongst others, women’s roles and realities are not as clear.

In this paper, I will discuss my analysis of an extensive corpus of texts including articles, editorials, letters, recipes, monographs, advertisements, and lectures collected from a wide number of digitised sources. Through the creation and examination of networks of co-occurrences built from the sources, it is possible to follow connections and emergent relations between elements, human and non-human, in their own textual context. This allows for the exploration of the different layered realities of women in relation to food and food politics. This analytical and visual approach will provide an alternative account of the movement, and particularly the ways in which gender operated in this period when protesting changes in food systems; attempting to transcend existing perceptions of women food reformers.

Keywords: Food Reform; Diet Reform; Women; Long Nineteenth Century

Biography: I am a third year PhD student in the History Department, co-supervised from the Centre for Interdisciplinary Methodologies (CIM). My research is focused on material exploration of nineteenth and early twentieth century women’s activism through interdisciplinary, experimental methodologies. I studied my undergraduate in Sociology, specialising in Political Sociology, and completed an MSc in Comparative Politics through the stream of Popular Politics. I started my PhD in 2018 after 3 years working as a researcher for different public administrations at regional and EU level, working on issues of gender, inequality, and political participation.

Amber Striekwold, (KU Leuven), *Kneading a new society: bread and socio-cultural critique of the Dutch alternative food movement (1968-1984)*

This paper will analyse the socio-cultural critique on modernity formulated by the alternative food movement in the Netherlands during the long seventies. More specifically, this paper will use bread as a case study to analyse this critique and the alternative they provided. Eating ‘alternative’ or natural foods, especially the right type of bread, was considered an essential step in transforming individuals into ‘planetary citizens’ and thereby creating a new human and environmentally friendly society. For example, white bread was indicative of humanity’s estrangements from the natural world. Some even argued that it symbolised and contributed to the physical and moral decline of the human race. Wholewheat and sourdough bread were a way to return to a natural way of living.

The available literature on the Dutch alternative food movement is scarce. Literature on the movement in, for example the USA, generally focuses on the alleged successes

or failures of the movement in achieving change on an institutional level. However, their critique on modernity and the alternatives they sought and provided remains understudied. As this paper argues, a materialist approach allows for a deeper understanding of the movement's multifaceted nature: their socio-cultural critiques and the societies they envisioned. This paper illustrates how the movement related individual lives and bodies to societal problems: eating natural would result in the individual (physical and mental) and, eventually, in societal transformation. In doing this, the paper also aims to provide insight into the rhetoric of current food movements that plead for a more sustainable diet and society.

Keywords: Natural Food Movement; Alternative Food Movement; Societal Transformation; Materialism; Food History

Biography: Amber Striekwold is a teaching assistant to the research group Modernity and Society at KU Leuven. In 2020 she graduated cum laude from the RMA History at Utrecht University. In her research she is interested in new materialism, the history of food, agriculture, the body and animal history. She aims to combine and analyse, the relationality of these (often separated) fields of inquiry. Amber is currently working on writing a PhD-proposal on the socio-political ideas of the alternative food movement in the Low Countries during the 1970s and 1980s.

PANEL THREE – EATING ACROSS DIVIDES: FOOD AT THE BORDERS OF TRADE, DIPLOMACY, AND COMMUNITY

13:15-14:30 (BST), Thursday 17th June

Chair: Maria Reyes Baztán

Ewelina Sikora, (Central European University), *Feasting and fasting: banquets in diplomatic exchanges between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy in the late seventeenth century*

Numerous early modern descriptions of ceremonial for receptions of foreign legations show that banquets were considered an integral part of receiving embassies preceding any negotiations. That makes eating and drinking not merely an entertaining addition to diplomatic exchanges but an essential occasion for employing the language of things for communicating prestige, ranks, and exhibiting hospitality.

More than confirming the gravitas of the mission, descriptions of food and drink in accounts of embassies also give clues about the socio-cultural milieu of members of the embassy, their broader outlook expressed in opinions on taste, dietary concepts, notions of domestic/foreign, and religion's influence on culinary practices.

In this paper, I follow grand embassies sent from Poland-Lithuania to Muscovy between 1678 and 1686 examining how Polish-Lithuanian ambassadors used foodways for their advantage, established hierarchies, and marked social, religious and ethnic differences at the table. I argue that the most significant difference between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy in terms of eating and drinking customs lied in the dietary rules observed during fasting days and expectation on holding feasts. Those discrepancies only confirmed the place on the civilizational scale Poles and Lithuanians casually ascribed to Muscovites.

Keywords: Practice of Diplomacy; Banquets; Poland-Lithuania

Biography: I am a Ph.D. candidate at Central European University (Budapest/Vienna). I graduated with a joint MA in Philological and Historical Central European Studies at Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznań) and MA in Comparative History (CEU, Budapest). I am currently researching food and diplomacy in seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania. More widely, my interest lies in the political and material culture of early modern Central Europe.

Leiyun Ni, (University of Warwick), *Negotiating Identities of Foreign Traders: Consumption of Curry in the Early Nineteenth-Century Canton*

Historians have explored the history of curry through the lens of British imperial expansion. They focus on the spread of curry in British colonies, but seldom look at the transmission of curry in other trading ports, such as Canton in China. In fact, when British East India Company's employees went to China, they brought the taste,

ingredients and cooking skills of curry to Canton and Macao. Curry had been enjoyed among foreign communities in Canton since the early nineteenth century. As foreign communities were expanding in Canton, their food such as curry was integrated into Cantonese food culture. On the other hand, foreign traders' taste for curry was shaped by the provision of spices in local market and service of their Chinese cooks and servants. Local people and local market played a significant role in the localisation of curry in China during this period.

This paper explores the provision of curry for foreign traders in Canton in the early nineteenth century. It traces the development of the practice of eating curry among foreign traders in Canton and how it shaped the local foodways in China. It investigates the ways in which these foreigners mediated their racial, class and imperial identities by looking at their eating and drinking practices. It also looks at the role of Chinese people played in the process of the modification and transmission of curry in China. By adding China to the picture, this paper widens the geography of the history of globalisation of curry in the early nineteenth century.

Keywords: Curry; China Trade; Globalisation; Race

Biography: Leiyun Ni is a third-year Ph.D student in history from the University of Warwick, UK. She completed her undergraduate studies in World history in Wuhan University, China and her MA studies in Early Modern History in King's College London, UK. Her current research focuses on exchange of food cultures between China and Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Leiyun's research interests include food, race and gender.

Ricardo Aguilar-González, (University of Warwick), *Pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican meats and body politics*

In this paper I explore the meanings and uses of flesh consumption in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica, and I relate this with hunting and the social structuring idea of a sovereign ruler as the master hunter. I use the sixteenth-century New Spain Reports, Sahagún's *General History*, and bilingual dictionaries as primary sources, and archaeological, historical, and anthropological literature as secondary sources.

Pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica or Middle America stretched from the current Central Mexican plateau to Honduras, and it contained a diversity of ethnically differentiated political entities. This macro-region cultural unity is based on the existence of some common cultural traits, such as ballgame courts, slope-and-panel ceremonial architecture, and the use of maize, calabashes, beans and chilli peppers. While Mesoamerican food and drink history has focused on these staples, I aim to demonstrate a more nuanced interpretation which includes geography and ethnicity to show the importance of the consumption of meats. I am interested in showing three aspects which were extant across pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica regarding the acquisition, processing, and consumption of flesh. 1) There was a common hunting identity across Mesoamerican polities; 2) meats were used to replenish the potency of warriors and rulers; and 3) the body and flesh of the prey acted as the proxy of the ruler in its symbolic sharing among the community in ceremonies. In this paper I focus on the polities of Izalco, and Atitlán in southern Mesoamerica, in the Central Mexican

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Basin, and the western Tarascan area from 1350 to 1521 CE (a period also referred to as postclassic).

Keywords: Meats; Hunting; *Tonayacatl*; *Xuriqua*; *Mazamolli*

Biography: I am a PhD student at the Department of History at the University of Warwick, where I am researching the history of food and drink from pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica to sixteenth century New Spain (ancient Mexico and Guatemala) using sixteenth century sources and archaeological, historical, and anthropological secondary sources. In this research I explore the intersections between food and drink with geography, religion, ethnicity, and politics in the process of European invasion of Mesoamerica as a period of social change and adaptations. I am also an on-leave academic staff at Michoacán State University in Morelia, Mexico.

PANEL FOUR – GLOBAL DRINKS ON A LOCAL PERSPECTIVE: TEA, COFFEE, SHERBET, AND SALOOP

14:45-16:25 (BST), Thursday 17th June

Chair: Serin Quinn

Freya Purcell, (V&A/RCA), *The Chimney Sweep's Friend: How London's Labouring Poor Came to Define Saloop*

In 1825 the critic "Z", sought to attack the poet Leigh Hunt's tastes and sensibilities. Of interest to this paper is how he used Saloop, a popular street drink, to further this attack. Derived from the Turkish beverage Salep, Saloop arrived in Britain in the sixteenth century like many other hot beverages. However, unlike tea or coffee, Saloop came not to be associated with salons and politeness. Rather it came to be associated with the poorest of London, its chimney sweeps and market gardeners. Indeed to the degree that the critic Z could use it as a symbol of the cockney in his attack on Hunt.

This paper, adapted from my MA research, seeks to examine firstly why Saloop did not enjoy the social success of other contemporary beverages and why it came to be associated with the labouring poor of London. Having examined this, this paper will focus on how these communities experienced saloop, in particular the saloop stall. Unpicking how the saloop stall wove into the routines and daily habits of its audience. Coming from a history of design background, particular attention is paid to the stall's material culture and sensory experience.

Taking a microhistorical approach and setting saloop and the saloop stall as its focus, this brief paper seeks to broaden our understanding of hot beverages in the long eighteenth century. To move discussions away from the coffee houses and tea gardens and onto the street; exploring how the labouring-class engaged with these new consuming cultures.

Keywords: Ephemeral; Urban; Exotic; Quotidian

Biography: Freya Purcell is a Design-Historian of the Early Modern period. A long time city-dweller, her work explores the everyday experiences of urban living. This is reflected in her V&A/RCA MA dissertation, "The Ephemeral Saloop Stall: Examining the Stall, the Seller and Space in Georgian London, 1700-1820", the first critical examination of the beverage Saloop. An aspiring public historian, Freya was drawn to Design and Material history for their potential to reveal the histories of those less represented in textual sources.

Onur Daylan, (Independent Scholar), *We drink, therefore we are: Relationship between identities and beverage consumption throughout Ottoman Empire*

According to the Bourdieu's Distinction; class based social groups are formed by preferences of their specific "tastes". These tastes become indicators of their social classes. Foods & drinks consumption can be useful in order to observe social classes. In Ottoman Empire, three drinks could explain some social classes of Ottoman Empire from beginning to end: Sherbet, coffee and tea. Sherbet was the only drink of Muslim groups in Ottoman Empire that differs them from Christian and Jewish population. Ottoman Court pleased to show their cultural identities via eating ceremony towards embassies. Coffee has been broadly accepted since 15th century and has been always targeted by "ulamas" either accept or prohibit. Coffee became popular between tekkes, dergahs which has been used for being awake during performing their practices. Then coffee became popular in Europe and controlling of its trade and cultivation shifted from Ottoman Empire to Western Powers. However, coffee rituals have spread and differed from tekkes to Sultan's court coffee and coffee shops. During the collapse period of Ottoman Empire, tea was subject plantation within geography and aimed to reduce foreign dependency. Young Turkish Republic successfully inherited this tea project, to differ from both its predecessor and Western Europe. Tea promoted as a "middle class drink" while coffee has largely put away in contrast to coffee did same to tea in Continental Europe. Densely consumption lead tea as a "national drink" that has identical rituals and distinction.

As a result, three distinctive drinks could emphasize different social classes, identities throughout Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire; Sherbet; Tea; Coffee; Republic of Turkey

Biography: Onur Daylan MSc did his post graduate study about International Management on University of Exeter. He does his professional career on media marketing. Since 2014, he creates content as a food blogger. Randomly he writes food related articles for websites and gives proposals to food symposiums. This year, he launched a new history & food cultural heritage account on Instagram and would like to change his career from media to food studies.

Nicole Bianchini, (University of São Paulo), *Early modern visual representations of tea and coffee drinking*

The aim of this paper is to look at the visual dimension of the transformation tea and coffee underwent within northwestern Europe between the 1640s and the 1790s. In this time, they went from imported luxury goods to relevant commodities in the development of forms of capitalist practices inside the Eurasian trade, the expansion of the slave-based plantation systems on the Caribbean and South American colonies, and the shaping of new consumption patterns on the metropolitan urban centres. Overall, historiography has focused either on the production or the consumption side of this equation. There is a third component to this process that, has been considered timidly, which is the visuality produced during the course of the introduction and complete "Europeanization" of these drinks. By looking at these images, it was possible to understand them in relation to broader processes, such as the transformation in these commodity chains inside the development of capitalism itself.

As changes in scale were affected in the economic dimension of both beverages' consumption and visuality were impacted, changing in quantity, material, internal language, and distribution. These images had an effect of their own, stabilising patterns and trends in consumption that expressed and shaped European perception of both drinks. The possibility of examining the dialogue between production and consumption through its articulation with imagery makes visuality a valuable source that allows for a deeper understanding of tea and coffee dynamics in early modern Europe.

Keywords: Tea; Coffee; Consumption; Visuality

Biography: Nicole Leite Bianchini is a postgraduate student at the University of São Paulo, based in Brazil. She holds a BA at the same university and is currently finishing her MSc degree in Social History, researching the visual representations of tea and coffee consumption in northwestern Europe.

Huang Shuxia, (Sichuan University), *Who Drinks Sweet Tea? Memory, Practice and Identification of Tibetan Sweet Tea from the Perspective of Dietary Anthropology*

For a long time, how political, economic and cultural situation changed in Tibet has been studied from a macro perspective of the West and the dynasties in China's central plains through the research of Tibetan tea. This paper aims to investigate both in culture and history in the point of dietary anthropological view by examining different periods in the localization of sweet tea, a foreign drink when firstly introduced in Tibet, unveiling how it practically became "Lahsa Sweet Tea" from a local combination of object, taste, space and custom. In a further extend, the record of history, the expression of literature and the writing of culture in Tibetan way are traced in daily life and how people put "making tea" and "imbibing tea" into practice in terms of identity and conception are emphatically discussed. Hopefully, the relative issues such as traditional Tibetan diet and the local memory of culture, the practice of identity and the border between ethnics will be understood in depth in the era of globalization.

Keywords: Lhasa Sweet Tea; Tibetan Culture; Dietary Anthropology; Identity

Biography: My name is Huang Shuxia. I was born in Chengdu, Sichuan Province in 1995. When I reached the age of 18, that is, in 2013, due to my interests and hobbies, I went to Tibet to study and live. At present, I am a first-year doctoral student majoring in anthropology in Sichuan University. Since I am very interested in Tibetan diet and culture, my current research mainly focuses on Tibetan diet and culture.

PANEL FIVE – SEXUALISING AND GENDERING FOOD FROM THE EARLY MODERN TO THE MODERN

9:15-11:00 (BST), Friday 18th June

Chair: Louise Morgan

Catherine Ellis, (Independent Scholar), *Food, drink and sexual education in Mirabeau's Le Rideau levé, ou L'Éducation de Laure (The Lifted Curtain, or Laure's Education) (1786)*

In eighteenth-century libertine fiction, ingestion has often been thought of as just another step in the process of seduction, sitting somewhere between the first flirtation and the sexual act itself. Yet Enlightenment advances in medical and culinary science gave rise to an increasing awareness of food and drink as pharmaceutical substances, capable of curing, poisoning, or moulding the body and mind. As such, whether they take the form of simple meals, stimulating sweets, or spiked liqueurs, ingesta in libertine fiction must be understood as more than another source of sensual pleasure. Instead, they provide libertines and, importantly, their protégés with a means to shape and influence both self and other, from the inside out.

In this paper I offer a close reading of the moments of eating and drinking within Mirabeau's story of libertine education, *Le Rideau levé*, to illuminate how contemporary medical and cultural understandings of food and drink were deployed in the pedagogical process, cementing the sexual, familial and social identities of a proto-libertine 'student', her libertine 'teacher', and the surrounding individuals who are utilised – consciously or unconsciously – to advance a young woman's erotic education. I argue that it is not just sexual education per se that creates the young female libertine, but what and how she consumes. With a particular focus on drinking, this paper highlights how libertine ingestion navigates and utilises the narrow boundaries between heightened sensual experience, uncontrolled (or uncontrollable) passion, and intoxicated torpor to separate the self-possessed libertine from his or her conquest.

Keywords: Enlightenment; Libertine; Alcohol; Education; Selfhood

Biography: I received my PhD in French from Durham University in 2018, and my thesis, 'Sex Work and Ingestion in Eighteenth-Century France', explored the significance of eating and drinking to sex work in mid- to late-eighteenth-century French literature and culture. I have shared my work across multiple fora, including international conferences, articles in film magazines, seminars for unsuspecting undergrads on how to read food in Katy Perry videos, and through a part-time internship at an erotic magazine. I currently work in academic Quality Assurance at Sunderland while still pursuing my research, and live in Newcastle upon Tyne with an extremely food-motivated cat.

Lorna Sheppard, (University of Portsmouth), *Words, images and...action: Forms of masculine representation in the illustrated 'cookstrips' of Len Deighton's Action Cookbook (1965)*

How words and images appear on a page denotes the relationship between writer and illustrator. It is also the use of language and illustrative content that denotes the identity of the reader. Cookbooks written by and for men reflected social and cultural changes, employing techniques that represented forms of masculinity and fundamental in the communication of instruction and edification.

This paper will focus on Len Deighton's *Action Cookbook* (1965), drawing on interviews with the author and illustrator and his 'cookstrips' – energetic and bold diagrammatic illustrated recipes, visually crafted to engender interaction with a new male audience. This paper will argue the presence of sequential illustration elicited a method considered gender specific where new forms of masculinity emerged, challenging existing convention and introducing a new generation of male readers to culinary discovery and experience in direct yet anecdotal ways.

Deighton's cookbook was directed at a male readership and like Elizabeth David's texts technique and authenticity were key components. For Deighton as both writer and illustrator, his 'cookstrips' were developed from recipes copied from his own collection of classic French cookbooks 'as an aide memoire just for me to have in the kitchen while I worked' (Deighton 2015) developed later for those with a similar visual learning style. Relaying this concept to a time when 'non-professional cooks were willing to spend time and skill in the desire to make something delicious' (Deighton 2015) the 'cookstrip' often employed masculine rhetoric, drawing on espionage, and the seductive power of the man in the kitchen.

Keywords: Illustration; Post-war Cookbooks; Masculinity; Class

Biography: Lorna Sheppard is a Somerset based Illustrator and lecturer in Visual Communication at Solent University. Her work has been used in the Editorial and Licensing sectors with clients including BBC Magazines, Woodmansterne, Campaign, Elle Decoration and Musgrove Park Hospital in Taunton. Lorna is a current PhD student at the University of Portsmouth with research interests that include Len Deighton, Elizabeth David and the recipe booklets of the Stork Wives Club. Lorna is due to complete her thesis in June 2021.

Sasha Garwood, (University of Nottingham), *'Manliness' and 'beastliness': masculinity, sexuality and food in early twentieth century public school fiction*

Public schools and popular public school fiction were crucial in shaping masculinity and culture at the beginning of the twentieth century. This paper looks at how three such novels used food to navigate fraught cultural questions of sexuality, homosociality and masculine identity. Food can be variously a metonym for 'evil' self-indulgence in physical pleasures (c); a vehicle for transposed emotional climax that serves to justify the central relationship and validate its social appropriateness (E.F. Benson's *David Blaize*); and a symbolic means of social negotiation and stage-setting noticeably divorced from moral judgement, echoing the story's matter-of-fact attitude to sexual encounters (Alec Waugh's *Loom of Youth*). Food becomes both a social bonding agent and a unique and individual penetrative experience, profoundly

related to shifting concepts of masculine virtue and acceptable physical and emotional behaviour. It is thus both an intimate and a collective means of enforcing standards of masculinity, interacting symbolically and significantly with those other facets of embodied identity, sexuality and violence.

Keywords: Masculinity; Sexuality; Public School; Food in Literature; Queer Sexuality in Literature

Biography: Sasha Garwood is an interdisciplinary scholar in the Humanities Department at the University of Nottingham. Her work focuses on gender, sexuality, and food as a nexus of cultural anxieties from the early modern period to the present day, and her monograph *Early Modern English Noblewomen and Self-Starvation* (Routledge, 2019) was published last year. She is currently working on a second, provisionally entitled *Manliness and Beastliness: love, sexuality and masculinity in English public school fiction*.

Tyler Rainford, (University of Bristol), '*With Good Brandy Their Noddles are Soakt:*' Gendered Depictions of Brandy Drinking in Early Modern England

Like food, drink is imbued with social and cultural meaning, especially when that drink happens to be alcohol. Alcohol's transformative effect on body and mind was well known in early modern England. However, the experience of drinking and drunkenness was highly subjective and dependent on a host of factors. Increasingly, the choice of drink came to define the experience of drinking as much as the character of the individual who drank. This was abundantly clear in the case of brandy; a relative newcomer to the market of intoxicants in seventeenth-century England. By surveying depictions of brandy drinking in elite and popular print, this paper will seek to establish how ordinary people experienced brandy and other distilled spirits in early modern England. Medical tracts concerning distilled spirits will be complimented by more lively depictions of drinking found in sources such as the prose of Ned Ward and the verses of broadside ballads. Additionally, depositional material from the Old Bailey Proceedings Online will be employed to nuance such representations with the reality of brandy consumption in this period. Ultimately, this paper seeks to demonstrate that whilst anxieties over the consumption of spirits, especially amongst women, were in ferment some fifty years before the publication of William Hogarth's infamous 'Gin Lane,' the reality was far more complex than previously thought. Spirits were filled with variegated social, cultural, and economic meanings which, through further study, help to expand our perceptions of drink and drinking in early modern England.

Keywords: Alcohol; Consumption; Gender; Sociability

Biography: I am a first year PhD History student at the University of Bristol, funded by the SWW DTP. Prior to starting my PhD, I completed my BA Hons in History at Durham (2013/16) and my MRes in History at Birkbeck (2019/20). My research considers the role of intoxicants in early modern England, with a specific focus on how spirits informed notions of social and occupational identity. My current research concerns the influence of sugar on alcohol production and consumption in England, c. 1650-1750. More broadly, I am interested in consumption, work, and identity in the early modern Atlantic world.

PANEL SIX – FOOD, THE FINAL FRONTIER: CONSUMING COLONIALISM

11:15-12:30 (BST), Friday 18th June

Chair: Serin Quinn

Mary Irwin & Ana Tominc, (Queen Margaret University), *'Blooming Bananas'- Britain, Britishness and Brand Banana*

The worst excesses of so-called bumbling, Brussels bureaucrats' interference in the British way of life was characterised most memorably in 1990s tabloid reports of EU desires to straighten out the Brits and their bendy bananas. If they could meddle with this humble much loved British fruit – what would they do next? Yet the banana is neither British nor humble, being in fact an exotic Caribbean import. Nevertheless, the banana has come to represent, as in the example of the bendy banana, something quintessentially British, with a rich and complex range of metaphorical symbolisms which have much to say about both the British way of life and Britons themselves.

This paper will explore British cultural narratives of the banana, interrogating variously its significance as a symbol of plucky second world war privation, endurance and ultimate victory and concurrently an icon both of smutty, silly British comedic sensibility and a way of describing and characterising a brand of lovable off the wall eccentricity, positive in the British, but deeply infuriating in anyone else. With its bright, vivid, jaunty yellow colouring and its distinctive shape which make it a little bit different, a bit of an exception – arguably it is rather like how the British see themselves. The paper will also step backwards to explore the dark and troubling associations between bananas and colonialism, the importation of the banana into Britain standing in for its still largely unacknowledged, undocumented and highly problematic relationship with slavery. The banana this paper will argue makes an unconventional but in fact very fruitful starting point for unpeeling any number of unexamined layers of British identity challenging self identifications as a nation of stout, plain dealing common sense 'John Bulls'.

This project is supported by the Carnegie Research Incentive Grant (*Representing food in UK media during the Brexit campaign: Policy, regulation and national food myths* (RIG009801)).

Keywords: Banana; Brexit; Britishness; Political Myth; Colonialism

Biography: Dr Mary Irwin was most recently Senior Lecturer in Media and Communication at Northumbria University Newcastle and is currently a researcher in Media and Communications at Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh. She has published extensively in the fields of TV Studies and Cultural Studies. Mary is currently writing a monograph on TV Romantic Comedy *Love Wars: TV Romantic Comedy* (Bloomsbury, 2022) and is co-editing with Dr Jill Marshall, also at Queen Margaret University, a collection on British TV comedy *This Country: British Screen Comedy Cultures* (Palgrave, 2021).

Dr Ana Tominc is an Assistant Professor in Food, Communication and Media Studies at Queen Margaret University Edinburgh, United Kingdom. She has published on contemporary food discourses related to lifestyle and class, veganism and far-right cooking show on social media, construction of culinary identity, cookbooks, and food television in socialist Yugoslavia. She is the author of *The discursive construction of class and lifestyle: celebrity chef cookbooks in post-socialist Slovenia* (John Benjamins, 2017) and the founder of Biennial Conference on Food and Communication (www.foodcommunication.net). Her latest book is an edited collection *Food and Cooking on early Television: Impact on European food cultures* (Routledge, 2021).

Samuel Limby, (Trinity College Dublin), *Cook and Coconuts; Culinary experiences in the Pacific during the Age of Exploration*

The voyages of Captain James Cook widened the scope of European understanding while inhabiting a level of cross-cultural encounters not seen since the Iberian explorations of the Americas in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century. Cook's three voyages of exploration facilitated cultural encounters between its European crews and the multitude of Pacific islanders they encountered. These encounters have been much studied, with scholars particularly emphasising the religious, material and bodily exchanges that spawned from them. What is often forgotten, but was an intrinsic experience of those involved, is the diffusion of alternative culinary experiences. Whether it was the crew's consumption of walrus meat to coconut milk mixed cocktails, Captain Cook and his crew experienced a culinary experience wholly foreign and strange to British sensibilities. This paper argues that a food history approach to Cook's voyages of exploration, and Europeans ventures into the Pacific more broadly, is both an insightful and rewarding lens for studying European and Polynesian cultural encounters. The many journals and memoirs of officers from these three voyages speak to the importance of food and drink. Primarily concerning the morale of the ship's crew, these written narratives also shed light on the many religious practices that were involved in the transaction of foodstuffs from Islander to European, while also reflecting the officers' opinions of the unfamiliar environment that these voyages placed them in. Therefore this paper cites foodstuffs as a microcosmic approach to the cultural encounters at the centre of Cook's three voyages.

Keywords: Cross-cultural Encounters; Captain Cook; Eighteenth Century Pacific Exploration; Polynesian Foodstuffs

Biography: I am currently a postgraduate student of history enrolled in Trinity College Dublin's International History MPhil program. Before this, I graduated from University College Dublin with a specialism in History and Classics. My interests in history primarily cover the study of the British empire, with a specific interest in the empire of the eighteenth century. My current research focuses on the East India Company's rule of the Indian subcontinent through the perceptive of political theory.

Sonakshi Srivastava, (Indraprastha University), *A Pinch of Salt: Interrogating the Politics of Salt in Modern India*

Noted anthropologist Mary Douglas treats food as a code that is capable of expressing social relations, and more often than not, this code, if decodified, conveys 'message about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries'. She further likens food to sex — both have a 'social as well as a biological component' (1972, p61).

When food is served on plate, what we partake are not just nutrients but also kinship obligations. Food preferences eschews no neutrality, we routinely use food to express relationships among and within ourselves and the environment. The obtaining and consuming of food is an eloquent statement of shared ideology.

The gastronomic medium serves as a conduit for including/excluding members with/in the society. Food habits provide sustenance to social order. A meal partaken is equivalent to participating in a 'structured social event which structures others in its own image....and separates it from disorder' as corroborated by Douglas (1972, p62).

In the Indian context, salt is an essential commodity so much so that it can be enumerated as the fourth basic need in addition to "*roti, kapda aur makan*" (*bread, cloth, and house*). Salt as an exalted commodity remains a nexus of contested power struggles.

The present paper takes into consideration the major works of the Indian modern novelists, Mulk Raj Anand and Premchand to navigate these power struggles through their writings by taking into consideration Gandhi's philosophy (he crusaded the anti-salt tax movement) to further delineate the class and caste struggles apart from the racial tensions that are brought to the fore through the acts of consumption/ non-consumption of salt.

Keywords: Service; Salt; Fidelity; Colonialism; Casteism; Tax

Biography: Sonakshi Srivastava graduated from the University of Delhi, in 2020, and is now an MPhil scholar at Indraprastha University, Delhi, where she researches on speculative fictions, and Discard Studies. Currently, she is an Oceanvale Scholar for the Spring-Autumn session at Kirori Mal College, University of Delhi, where she is researching on the aesthetics of emotions in Kobo Abe's novels. Her works have previously published in the eSharp Journal, and as chapters in two edited volumes, and a recent piece for the TMR. Her areas of interests include aesthetics and critical theory, memory and trauma studies, animal studies and ethics, food studies, and Indian Writing in English among others.

PANEL SEVEN – THE GLOBAL POLITICS OF PATRIOTISM: FOOD, DRINK, AND THE NATION

13:30-14:45 (BST), Friday 18th June

Chair: Maria Reyes Baztán

Maurice Hutton, (University of Nottingham), *Traditional Beer for the Modern Townsman: Contestations around Municipal ‘African Beer’ in Late Colonial Bulawayo, Zimbabwe*

In this presentation, I examine how “traditional” African beer took on new contested meanings in the late colonial urban setting in southern Africa. Since the early 1900s, urban councils across British Africa had brewed traditional sorghum/rapoko-based opaque beer to sell to (Black) African townspeople. Holding monopolies on the sale of alcohol within their jurisdictions, they had used the profits therefrom to fund (usually lacklustre) development efforts in the segregated African residential areas. Since pre-colonial times, most African societies had conceived of opaque beer as a nutritious meal, and urban administrators found it expedient to share this conception (whilst prohibiting Africans from consuming “European” beer, wines and spirits, until the final years of colonial rule.) After WWII – in the context of wider developmental/modernising reforms across the continent – municipal beer took on new meanings, as I show in the case of Bulawayo, the second city largest of Zimbabwe. Not only was beer production ramped up to fund increasingly ambitious housing and welfare schemes, but elaborate beer gardens were constructed and more aggressive marketing campaigns launched, to associate municipal beer with fitness, football and modern (mostly male) urban lifestyles. This was a much more sophisticated attempt to compete with the rival illicit liquor dens (“shebeens”), by giving legitimacy to municipal beer and integrating it within the municipal council’s post-war paternalistic mission of helping “tribal” Africans transition from “tradition” to “modernity”. The Council’s energetic campaigns provoked deeper and more complex moral, political and public health critiques from residents and health experts. Municipal beer became a contradictory symbol of both development and state neglect. Bulawayo’s same municipal beer brand exists to this day, and drinking this beer remains a political act, now affirming regional patriotism and ethnic identification.

Keywords: Colonial Africa; Traditional Beer; Municipal Beer Monopoly; Urban Development

Biography: I am a postdoctoral research fellow in the History Department at the University of Nottingham. I have a PhD in African Studies from the University of Edinburgh. My PhD was on urban planning and development in late colonial Zimbabwe; my current fellowship is on interwar ecology and agricultural development in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), as part of the project: Inherited Soil Surveys, Transdisciplinary Approaches in Zambia (InSTAnZa). I am generally interested in the history of ‘development’ in Africa from colonial times to the present.

Noel Carolan, (Dublin City University), *The last cry of nineteenth-century famine in Ireland and echoes of India: the politics of food supply in 1897-8*

This paper examines the partial failure of the Irish potato crop and consequent food shortage in 1897-8 which has been largely neglected by historians. It shows how food supply became a politically charged issue for Irish nationalists and unionists; the under-researched political engagement of Irish nationalists with the Indian famine in 1897; and how focused reportage galvanised the charitable response.

Michael Davitt, the most left-leaning and anti-imperialist among Irish MPs, worked closely in London to raise awareness of the distress in India, with the Social Democratic Federation and Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Asian MP. Maud Gonne, an extreme Irish nationalist born in Surrey and descendant of a prosperous London draper, found common political ground with Sir William Wedderburn, a Liberal MP active in the British committee of the Indian National Congress, by hitching objection to the 1897 jubilee celebrations to the famine in India of that year.

The British public provided generous charitable support to India following the photography and reportage of separate 'famine correspondents' employed by *Cosmopolitan* and Reuters. Similar coverage of the 1898 distress in the West of Ireland by the *Manchester Guardian* brought charitable funding to Ireland: photography was likewise at the forefront of this endeavour. The British government formulated its response to the unfolding distress in Ireland, with concern for its Treasury implications, while watching Indian developments. This paper shows how food supply politics spanned the Near-West and Far-East of the British Empire at the time of crucial importance to Ireland and India alike.

Keywords: Food Supply Politics; Nationalism; Empire; India, Ireland and Britain

Biography: Following a successful and fulfilling career in the Garda Síochána, Ireland's national police service, Noel Carolan completed a MA in history in 2019 at Dublin City University, where he is now a PhD student. His PhD research interest is the politics of food supply in Ireland, during peace and war from 1895 to 1923, and its location in the wider imperial and world context of the time. He is a grateful recipient of a four-year post-graduate research fee scholarship from Dublin City University and a winner of the history bursary awarded by Universities Ireland in 2020.

Haoran Ni, (University of Kansas), *From "Sanitation" to "Uncleanliness": The Changing Culture of Soda Water in Modern Shanghai*

In the second half of the nineteenth century, soda water was introduced into the Chinese market. At first, it was a luxury only afforded by the upper stratum of society. Since the Republican period, soda water started to gain popularity. Its sanitary and clean quality, as well as being machine-made, became a token of Western modernity. This paper focuses on modern Shanghai to explore how the Western concept of "hygiene" and mass mechanical production shaped soda water into a popular drink and welcomed by Shanghai citizens. During Republican China, the government at all levels further formulated sanitary ordinances to standardize the manufacturing

process of the soda water industry. However, facing the great financial interest, the “rigid” sanitary ordinances could be compromised by the authorities. With the rise of nationalism in the 1940s, the drinking of soda water was closely related to the fate of the Chinese nation. In the case of Coca-Cola, the imported sodas were criticized as the symbol of “uncleanliness” and confronted a challenge from the domestic sour plum soup. In the context of the increasing decline of the social economy and the shock of nationalism, the imported Coca-Cola gradually faded out of the Chinese market.

Keywords: Hygiene; Urban Culture; Modernity; Nationalism

Biography: My name is Haoran Ni, and I was born and raised in Shanghai, China. After finishing my BA and MA in modern Chinese history at Fudan University, I am studying in the doctoral program in history at University of Kansas, USA. My major research interests are beverage and food history, public history, everyday life, and gender. My potential dissertation topic is about the Popularity of western beverages in modern Chinese cities.