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# Community and The Meal: A Rhetorical Investigation

Richard J. Mills Jr.

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Community and The Meal: A Rhetorical Investigation

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty

of the Communication and Rhetorical Studies

McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Richard J. Mills, Jr.

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## Abstract

From ancient Greece to post modernity, the meal as a focal point of community life and a cultural practice, and the meaning of eating, have been the focus for numerous scholarly studies and their rhetorical significance. This dissertation will define how interpersonal communication and the enactment of the meal are rhetorical partners within a community. Cultural differences, communication style, and values affect one's perception of the culture's narrative structure, inclusion and exclusion, private and public space, and civility and incivility practices in relationship to the community. These differences impact the meal, food choices, tastes, and communication style and ultimately shape their rhetorical power to texture community and its practices.

This study attempts to answer the question: "What are the rhetorical implications of interpersonal engagement within community around the common center of the meal?" The purpose of this study is to discover the rhetorical significance of food-related gatherings, particularly the sharing and exchange of foods and beverages as a common center within the community as they promote a rhetorical exchange through interpersonal communication. The application of metaphors is broken down into specific investigations in three primary time frames to determine how food and meal-related artifacts engaged and/or disengaged communities in relationship to the meal in the spheres of rhetorical action of these metaphors. Each historical period will have a geographical focus. For example, ancient civilizations will broadly focus on the influences of ancient Greece and its ultimate influence on the communication style of the Romans; the European nations will be included in the Renaissance, and Early America will be included in the Enlightenment period. Modernity and post-modernity will be

blended together to explore what influence modern eating styles have had on the family through mediated rhetorical means (e.g., mass communication).

The interpretation of the metaphors will be accomplished through interpretive research applied through a hermeneutic screen. People in situations are placed in a social life, a culture of their own, and a culture situated in time. The application of hermeneutics will assist the interpretation and understanding of the rhetorical significance of persons in communities while engaging interpersonal communication around “the meal.” This will include cultural norms and other elements of the context of the meal engagement. Four areas will be explored: create and recreate narratives within which communities are embedded and examine their particular cultural identity; generate inclusion with and exclusion from communities; manifest and differentiate public and private discourse and experience as part of community life; and display and recreate practices of civility and incivility within the community.

In each time period, these metaphoric “spheres of rhetorical action” work somewhat differently because of the different meanings generating the “common sense” or *sensus communis* that is operative in the time and place.

## Introduction

This dissertation will be an interpretive study examining the patterned interactions and significant symbols of specific cultural groups in particular historical moments engaged in the activity of the meal. Through historical interpretive research, the rhetorical interaction of interpersonal communication, community, and the context of the meal within community will be examined.

The study of food and culture, food and the individual, and food and the community will be examined through interpretive research to disclose the shared understandings and the socially acquired meanings of members of the group and the larger community. Primary and secondary sources will be explored to define and answer the research question: “How do food and interpersonal communication work together to offer rhetorical engagement with community and the meal?” The primary sources for the study of interpersonal communication are: Seyla Benhabib, *Situating the Self*, Ronald C. Arnett, *Dialogic Civility in a Cynical Age*; Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*; and Martin Buber, *I and Thou*. These texts and related scholarship will be used for the interpersonal communication study and how communication interaction impacts the individual. Several texts will be studied to examine the significance of food and interpersonal communication: M. Douglas, *Deciphering a Meal*; S. Mennell, *All Manner of Foods*; E. Telfer, *Food for Thought: Philosophy and food*; and A. Warde, *Consumption of Food and Taste*. The study will include secondary publications, both scholarly and those from popular culture.

Many of the studies of food and interpersonal communication have been done in anthropology and sociology, but fewer have been approached from the standpoint of

interpersonal communication and rhetoric. Thus, many rhetorical scholars and interpersonal scholars will be discussed to help understand and interpret the dissertation question.

Interpretive research is applicable to this project because it enables the scholar to investigate everyday life and apply the findings to the collected information. Interpretive research emphasizes understanding a phenomenon studied over objective fact finding. This approach is appropriate for examining rhetorical exchanges related to food and community within a given historical moment. This study will focus on several time frames: Chapter III: The Classical Periods, Ancient Greece, Rome, and the Middle-Ages; Chapter IV: The Renaissance and Early America in the Enlightenment; and Chapter V: Modernity and Postmodernity. For the purpose of understanding the textured historicity of these eras, the thesis will examine the meal through four metaphors relevant to interpersonal communication, all gathered around the central image of *sensus communis* or the interpretive background giving meaning to community and the meal, infusing communicative practices with rhetorical power: the metaphor of narrative and petite narrative, with a focus on cookbooks and recipes; the metaphor of inclusion and exclusion, with a focus on how the practice of the feast manifests power; the metaphor of public and private, particularly the ritual of banquets and home cooking; and the metaphor of civility and incivility, focusing on table manners (or lack thereof) and taste. A number of theoretical perspectives will be situate these metaphors, guiding exploration of the means by which communicative practices of and during the meal work to generate the rhetorical action on community of each of the metaphors throughout this dissertation: Peter Berger's theory of the social construction of reality and the meal and Calvin

Schrag's theory of communicative praxis and the space of subjectivity. The interpretation of the metaphors will be accomplished through interpretive research applied through a hermeneutic screen. People in situations are placed in a social life, a culture of their own, and a culture situated in time. The application of hermeneutics will assist in interpreting and understanding the rhetorical significance of persons in community engaging in interpersonal communication around "the meal," including cultural norms and other elements of the context of meal engagement, to create and recreate narratives within which communities are embedded and that express their particular culture identity, to generate inclusion with and exclusion from community, to manifest and differentiate public and private discourse and experience as part of community life, and to display and recreate practices of civility and incivility. In each time period, these metaphoric "spheres of rhetorical action" work somewhat differently, given the different meaning structures generating the "common sense" or *sensus communis* operative in that place at that time.

From ancient Greece to post modernity, the meal as a focal point of community life and a cultural practice, and the meaning of eating, have been the focus for numerous scholarly studies and their rhetorical significance. This dissertation will define how interpersonal communication and the enactment of the meal are rhetorical partners within a community. Cultural differences, communication style, and values affect one's perception of the culture's narrative structure, inclusion and exclusion, private and public space, and civility and incivility practices in relationship to the community. These differences impact the meal, food choices, tastes and communication style and shape their rhetorical power to texture community and its practices. This study attempts to answer

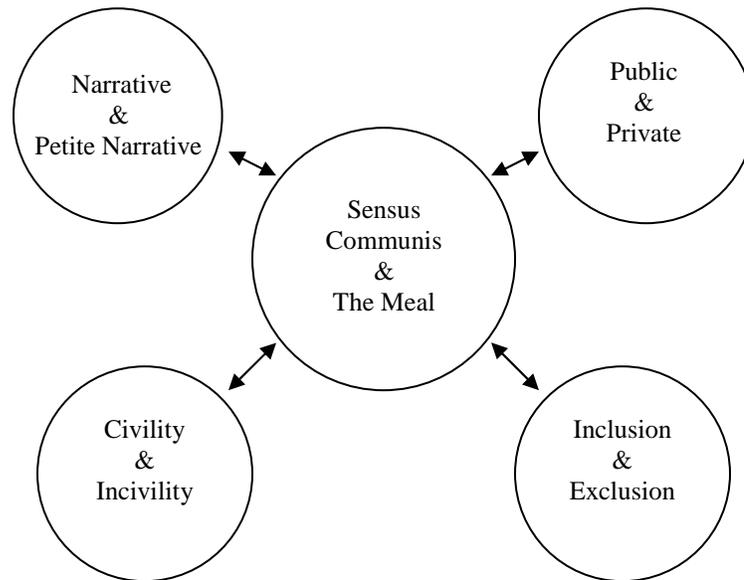
the question: "What are the rhetorical implications of interpersonal engagement within community around the common center of the meal?"

The purpose of this study is to discover the rhetorical significance of food-related gatherings, particularly the sharing and exchange of foods and beverages as common center within the community as they promote a rhetorical exchange through interpersonal communication. The application of metaphors is broken down into specific investigation in the three primary time frames to determine how food- and meal-related artifacts engaged and/or disengaged communities in relationship to the meal in the spheres of rhetorical action of these metaphors. Each historical period will have a geographical focus. For example, ancient civilizations will broadly focus on the influences of ancient Greece and its ultimate influence on the communication style of the Romans; the European nations will be included in the Renaissance and Early America will be included in the Enlightenment era. Modernity and post-modernity will be blended to explore what influence modern eating styles have had on the family through mediated rhetorical means (e.g., mass communication).

The works of several interpersonal scholars will be included to explicate the influence of these metaphorical spheres of rhetorical action on the community through the practice of the meal during three main time frames. Aristotle, Calvin Schrag, Seyla Benhabib, Martin Buber, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Ronald Arnett and Pat Arneson will serve as a scholarly community of hermeneutic entrance to the question of how participatory exchange of interpersonal interaction defining and taking place at the meal functions rhetorically to shape various engagements with community. The following

communication model describes how communicative practices during the meal work rhetorically to shape various elements of community.

### Communication Model



This model will be applied to meal engagement within different historical moments to help explain the mutual rhetorical influence of interpersonal communication and eating habits and, more specifically, the meal as a communal communication ritual or common center with rhetorical significance engaged by and with *sensus communis*. A community's practices of inclusion and exclusion and civility and incivility, as expressed through the common ground of dialogue, formulated by Ronald C. Arnett and Pat Arneson, can be identified by examining the rhetorical nature of the public and private boundaries of community while giving expression to communication surrounding the meal. As just one example of how the model may be applied, consider that participation within a given community may be understood as defining a type of petite narrative

distinct from the larger narrative of the culture. In terms of the rhetorical action of the meal, the identity of this group derives from a particular common sense (*sensus communis*) defined by the meal as distinct from the larger culture, which offers a rhetorical call toward a “common center” for participation through inclusion of members and exclusion of nonmembers. These distinctive meals may be taken in public, which adds further opportunity for texturing identity as distinct from the larger culture, through exclusion of the community from the larger culture and inclusion of the members within it. Likewise, ritual behaviors of civility at mealtime offer opportunity for community identification and solidarity, while practices of incivility destabilize the unity that shapes the community as distinctive. During different historical periods, the “common sense” practices of food and meal are different, providing different grounds for the rhetorical force of interpersonal mealtime practices.

The importance of food and its associated rituals within a society or culture has received growing scholarly attention. A number of primary and secondary sources explain the meal and its impact on community. For example, research from R. Wood’s *The Sociology of the meal*, E. Telfer’s *Food for Thought*, and A. Warde’s *Consumption Food and Taste* will be examined to determine how practices associated with taking food together or having a meal in various contexts can be understood to work rhetorically to texture interpersonal interaction taking place within these contexts. Thus, communities are formed that ultimately engage in these practices. These texts will be included within various chapters to help define the significance of the communication model.

Meals take place within and contribute to an ongoing conversation within a given narrative structure that embraces and guides practices that embody the overall meaning of

food for persons embedded within groups and cultures. However, within the scholarly domain of the study of food, there are few, if any, specific works that cover the territory that explains and defines the role of the meal and surrounding community from a rhetorical and interpersonal communication perspective. Hence, works from sociology and anthropology will offer an initial descriptive groundwork for the impact of food on a community that will then be engaged interpretively from a rhetorical perspective focusing on interpersonal communicative practices. The goal of this project is to invite scholarly voices in the communication field into the conversation about the role of the meal in human community. For example, the works of Peter Berger and Calvin Schrag will be invited to join the cultural conversation about community and the meal.

The meal is one of the most ancient forms of cultural expression. Meals are organized events that encompass interpersonal communication, organizational communication, and cultural history. For the purposes of this project, I will follow Mary Douglas general definition of the meal adapting it in this way: Douglas argues that meals are structured and named events such as (breakfast, lunch, dinner, etc.). Meals are positioned against a background of rituals and assumptions that are normally confined to mouth-touching utensils and also, there is a table with a seating order (Douglas 1975, pp.249-75) This definition of dining opens the door for further investigation into the study of food and community. The study of the rhetoric of food habits and interpersonal dining rituals calls for an examination of narratives or stories, dialogues, cultural histories, and nutritional anthropologies to provide insight into the relevant events and developments that are associated with how we eat, what we eat, and with whom we eat. Reay Tannahill's work *Food in History* will be included to examine the specific foods,

gathering processes, and availability of food in ancient, medieval, European, and American cultures. Tannahill explains how the food grown in a given region determines the eating habits of the people. Tannahill's scholarship frames the historical moment through a hermeneutic interpretation. The meal, as embedded practice, takes account of the recalculating of reality. The meal has symbolic meanings. At the macro-social level, various forms of feasting serve to link individuals to the wider social fabric through shared understandings of cultural conventions. Thus, Christmas and Thanksgiving to some degree unite communities and their culinary culture in shared symbolic experiences (Wood, 1995) Finally, the dissertation will summarize the findings, highlighting the importance of the interpersonal rhetorical model for future scholarship on understanding how rhetorical practices, food-related or other wise, are affected by metaphor.

Chapter II: Interpersonal Paradigms and Their Relationship to Food and Community provides the metaphorical model that will be employed to frame this interpretive study. *Sensus communis* and the metaphoric significance of the meal are discussed through the works of Giambattista Vico; Aristotle; Ronald C. Arnett; Paul Ricoeur; Robert Bellah; Hans Georg Gadamer; and Descartes. Structuralist and culturalist approaches to the meal are explained by Ashley, Hollows, Jones and Taylor, Peter Berger, and Roland Barthes. Also included in this treatment is a social constructionist approach to the meal and also, Calvin Schrag's work on communicative praxis. The metaphors of narrative and petite narrative will be defined and addressed through the scholarly works of Arnett and Arneson; Alisdair MacIntyre; Martin Buber; Walter Fisher; and Calvin Schrag. The metaphors of inclusion and exclusion are explained by the work of Arnett and Makau; Robert Bellah; Seyla Benhabib; Paulo

Freire; Aristotle; and Mikhail Bakhtin. The metaphors of private and public are engaged by Ronald C. Arnett; Robert Bellah; Walter Fisher; and Plato. And finally, the metaphors of civility and incivility are explained by Carter, Arnett and Arneson; Hans Gadamer; and several secondary authors.

Aristotle addresses happiness, community, and human interaction in the *Nicomachean Ethics* by explaining the contingency humans are faced with when situating themselves with others in communication activity. Interpersonal communication is part of the domain of *praxis* or theory-informed action. What happens in any given conversation could turn out differently if circumstances change. Therefore, the context or activity within which communication takes place exerts a formative influence on the nature of that activity. From this perspective, meal practices can be understood as having an implicit rhetorical character through the presence and absence of particular others, the discourse that takes place at the table, and the care or art with which the meal is constructed.

Seyla Benhabib points out that a fragmentation has occurred that has produced a climate that is skeptical of the moral and political ideals of modernity. She wants to reconstruct a universal respect for each person in virtue of their humanity, the moral autonomy of the individual, economic and social justice, and some sense of equality in democratic participation. Her main goal is to make a place for and also defend universalism. Universalism looks to a common ground for actions, but Benhabib considers this concept an asset for communication skill development. Benhabib seeks to construct a conversational model by introducing the principle of moral respect or reciprocity as her primary goal in the development of a moral conversation. She wants an

inclusive way to communicate. She also discusses reversibility in communication with others included in the moral conversation. She argues that communication ethics is not a model of political legitimacy or moral validity. Instead, it promotes a universal and post-conventional perspective that is aware of the historical moment in which it resides which gives it reflexive quality to the concrete other in response to Kant's maxim of universal and moral rightness or generalized other. Our relationship to the "Other" is governed by the norms of equality and contemporary reciprocity. Each is entitled to expect and assume roles which recognize and confirm as concrete individual beings with specific needs and capacities. Her work will be helpful in situating individuals within communities, for which partaking of meals is a constitutive and rhetorical interpersonal activity that highlights the universality of human embodiment. In addition, Benhabib will answer questions dealing with private and public and inclusion and exclusion.

Benhabib begins her points by examining the changes that have occurred during this century. We live in an age of "post-isms" to use her term, in which there is a sense of fragmentation due to the breakdown of shared consensus on moral authority. Benhabib points out that the sense of fragmentation has produced a climate profoundly skeptical towards the moral and political ideals of modernity, enlightenment and liberal democracy. Benhabib, though seeing the problems that modernity has caused, believes that all ideas of the Enlightenment need not be cast aside. Rather she states that, "The project of modernity can only be reformed from within the intellectual, moral and political resources made possible and available to us by the development of modernity" (Benhabib, 1992, p. 2).

This argument addresses fragmented narratives that are skeptical toward the moral and political ideals of modernity. Benhabib is concerned with reconstructing a universal respect or recognition for each person in regards to each person in virtue of his/her humanity, moral autonomy of individual, economic and social justice equality and democratic participation. The key metaphors associated with Benhabib are universality, moral autonomy, individual justice and equality, standpoint of the other, and fragmented narratives. Benhabib's goal is to develop "moral conversation" and discusses the role of "reversibility" in communication with others. The *generalized other* is replaced by the *concrete other*. According to Benhabib, universal right exist when narratives connect everybody equally and the standpoint of the other is considered.

The relevance of Benhabib's theory includes private and public issues with a keen interest in the *participatory* as Benhabib wants people to believe that they are a included in society and involves people believing that they can have an impact politically. According to Benhabib, public space is held together by a common story. She addresses the system of post-modernity and gender ethics establishes the general accepted philosophical ground work, and then questions aspects of the system and deconstructs that system and opens up new and perhaps more productive ideas in relation to both narratives of postmodernity and gender ethics.

From Benhabib's perspective, the meal can be understood as a type of *universal* activity that, when shared, reduces the fragmentation inherent in post-modernity, reconstituting community through the shared activity of food consumption by which bodies and communities are restored. Food consumption takes place by concrete others who are simultaneously part of communities. The particular participants in the universal

conversation partake and engage in a meal while specific practices of meal consumption identify communities as unique. This activity marks them as participants in a common universal or sense of community and ultimately a shared nourishment. To help understand the complexities surrounding various time frames and cultures, Benhabib's work with the concept of a *universal* and also *the other* will help explain the rhetorical communication within a community and how it is influenced by the meal.

The work of Martin Buber addresses the metaphor of a common center. What is meant by this is that life is lived in *the between*, between persons, events, and ideas. Our humanness allows us to come together with *the other* in *the between*. The between is a sort of communicative life pointing to a relational rather than individualistic or collectivistic view of human communication. Buber offers us a way to situate the practice of meals as a communicative event that textures a unique common center in a community, and then, connecting with the metaphor of particularity articulated by Benhabib. The meal provides a space for unique individuals to contribute to the larger whole in the "between" of the meal. *I and Thou*, one of Buber's most significant works, will be used to help understand the communication model. In particular, his work will permit exploration of the implications of inclusion and exclusion and private and public with regards to meals and community. Buber suggests that we experience and use the words "*I and thou*" to invite a meeting with the world. All life is connected to another force, and we gain who we are from the meeting of others. Buber's work suggests that a common mealtime can provide a common center that re-gathers scattered communities to participate in a common, interpersonal task that operates rhetorically to remind participants of their shared humanity, vulnerability, and collective identity. The meal as a

location for *the between* is fragile, yet powerful, in its constitutive power. Most of the resources related to meals, food, and the related domain of hospitality are found in a wide-range of fields such as communication, anthropology, sociology, and consumer behavior. Buber's theory of *the between* is significant for cultures to reenact the mealtime event though practices vary from one culture to another.

Mikhail Bakhtin, the Russian intellectual, is responsible for the term dialogism. Bakhtin's historical framework developed out of the decade following 1917 when the country was under the effects of a lost war, revolution, civil war and finally famine. According to Bakhtin, the self is constructed of two forces: the centripetal and the centrifugal. The self is possible only in the fusion of the other. One of the most significant contributions of Bakhtin is his view on communication between people. His claim is the essence of dialogue is its simulation differentiation from fusing with one another. To enact a dialogue, parties need to fuse their perspectives while maintaining their uniqueness of their individual perspective. These two different voices bring unity to the conversation through monologue and dialogue. Dialogue is multi-vocal with the presence of at least two distinct voices. The centripetal and the centrifugal are two tendencies in contradiction and tension filled with contradiction. The centripetal is the given, closed and finalized, the centrifugal is the new intermediate and un-final. According to Bakhtin, any theory of language must start with the premise that it is not abstract but concrete. This concept is similar to Seyla Benhabib's theory and reinforces the thesis of this dissertation.

Bakhtin's recognition that all communication is situated with a past, present, and future helps one understand how the meal is a set of public or private practices to which

co-participants are accountable. Forces that work toward and against the meal as a shared ritual can be examined from his perspective; the meal as monologue and dialogue can also receive attention. The traditional elements of the meal may be explored with an emphasis on the past, present, and future.

The term praxis has a long history of service to the discipline; Aristotle was the first to use it in his interests of philosophical and practical philosophy and exchange of ideas. It usually means *practice* or *action*, *performance* or *accomplishment*. For Aristotle praxis generally means practical wisdom. Calvin Schrag says that discourse and action are *about something, by someone and for someone*. Communicative praxis displays a referential moment about a world of human concerns and social practices, a moment of self-implicature by the author that is a rhetorical moment directed towards the other. This form of subjectivity within the praxial space of discourse in action is a new humanism. The parameters of praxis mark the presence of the *other* displayed in a rhetoric of discourse in action. Communicative praxis involves the texts of spoken and written discourse, but the concrete actions of individuals and the historical life of institutions contribute to the discussion. The text of the subject contributes to the action of the speaker. A person's embeddedness determines praxis with public and private domains. The way the text is interrelated embeds the texture of social practices. Communicative praxis is an ongoing process of expressive speech and expressive action that is neither, internal or external. It is in ongoing form of communication that changes between text and the individual. Schrag's work will be particularly important in understanding the interpersonal rhetorical praxis of the meal because meals are *by someone, about something, and for a purpose*. These locational metaphors are not limited to unity in

their referents; different meal events offer different situated-ness and can be seen to function with a different praxicality according to context and participants.

Arnett and Arneson's dialogic civility is a metaphor offered to present a story about public respect between persons that genuinely meets the historical moment. This story invites an ongoing conversation between persons that is historically grounded and capable of making change and altercation. Dialogue invites a constructive hermeneutic, calling us to public respect as we work together to discover the minimal communication background assumptions necessary to permit persons of difference to shape together the communication that is necessary for the 21st century. Dialogic civility helps create a web of metaphorical significance that connects historical concerns of meta-narrative decline and routine cynicism and offer hope and a new background narrative. Metaphors do two things: they connect action collectively and frame a new narrative vision. The following metaphors offer a frame that acts as both individual implementers and collectively act as a narrative guide: Listening to the other in the historical moment; additive change when possible and avoiding the impulse for domination; and the between as a reminder of life relationships, not just *me*; voice/inclusion calling for the presence and attentiveness, and historically appropriate face saving that suggests the importance of keeping the conversation going with *the other*; finding a meaning in the middle of narrative disruption that allows us to survive and often prosper in times of change; an ethic of care pointing us to a life of relational service, not just a functional form of survival or narcissistic tendencies that seek comfort and aid from someone else; a community of memory tied to ideas, people, and institutions that require our attention and finally a

willingness to find ways to repair change and alter historically flawed stories (Arnett & Arneson, 1999).

Dialogic civility keeps the conversation going in a postmodern culture that lacks meta-narrative agreement. This type of dialogue offers a web of metaphoric significance that both points to implementation and collectively provides a guiding narrative and story that can be applied in both interpersonal and organizational situations. This work can be fruitfully applied to the practice of the meal. The way meals are executed and carried out can promote constructive life together through civility or generate cynicism through incivility.

Chapter III: The Classical Periods, Ancient Greece, Rome, and the Middle-Ages will provide an historical overview of the many food habits of human beings over time, with a special emphasis on The Metaphor of Community and the Meal; The Metaphor of Narrative and Petite Narrative; The Metaphor of Inclusion and Exclusion; The Metaphor of Public and Private; and The Metaphor of Civility and Incivility. The goal will be to examine the rhetorical significance of the meal and interpersonal exchanges regarding food structures that surround these periods. The Metaphor of Community and the Meal will examine *The Heritage of the Classical Period* by examining the works of *Sensus Communis* and the meal from various regions in ancient Greece and Rome. Aristotle, Vico, and excerpts from *The Odyssey* are included in this section. *Greek and Roman Cuisine; a Community of Ingredients* shows the connection to the language of a community and the ingredients from a particular region. The orator Cicero, *The Odyssey*, and several secondary scholars are included. *The*

*Development of Italian Gastronomy* is explored with discussion on a collection of 470 recipes from *De Re Coquinaria*.

The Metaphor of Narrative/Petite-narrative: Cookbooks and Recipes provides the narrative about the various regions included in the Classical Period. *Sagas of the Meal* is explained through the writings of Walter Fisher and includes *The Odyssey* and other sources from the ancient period. *The Development of the Meal* discusses the paradigms of structuralism and culturalism and includes Roland Barthes and other scholars on the subject of cookery. *The Curative Story of Cooking* also includes information on structuralism, culturalism, and other narrative guides for understanding the inclusion of various medicinal cures excreted from plants.

The Metaphor of Inclusion/Exclusion: Social Structure/Feast Versus Power focuses on *The Convivium* and *The Food of the Rich*; the *Nichomacean Ethics* is used to frame the discussion on the inclusion or exclusion of individuals to the *convivium*. The Metaphor of Public and Private: Banquets and Home Cooking focuses on *the Symposium* and gives the reader a glimpse into the values observed in *The symposium; Banquets for the Rich*; and public games, festivals, and the welcome visitor. *Early Medieval Cooking* shows the gap between food records from Roman times and the twelfth century and also, the divisions between people and their inclusion or exclusion from the community.

The Metaphor of Civility and Incivility: Table Manners and Taste includes *Table Manners and The Ancients*; and *Table Manners and The Romans and Greeks. Moral Virtues and The Ethics of Food* focuses on hospitality, temperance, gluttony, and dialogue. Martin Buber contributes to the conversation with a discussion about civility.

Chapter IV: The Renaissance and Early America *in* Enlightenment includes The Metaphor of Community and the Meal; The Metaphor of Narrative and Petite Narrative: Cookbooks and Recipes; The Metaphor of Inclusion and Exclusion: Feast Versus Power; The Metaphor of Public and Private: Banquets and Home Cooking; and The Metaphor of Civility and Incivility: Table Manners and Taste. The Metaphor of Community and the Meal includes Hans Georg Gadamer and Vico's definitions of *sensus communis* and its relationship to antiquity. *The Meals of the Day: The Heritage of Renaissance and Early American Meals* continues with Gadamer and Vico and introduces the meals of the day including the English Tea. *Manuscripts and The Meal* is a discussion of metaphor as a form of linguistic implementation and also, gives us a framework for cookery in the Renaissance and also, in Early America. *The Lavish Table* takes into consideration the texture of the meal, the style of the dining room, and the overall importance of the lavish table within a culture.

The Metaphor of Narrative and Petite Narrative: Cookbooks and Recipes includes: *Pre-Renaissance Cookbooks*; *Renaissance Cookbooks*; and *Early American Cookbooks*. These sections are approached from a narrative position and look to the evidence of what was happening in a culture through the reading of cookbooks. Peter Berger's Social Constructionist positions helps to examine the reality of the information. Arnett and Arneson discuss the emergence of narrative and Buber's humble character; MacIntyre is included to explore the histories and the story they may tell.

The Metaphor of Inclusion and Exclusion: Feast Versus Power looks to Martin Buber to discuss the community and how there are two sides to every community: the included and the excluded. *Common Use of Eating Utensils* and *Frugality and the*

*Quakers* are examined through the lens of happiness and unhappiness; the dialectic structure of the culture; and Martin Buber and Ronald C. Arnett's theory of inclusion and exclusion.

The Metaphor of Public and Private: Banquets and Home Cooking is a study of *Bakhtin and the Feast*. The work of Bakhtin is applied to the historical moment with a special look at Bakhtin's four features of the carnivalesque banquet. *Early American Feasting* is discussed by Robert Bella and the privatized community, feasts and homecomings, and in addition, Walter Fisher's theory that public narratives guide individuals. The Metaphor of Civility and Incivility: Table Manners and Taste focuses on *Pre-Renaissance Table Manners* and *Post-Renaissance Table Manners*. William Penn and the Quakers are a part of this discussion.

Chapter V: Modernity and Postmodernity includes several sub-sections under each metaphoric category. Chapter V: maintains the original format utilized in Chapters III and IV, but the content is more extensive. The significance of both modernity and postmodernity on food and the community is more in depth because of the relevance of the media and popular culture. Although this section includes an historical perspective such as the history of Thanksgiving, the focus of this chapter changes with the influences of the increase in publications. For example, cookbooks began to be more directed to specific groups of people, not merely the general public. This is evident in sections on gender, cultural changes, newspapers, and fast food production. In addition, this chapter looks to the historical influences that made the specificities necessary. The model used in Chapters III and IV is also applicable to Chapter V; this application proves that the model works for generalized and specific subjects. Chapters III and IV are more general in

nature, the Chapter V takes the generalities and positions them within the framework of specifics.

The Metaphor of Community and the Meal includes: *Changes in Cultural Attitudes about Food Community and the Meal; Gender Changes in Community and the Meal; Food Criticism; Pittsburgh Post Gazette, Article analysis: 1960 and 2000*. The Metaphor of Narrative and Petite Narrative: Cookbooks and Recipes includes: *The Praxis of Cookbooks; The Gender of Cookbooks; Cooking Towards A New Rhetoric; and What's for Dinner in Postmodernity?* The Metaphor of Inclusion and Exclusion: Feast versus Power includes: *Taboos, Tastes, and Cultures; Tradition in a Changing Age; Proclamation and Sermons; and Prevailing Customs Past and Present*. The Metaphor of Public and Private: Banquets and Home Cooking includes: *Thanksgiving and Puritan Rhetoric; Thanksgiving Rhetoric in Modernity and Postmodernity; and Culinary Rhetoric and the Harvest Feast*. The Metaphor of Civility and Incivility; Table Manners and Taste includes: *Food Ethics Today; Food Ethics and Religion; Food Ethics and Rhetorical Behavior; and Food Ethics and the Other*. Several scholars help interpret the rhetorical information: Ronald C. Arnett, Seyla Benhabib, and Calvin Schrag address the historical moment.

The following texts are the secondary sources utilized in this thesis to better explicate the rhetorical relationship between food and community: Roy Strong, *Feast: A History of Grand Eating*; Strong discusses the grand feast from ancient Greece to Victorian times; James E. McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating; How the Quest for Food Shaped America*; McWilliams looks to the ways Americans cultivated food, settler in the colonies and how they grew food, and the variety and inventiveness that characterized

colonial cuisine. Gerard Brett, *Dinner is Served*, looks to the study of table manners and the structure of meals from 1600 to 1900. Carole M. Counihan, *Food in the USA*, examines Thanksgiving with “The Invention of Thanksgiving: A Ritual of American Nationality,” by Janet Siskind.

Also, the following scholars enter the conversation about food: R. Wood’s *The Sociology of the meal*, S. Mennell’s *All Manner of Foods*, S. Mennell, A. Murcott, and Van Otterloo’s *The Sociology of Food: Eating, Diet and Culture*. These scholarly works are concerned with the analysis and interpretation of activities surrounding the production and consumption of food and drink. They have been selected because they clearly introduce, explain, and evaluate some theoretical approaches that can be used to identify, classify, and begin to make some sense of the significance of everyday human food behaviors.

Two contrasting but key theoretical frameworks; *structuralism* and *developmentalism* are included. Ashley and Telfer discuss structuralism and argue that cultural meanings are derived from the character of the structural relations that underpin all social activities, whereas developmentalism suggests that cultural tastes and behavior change over time as a result of the developments that have occurred in previous generations. This concept ties in with Bakhtin’s theory of the past, present, and future.

The strength of structuralism is shown in the ability to identify and interpret the cultural meaning embedded in food choices and behaviors, and the authors illustrate how this interpretative process is relevant to the study of food and society. At the same time, a significant weakness in structuralist theory is recognized to be its neglect of the issue of change over time. The authors move on to examine the analytical frameworks of

developmentalism. In contrast to structuralism, these approaches focus on the identification of the process of social change, which is seen to be the mechanism that determines cultural preferences. Thus, the developmentalist approach offers the potential to understand why and how meanings attached to food and dining and how they reflect the historical moment. Structuralism and developmentalism are presented as two contrasting analytical frameworks that can be used in combination to offer increased insight and understanding of the complex role of food in society. Examples of key components of each approach are given within the context of the study of food.

The following texts will be used throughout the dissertation to determine the metaphoric significance of community and the meal.. G. Adair's *Myths and Memories*, R. Barthes's "Chopsticks" and "Food Decentered" in *Empire of Signs*; M. Douglas's "Deciphering a Meal", *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* provide important examples of how structuralist analysis can be applied to food subjects. The works of Barthes, Adair, Coward and Douglas demonstrate how seemingly taken for granted. Everyday food substances and practices are "as heavy with significance as with cooking oil" (Adair). These food practices can be deconstructed by the application of structuralism approaches. My purpose will be a constructive analysis of their rhetorical significance to communities.

N. Elias's *The Civilizing Process: The History Of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, S. Mennell's *All Manner of Foods*, M. Harris's *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture* and *Cows, Pigs, Wars & Witches: The Riddles of Cultures* are important examples of the developmentalist approaches applied to the search for determinants of food tastes and behavior. Within the developmental model, Elias work

offers a seminal application of his “figurational: or “sociogenic” approach to the developments in the Middle- Ages. He demonstrates how the reconfiguration of political, economical, technological and social changes in the medieval period led to significant changes in appetite, manners and food consumption norms. Significantly, Elias’s research identified conflict and competition as major forces for cultural and social development. Mennell adopts a similar approach in his comparative discussion of the tastes of England and France from the middle ages until today. These works provide ground for a rhetorical analysis of food practices during a particular historical moment.

The work of Harris (1972) offers us another version of the developmental approach, known as materialist. Harris supports the argument that cultural preferences emerge as a result of largely unplanned social conflicts. However, he goes further to suggest these conflicts continue until a solution is selected that fits the overall ecological context of the society at that time. His use of the term ecological context includes physical, political, economic and social considerations. Importantly, Harris’s model also offers an explanation for food taboos. He suggests that once the solutions are identified, they are perpetuated by powerful symbolism and internalised repugnance that is perceived to be culturally coherent at the time but may appear to be arbitrary and irrational at a later date. This work demonstrates the rhetorical influence of given historical moment in food practice.

M. Featherstone’s *Consumer Society and Post Modernism* (1990) examines production and consumption in the modern post-industrialised world, to provide a contextualising theoretical framework for the study of food and society. In its discursive overview, Featherstone identifies and examines a wide range of conceptual approaches

and teases out their relevance to an understanding of society. Featherstone tracks the developments and reconfigurations of key political, economic, technological and social developments of the last century or so, and considers the implications of these changes for contemporary cultural life: the nature of production; work; cultural consumption; changing class identities; constructions of taste; communications and globalisation; situated and mediated cultures; the consumption of signs; lifestyle. At the same time, he demonstrates how structuralist analyses can access the real meanings that are attached to the symbolic productions of cultural life, and, in particular, the meanings associated with production and consumption practices. With these theoretical frameworks, Featherstone provides an approach that gives insights to the complexity of the context within which food and hospitality are produced and consumed. This material provides insight into the rhetorical situation in which food activity surfaces.

E. Telfer's *Food for Thought: Philosophy and Food*, is concerned with philosophical debates about the nature of food and dining. It raises questions about the moral and ethical issues underpinning our attitudes and practices to food production and consumption in the modern industrialised world. Issues covered include food and pleasure; the concept of hospitality; food duties and obligations; hunger and the hungry; and food as art.

J. Gronow's *The Sociology of Taste* focuses entirely upon a concept that is central to an understanding of the function of food in society, that of taste. Although these issues are addressed in part in a number of texts, Gronow offers a comprehensive survey of the philosophical and sociological dimensions of taste and considers the ideas of leading theoreticians in this area: Veblen, Simmel and Bourdieu, amongst others. Using

examples, many of which are food related, the discussion involves an analysis of the philosophical issues of taste and aesthetics; considers the factors involved in defining a concept of good taste; discusses the corruption of taste and the development of kitsch; and considers the role of taste in fashion and style. Gronow's distillation of key conceptual frameworks appropriate to the study of the function of taste in food choice and behaviour makes a significant contribution to the study of food in society.

D. Sloan's edited volume *Culinary Taste: Consumer Behavior in the International Restaurant Sector* offers a range of debates about the concept of taste in the culinary arena. The first two chapters, the Social Construction of Taste and the Postmodern Palate, will be useful for their clear examination and explanation of the social construction of taste and post modernism in relation to food and dining out.

Seymour's first chapter examines the concept of the social construction of taste and the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Seymour uses Bourdieu's arguments about the construction of taste and its dependency upon socio-economic class hierarchies displayed through culinary consumption practices. This text gives insight into the complexity of Bourdieu's arguments in areas such as the role of taste as a signifier of class distinctions, the acquisition of taste as a goal for the social aspirant, and cultural legitimacy and its role in establishing dominant taste ideologies. This work offers evidence that meals and food are culturally complicated and laden with symbolic meaning; this is particularly important for rhetorical analysis.

The concept of post modernism and its implications for the significance of culinary consumption behaviors are explored by Sloan who examines the function of taste in postmodern societies where it is suggested that self-identity rather than traditional

class adherences may dominate consumer decision-making. Bell's *Taste and Space: Eating Out in the City Today*, examines the symbolic role of dining out in post industrial economies and demonstrates how diners acquire cultural capital and enhanced self identity via the urban dining out lifestyle. He also identifies and examines the issue of choice and consumer anxiety; and of authenticity and fashionability.

P. Bourdieu's *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, is a seminal text, although it is not always easy to read and is probably best approached by students after some initial work in the area. Bourdieu's adoption of a structuralist approach is based upon empirical research in France which sought to identify the relationship between cultural tastes, consumption patterns and class. Bourdieu's theory argues that consumption patterns demonstrate taste through the disposition of symbolic capital, which is determined by the consumer's class, lifestyle (*habitus*) and occupation. He argues that those with significant symbolic capital are the arbiters of 'good' taste. Although Bourdieu recognizes that symbolic capital could be increased through education, he raises questions about the importance of instinct and embodiment of *habitus* for the authentic demonstration of distinction, the lack of which will betray the autodidact or *parvenu*. He also identifies the new and particular role of the media in the consumption process that has, in turn, created an important new class fraction, the *petit bourgeoisie*. Bourdieu's theory of the construction of taste offers an important conceptual framework for better understanding of the formation and function of food tastes and behaviours.

A. Warde's *Consumption Food and Taste* discusses the concepts of taste and food behaviours and the debate between the perspective of culinary antinomies and commodity culture. The debate includes a consideration of key concepts: consumption, food and taste; new manners of food, novelty and tradition; health and indulgence; economy and extravagance; convenience and care. The "care" metaphor seems significant because of the connotation associated with *comfort food* and *home cooked meals* that embody the notion of and search for care. Care as rhetorical engagement within the common center of community can be addressed through this work.

A. Beardsworth and T. Keil's *Sociology on the Menu* is another of the limited number of texts that are explicitly concerned with the sociology of food. It provides a focussed synthesis of existing sociological explanations of food beliefs and practices, including a chapter on theoretical approaches. Areas covered in the discussion include: the modern food system; eating out; food and family; food scares and perceived risks; diet health and body image; the meanings of meat and vegetarianism.

The following texts will also be utilized to further the rhetorical discussion: R. Barthes's "Ornamental Cookery" in *Mythologies*. Throughout history the consumption of food and the communication surrounding these exchanges has provided useful narrative structures that allow us the opportunity to understand specific cultural tendencies and social roles.

Two contrasting definitions will help the reader understand what is being asserted: meals are "structures of mutual expectation, attached to roles which define what each of its members shall expect from others and from himself" (Vickers 45). A meal is "an identifiable social entity pursuing multiple objects through the coordinated activities

and relations among members and objects; this is similar to a social system that is open-ended and dependent for survival on other individuals and sub-systems in society (Hunt 154). Organizing is grounded in agreements concerned with what is real and what is illusory. *Consensual validation*, a common sense or *sensus communis* of high order encompasses the things people agree upon because their common sensual apparatus and deep common interpersonal experiences make them see objectively (Munroe 98). The important issues of consensus in organizing allow us to see the building blocks concerning dining rituals as rules of behavior in the social process. Meals and dining rituals go hand in hand because some systematic account of basic rules and conventions help interlock the behaviors to form a social process that is intelligible to the actors. Consistent rules form variables that are linked together to form meaningful structures that summarize the dining experience. The dining response begins with organizing a meal and in turn certain behaviors related to dining become socially accepted into culture.

Culture, according to Geertz, is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action. Hecht, Collier and Ribeau suggest that culture is a set of common patterns of interaction and perception shared by a group of people. Carbaugh states that cultural patterns are: a) deeply felt; b) commonly intelligible; and c) widely accessible. Brummet adds that cultural groups consist of an “integrated set or system of artifacts that is linked to a group, and noted that culture, in this sense is what we grow in, what supports and sustains us. Cultural artifacts like, plates, silverware, and food ingredients all link groups together to form social identification and meaning to a particular culture. Dining rituals and eating habits all encompass some organizational rhetoric cultural development. Through the organizing of

cultural artifacts, a systematic form of communication begins to surface that defines a people's lives, experiences and beliefs. These artifacts soon become metaphors to our dining rituals.

It hard to say where and when the luxury of eating and dining began. It has been integrated throughout history in a variety of literary contexts and individual memoirs. Historically, Greeks and Romans taught us that both cultures ate extravagant meals and incorporated an organized style of dining. The Greeks were fond of fish and integrated it into most of their menus and banquets. Greek literature includes evidence that they had a maddening addiction and obsession for fish and included fish as a manifestation for their *pleasure*. In one particular text, Arcestratus' *Gastronomy, Dinnerology, or The Life of Luxury*, the Greeks made reference to the pleasure they derived when eating fish. Fish, as a delicacy, was integrated and accepted as a civilizing norm for all of the Greek culture. With interpersonal encounters within the community and increased intercultural encounters outside community, they began to experience new sources of meaning in relationship to the selection and preparation of food and the nature of their eating experiences.

The structure of the Roman meal as a menu can also be analyzed to show how the organizational integration of food and manners were developed within this particular culture. Roman dining venues composed food in such way that the meal became more civilized from the beginning to the end. The meal as an institution gives rise to two kinds of discourse. Many dining experiences both rival and complement each other. We learn through examination how storytellers examine symbolic or integrated value of food and eating. On the other side many practical rituals adopt norms and are more sensitive to the

demands of social life. Certain rules and codes contrast with signs of difference between people. The display of wealth and manner certainly separates and differentiates manners and respect for social standing and survival. When we think of manners we think of civility and hope good manners already exist. Meals both require and perpetuate good manners, civility and some form of narrative structure.

Food involves sharing a table with companions in both a public and private domain. Food assembles and integrates in a prearranged manner; these groups include family, class, religion, and often a civic banquet. Food also integrates through organized culture a distinction of status, power, and wealth. By saying this we have made the transition to our table and the meal itself. Our dining rituals arise from these unique cultural communication and biological necessity. In the classic formulation of structuralism Claude Levi-Strauss stated, “Food and ritual express fundamental human attitudes.”

## Chapter VI: Conclusion

Chapter five will offer final conclusions about the rhetoric of the meal as common center as permits community engagement through interpersonal communication. Considerations of commonalities and differences across historical periods will permit insight about the role of the meal for community and implications for further study. Included in this chapter will be an applied perspective related to the marketplace for emerging fields related to rhetoric and food such as the hospitality and food and beverage industry.

The appendix will include recipes from all three periods: The Classical Periods: Ancient Greece, Rome, and the Middle-Ages; The Renaissance and Early America in the

Enlightenment; and Modernity and Postmodernity. These recipes will be *typical* or *common* recipes for the historical moment and will help tell the story of what was happening in the time frame.

## **Chapter II: Interpersonal Paradigms and Their Relationship to Food and Community**

The taking of food with others in the ritual of the meal is rhetorically significant for communities as individual partakers in the meal not only consume food (the meal) but also engage in communicative interaction embedded within a variety of social forms in a given culture while engaged in mealtime ritual. Communicative interaction in mealtime ritual is rhetorical by virtue of its connectedness with a universal human activity that finds its localized meaning within the “common sense” of a particular community. There are many levels or contexts of communication that surround the activity of the meal, from the interpersonal or phenomenological to the dyadic, group, organizational, and public levels, each of which situates the rhetorical interaction of interpersonal communication and community differently. Given the salience of food consumption and its historical contextualization in the ritual of the meal in human life together and the opportunity for communicative interaction provided by these human gatherings, the practice of the mealtime ritual offers a rich and as yet untapped site for examination of rhetorical interpersonal communicative praxis (Schrag, 1986) at a number of levels across several historical time periods: ancient Greece and Roman, medieval; the renaissance and early America; and modernity and post modernity. This study examines the rhetorical role of interpersonal communication in mealtime ritual within a given community during these historical time periods.

This chapter develops the metaphorical model that will be employed to frame this interpretive study, situating it within perspectives traditionally engaged by an extensive community of food scholars. An interpersonal rhetorical perspective offers a compelling framework within which to view the importance of food, language, and the coding

process that links them. From a rhetorical perspective, a code affords a general set of possibilities for communicating particular persuasively situated messages. When the meal is treated as a code, the messages it encodes and its rhetorical action will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed through interpersonal communicative interaction within the process of engaging in the meal. The social relations of the messages associated with food and the community reflect a symbolic contribution to a larger narrative that can be understood through structuralist and cultural approaches, theoretical frameworks that have traditionally guided the study of food (Ashley, 2004, Strong, 2002, & Telfer, 1996) offer conceptual resources to inform the rhetorical approach used here. For example, in early Greece, individuals ate meat from wild game and domestic animals; as time went by, the land was eroded and made unsuitable for raising animals. This circumstance redirected cultural practices related to food and the meal; they began to eat more fish, songbirds, and other fowl. These altered practices affected localized understandings of the larger narrative that drove the culture, and these changes ultimately affected the larger culture itself (Strong, 2002). This rhetorical action of social relations is expressed through particular acts of interpersonal communication, discourse that gives shape and life to the social relations through which communities are defined, altered, eradicated, and restored.

The context of the meal across historical time periods will be studied through a model that situates the rhetorical action of communicative practices during the meal on the texture of community, particularly those practices with implications for guiding frameworks for life, human connection and separation, and identification and distance, and practices associated with social stability and deterioration. Giambattista Vico's

concept of *sensus communis* will be at the heart of the study to guide the interpretive power of the model's main metaphors, which derive their meaning from the larger culture and time period within which they are embedded (Schaeffer, 1990). Contributing theoretical perspectives that inform and contextualize the model will be addressed in this chapter as well. In particular, structural and cultural approaches to the meal will provide helpful coordinates from previous studies for understanding the symbolic, and therefore rhetorical, nature of food and meals in human community.

#### Theoretical Background for Community and the Meal

The following material situates and prepares the conceptual grounding for the model. The first section below, Structuralist and Culturalist approach's to the Meal, reviews how food has typically been studied. The second section establishes a social constructionist approach to community and the meal, which situates my particular engagement with the project. The third section addresses the concept of *Sensus Communis*, which demonstrates the cultural situatedness of meaning structures, including the way metaphors carry meaning, as a way of engaging the "common sense" of communities with regard to the rhetorical effects of communicative praxis during the ritual of the meal.

#### Structuralist and Culturalist approaches to the Meal

The scholarly domain of food studies includes a number of theoretical approaches. In *Food and: Cultural Studies*, Bob Ashley, Joanne Hollows, Steve Jones and Ben Taylor (2004) discuss two paradigms: the structuralist and culturalist approaches to the study of food culture. In addition, these scholars examine hegemonic theory or Gramscian hegemonic theory that states that dominant ideologies and the aspirations of

subordinate groups might be usefully articulated together. Ashley's three paradigms offer a guide to structuralist, culturalist, and Gramscian theories; Gramsci theory focuses on food and drink and demonstrates that non-reductive questions of power and difference are central to cultural studies. The three paradigms "appear again in different guises, showing that 'the turn of Gramsci' could not provide the last word on the binarism of structure and agency" (Ashley, et. al., 2004, p. 25). These paradigms will help define signification and symbolic language constructed around various animals, not merely the fact that it is an animal as signified, but additionally, what the animal becomes when it becomes food. For example, in the case of a livestock picture, or the taste of a pork chop, Saussure sees the pig as p-i-g, not the end result or what the term signifies (Ashley, et. al., 2004). This also applies to taboos and eating habits.

According to Ashley, structuralism originates with the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* (1916). Saussure was interested in deep structure, or form of language, and not in the underlying meanings or content. Saussure's attempt was to develop a universal science of language with unchanging rules; signs, units, and systems are the basic components of communication. He proposes that we may divide the sign into two elements: the signifier (this is typically a word, whether written or spoken, but we may also use the terms to cover an image, sound, smell or taste) and a signified (the mental concept or meaning). Ashley applies Saussure's theory to look at the word "pig," which has many connotations in various cultures. It is often described as unwholesome or dirty within a given culture. The connotations of piggishness are transferable to other persons to provide defining differences from the self.

For example, Frederick Engels writes during the nineteenth century that the

survival of “piggishness” was an indication of capitalism’s failure to generate a more civilized society. “In the valley of the Irk, there are large numbers of pigs, some of which are allowed to roam freely in the narrow streets, snuffling among the garbage heaps, while others are kept in little sties in the courts. In...most of the working-class districts of Manchester, pig breeders rent the courts and build the sties there...The inhabitants of the court throw all their garbage into these sties...impregnating the air...with the odor of decaying animal and vegetable matter” (Engels, 1958, p. 68).

For the Jewish people, the eating of pork is against God’s word; it is not based on a cultural choice, but based upon religion. The religious belief is rooted in traditions and prohibitions with the concept that societies generally, or minority communities particularly, had a duty to preserve the traditions of their forbears (Telfer, 1996). Thus, it is clear that food practices and prohibitions serve a rhetorical or persuasive function in maintaining or transgressing norms of the culture.

This movement of connotation across groups and things is evident with the work of another major structuralist within food/cultural studies. Roland Barthes’ *Mythologies* (1972) draws a distinction between denotation (scientific) and connotation (social, cultural, and political beliefs and values attached to a phenomenon). Barthesian structuralism demonstrates how natural or commonsense meanings attach themselves to objects and practices. For instance, Barthes discusses the relationship between food, national identity and imperialism in the mythology “Steak and Chips” (Barthes). Barthes reduces the steak to its denotative level and discusses the amount of blood and its density, and he highlights the euphemisms which obscure cooking’s role in the transformation of meat into steak. He refers to nationalization of steak, the rawness of meat and steak,

American steaks, and the cuisine of France. From the Saussurean position, signification is produced through difference illustrated in these examples. Barthes moves to a structuralism in which signification is produced by the transference and combination of meaning. Barthes is conscious of the centrality of food to other forms of social behavior. In a discussion about a business lunch, Barthes observes:

“To eat is a behavior that develops beyond its own ends, replacing, summing up, and signaling other behaviors...What were these behaviors? Today we might say all of them: activity, works, sports, effort, leisure, celebration---every one of these situations is expressed through food. We might almost say that this ‘polysemia’ of food characterized modernity”(Barths, 1997, p.25). Food practices, then, clearly can serve as rhetorical resources within community to connect and sever relationships.

Ashley (2004) addresses the issue of differentiation and association by employing the concept of piggishness, explaining that piggishness is more than a specific symbol. Ashley says that “any attempt to exclude “piggishness” from culture is doomed to demonstrate exclusive categories has been extensively reviewed by Stallybrass and White, who apply to the human-pig relationship a structuralism that is influenced by the work of Mikhail Bakhtin” (p.7). They argue that the pig and humans are intertwined and kept in close proximity to each other. For instance, in Europe, pigs were often kept in the house and there was not much separation between outside and inside. Ashley claims that cultural studies found a number of increasingly complex resources within structuralist-derived theories. What they share is a valuable sense that meaning is not a wholly private experience but the product of shared signification (Ashley, 2004). The word pig, then, transcends itself from animal to the culture and ultimately to the table, where either rejection or consumption of that element marks participation in or exclusion from a given community.

Structuralism and culturalism, despite their obvious differences in orientation, share a common belief in a dominant ideology that is imposed from above and resisted from below; dominant ideology occupies people's minds and actions and prohibits alternatives (Ashley, et. al., 2004). As stated above, Ashley looks to Gramscian hegemonic theory to suggest a way for subordinate groups and dominant ideologies to be usefully articulated together. Such an account is an inadequate response to the changing distribution of power in any period. The public and private metaphor in relationship to food shows that the banquet is a more powerful public statement than that of home cooking or private meals. The banquets were large in scope with significant ingredients and menus; the private or home meal had limited sources of power. For example, Strong discusses the power of Christianity and how it affected the secular table. The Bible offered examples from the *Marriage at Cana* to the miracle of the *Loaves and Fishes* in which eating together constituted an expression of love, communion, and fellowship (Strong, 2002, p. 55). Other texts referred to the barbarian tradition that celebrated any major event with a feast. This type of feast was often imposed on those below from those above; banquets were often the creation of those in power, making a powerful public statement. This was not always imposed but often required a consensus from those who were subservient.

According to Buber, power is needed to invite a mutual relation out of a "living center", a common purpose, or agenda for the community. Buber's concentration on power required doing what was needed to assist the growth of the community. Feelings are secondary, although important, in this living relation. Dialogically, feelings for each other often grow out of relation together, but, according to Buber, feelings are not enough

to keep community together (Arnett, 1986, p 146). Although the banquet was a sense of power, the community need for unity was also present. By inviting mutual relationships from a living center or the between, the community, whether ancient or modern, benefits from the common purpose. In addition, Buber's concerns with power were also in place to benefit those seeking power; the banquet was the perfect venue for this action also. Thus, the banquet offers two perspectives and, ultimately, two solutions.

Rather than imposing their will, dominant groups generally govern with some degree of consent from their inferiors, and the maintenance of that consent is dependent upon a constant repositioning of the relationship between the ruling and the ruled (Ashley et al., 2004 ). This claim opens the discussion to the influence of those with power in the public domain on taste and cultural food choices, including the significance of both the location and content of meals in private and public and how these food choices and domains of consumption provide contexts for community identity and solidarity.

The culturally symbolic power of taste may work similarly to that of linguistic markers of in-group and out-group speech moving the individual consumer to a culturally identified group membership. Giles and Coupland claim that language is socially diagnostic and is manifest in everyday conversations. A different accent or pronunciation of an individual sound may not adapt to an individual's status, education, class or intelligence; the slightest nuance in pronunciation may create consequences to the person making the utterances. Accommodating to another's speech may be detrimental or beneficial in the long run (Giles & Coupland, 1991). Similarly, the choice of meal implicates identity. For example, tastes are not simply a reflection of our identity, but work as rhetorical messages to construct our cultural identity. We may be "what we eat"

but what we eat also produces “what we are” allowing the shift to occur from private identity to public identity. If a group or person seeks to decrease distinctiveness and highlight solidarity with another group or with a macro culture, foods understood as reflective of the taste of the larger culture may be consumed. This concept may also work in reverse (Ashley, 2004); if a group or individual seeks to establish distinctiveness, then private consumptive tastes that are distinct from those of the larger public may be consumed. How we make use of food determines how a community develops relationships and social positions internally and externally, serving a rhetorical or persuasive function.

Culturalist approaches to food find their grounding in Raymond William’s *Culture is Ordinary* (1958, an early attempt to redefine “culture” as something lived and commonplace rather than a collection of timeless works of art. He stresses the diffusion of *sites* in which culture is (re) produced. Culture may be found in many areas and cross various social lines and may have exclusiveness within their daily practices. Williams’s work is generally characterized as culturalism, an analytical method traditionally seen as incompatible with structuralism, but nonetheless useful for food study, because it highlights alternative understandings of a universal practice while taking account of the uniqueness of specific practices within a variety of categorizations functioning as “culture.”

According to Ashley, culturalism displayed some sensitivity to the ways in which society is divided into designated groups or classes: gender, ethnicity, and sexuality. This is also apparent in the study of food and culturalism; in food culture, the most prominent space for culturalist analysis has been the pub, often romanticized as a space for white-

class Britishness (p. 11). Ashley discusses the pub and the teashop as authentic neighborhoods for interaction while drinking; culturalism and food have been studied on both the local meanings of commodities and practices and on the interplay between production, regulation and consumption. Culturalism examines many descriptions with authenticity and meanings from individuals; the presence of structures disrupts any sense that culture is both the meanings and values that arise within social groups and classes. Lived traditions and practices are expressed through understandings of others within a culture. For example, Ashley discusses working class cultures, working class pub cultures, women's or black-British culture or gay culture (Hall, 1981).

Ashley's description of cultural exchange is useful for understanding a rhetorical interpersonal approach to community and the meal and the metaphors of this project: narrative and petite narrative; inclusion/exclusion; public and private; and civility and cynicism. Ashley describes the influences of people's lived experiences: "What we eat, where we get it, how it is prepared, when we eat and with whom, what it means to us--- all these depend on social and cultural arrangements (DeVault, 1991 in Ashley, 2004). Ashley continues to explain that the idea of the personal is sometimes political and compares the proper meal to the family meal. In addition, the petite or "local" narrative interacts with the metanarrative, as well as with multiple competing larger narratives to form a community, establishing the "norm" for what is consumed within the culture. Here Ashley discusses that the public sphere often affects the private sphere of family. Although civility and incivility are not directly addressed, the concept of acceptable manners and customs falls into this category. What is proper is often reflected in the

public sphere; what is proper may be attached to ideas about tradition, and also, emotional and spiritual health.

The next section proposes a framework that mediates the rhetorical action on community of persons engaged in communicative interaction while partaking in the meal. While structuralist and culturalist approaches to the meal have offered a general framework for the way symbolic meaning structures fit together that can be applied to the meal, a social constructionist vocabulary offers a way of understanding how the rhetorical force of the meal “translates” from the background of *sensus communis* to the various domains of symbolic action inscribed by the metaphors of the model developed for analysis of the rhetorical implications of the ritual of the meal for community.

#### A Social Constructionist Approach to the Meal

Peter Berger, in *The Social Construction of Reality*, states that man produces himself within a human environment that is both sociological and psychological. Since Berger claims that we construct our own reality, the consumption of what we eat, when we eat, and how we eat is subject to the forces of social construction that work reflexively within a “common sense” (*sensus communis*) background, mediating the rhetorical force of interpersonal interaction in the ritual of the meal on meaning structures (metanarrative and petite narratives), connectedness and separateness (inclusion and exclusion), domains of social engagement (public and private), and civility and cynicism. Berger discusses the organismic presuppositions and limitations of the social construction of reality. Each phase of man’s reality-constructing activity is constrained by the biological facticity of human existence—we are “organisms”, and man’s animality is transformed in socialization, but not abolished. “Thus man’s stomach keeps grumbling

away even as he is about his business of world-building. Conversely, events in this, his product, may make his stomach grumble more, or less, or differently. Man is even capable of eating and theorizing at the same time. The continuing coexistence of man's animality and his sociality may be profitably observed at any conversation over dinner" (Berger, 1966, p.180).

*Sensus communis* for a given community and the metaphors of inclusion/exclusion; public and private; metanarrative and petite narrative; civility and incivility are all products of a community's construction of reality. Food as a symbol becomes part of the community's rhetorical resources and thus persuades social thought and action. For example, what, where and when we eat are associated with "eating to live" or "living to eat". Both concepts drive the social construction of the meal. Biological factors are not always the norm; often people eat for pleasure, leisure, or ceremony (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Berger continues to explain that biological factors limit the range of social possibilities to an individual; society limits the organism's biological possibilities and longevity; and there is a discrepancy between life expectancies of lower-class individuals and others in society; society determines how long and in what manner the individual organism shall live. Socioeconomic factors often play a role in whether or not an individual receives proper nutrition; also, geographical concerns determine the availability of food for some class structures.

Also, Berger claims that society penetrates the organism in its function in respect to sexuality and nutrition. "Man is driven by his biological constitution to seek sexual release and nourishment. But his biological constitution does not tell him *where* he should seek sexual release and *what* he should eat...thus the successfully socialized

individual is incapable of functioning sexually with the ‘wrong’ sexual object and may vomit when confronted with the ‘wrong’ food” (Berger, 1966, p. 181). The aspect of socializing a child may be met with difficulty because the first instinct is to resist eating and sleeping by the clock. There is frustration when society forbids the hungry individual from eating and suggests that the hungry individual should eat three times a day and not when he is hungry. This dialectic is apprehended as a struggle between a higher and a lower self; the lower self is “pressed into service for the sake of the higher. The victory over fear and the victory over sexual prostration both illustrate the manner in which the biological substratum resists and is overcome by the social self within man” (Berger, 1966). Berger concludes by stating that man is biologically predestined to construct and to inhabit a world with others; this world is the dominant and definitive reality. The limits are set by nature, but then acts back upon nature. “In the dialectic between nature and the socially constructed world the human organism itself is transformed. In this same dialectic man produces reality and thereby produces himself” (Berger, 1966).

As previously stated, the meanings of food and nutrition are culturally constructed and is evident when discussing biological needs such as those required by a physician or other experts in the fields of diet and nutrition over psychological needs which may merely be a “want” rather than a need (Ashley, 2002) Ashley discusses class and food consumption and the need for quantity over quality. The direct relationship between quality and quantity reflects the inequalities and social class within a culture. Economic disparities have a significant impact on what we eat, and how we approach nutrition.

Nutritional needs may rest on scientific rationale, but frequently have cultural dimensions, dimensions that are symbolic and therefore rhetorical.

In ancient times, the distribution of food originally functioned according to hierarchy determined by the kings. From differentiation in terms of quality was also made; laborers who needed plenty of nutrition got the rice husks and slaves, the broken bits. Rules composed two thousand years ago in India specified rice, pulses, salt, butter and ghee for everyone, but menials only received a small percentage of what the rulers received (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002). In an interview with Dr. Kotaya Kondaveeti, he disclosed that ironically, the slaves actually got the most nutritional part of the rice; this was not the intention of the ruling class.

When discussing the social construction of reality and biological needs, the subject of *Otherness* emerges (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The “other” is “other than self” and within a social structure, the metanarrative of the public and the petite narrative of the private often do not consider the human reality of the other. Otherness may be interpreted by economic conditions, cultural practices, cultural values, and cultural habits. This is evident in one’s selection of food and food consumption as the cultural knowledge’s and practices of the “other” may influence the reciprocity of the other. Berger and Luckmann discuss organism and identity and state that the organism continues to affect man’s reality-constructing activity, and the organism is itself affected by this activity.

Food practices need to be understood in relation to the ways in which they produce, negotiate, and reproduce the nature of the relationship between public and private spheres. In Ann Murcott’s (1995) study of gender and cooking, she found that for

her respondents eating in was a significant act because the cooked dinner marks the threshold between the public domain of work or school and the private sphere of the home. Home cooked meals are seen as “imbued with warmth, intimacy, and personal touch which are seen as markers of the private sphere and of opposition to foods which are the products of a public, industrialized and anonymous system of food production” (Ashley, 2002, p. 124). Ashley continues that commercially produced foods often seek to add universal value to their foods by associating them with *home* demonstrated as *home-cooked* and *home style* meals served in diners or other prepared foods areas for super markets. These associations create rhetorical, persuasive power that shape mealtime practices and communicative interaction and reproduce these distinctions between public and private, shaping communities defined by their identities as bounded, located within or outside of a larger social grouping.

A smaller group of friends or co-culture may focus on food and virtues, demonstrating hospitality. There are three reasons why hospitableness or hospitality can be considered a moral virtue. First, there is a close link between hospitableness and friendship, and this is central to moral philosophy and how some people are favored over others (Telfer, 1996). Second, the topic of hospitableness raises the question of whether a virtue must be one that everyone should aspire to acquire; these are optional virtues, related to choices or obligations. Third, the nature of hospitableness challenges our assumption that each moral virtue is based on a specific motivation distinct from the sense of duty. Telfer claims that hospitableness is not based on any one motive but derives its distinctive character from the value people attach to a particular ideal (Telfer, 1996). Telfer calls attention to entertaining friends out of duty does not negate

hospitableness or connote hypocritical activity. Spontaneity is not necessary for hospitableness.

Ashley discusses stockyards and hegemony and says that despite the differences between culturalism and structuralism, they do share a common belief in a dominant ideology, which is imposed from above and resisted from below. Ashley says that McDonaldization practices and standardization within a culture, across nations and the eroding of food cultures was experienced in England when Queen Elizabeth, in 1997 following the death of Princess Diana, took part in a series of publicity events designed to show that the monarch was in touch with the everyday lives of her subjects. The Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci recognized the complex relationship between domination and subordination; Gramsci claims that how a ruling group maintains its authority is “hegemony.” Hegemony concerns the way in which a fundamental social class or group attempts to exert moral and intellectual leadership over both allied and subordinate social groups (Ashley, 2004, p. 18). The dominant ideology determines what food will be available and who will receive the food. The concept of power structures and food have been evident throughout history.

Industrialization may be defined as the “other” of private cooking practices because it is public rather than private; those who are moving around in an industrialized culture are engaging in the public sphere rather than that of the private. In discussing the greater culture, food is often at the heart of a discussion because societies and cultures mainly discuss consumption through the dialogues of a wide range of spokesmen. This may be examined through discussions such as those concerning McDonald’s and the cultural changes evoked through industrialization (Ashley, 2004). To understanding the

lasting appeal of institutions such as McDonald's, we need to recognize how individuals and groups are hegemonized into working for fast food franchises, eating at them, managing them, and owning them. The sense of what is right or wrong within a community is explored through various processes, including what Ashley refers to as *fordism*; new productive processes are essential to *fordism*, and scientific management enters the production. This idea was the "father" of McDonalization as they followed the mass production of Ford Motors. The prehistory of the burger takes us to the stockyards of Chicago and the development of particular working and consuming identities. This example of hegemony takes individuals creative actions and wider circumstances to develop a new foundation. Individuals and group are hegemonized into working for fast food franchises, eating at them, managing them and owning them. This new discipline provides a new work ethic or, set of ethics, concerned with discipline and if not hegemonized, are coerced into unwilling co-operation (Ashley, 2004).

Food is often at the heart of ethics because what we eat and the way we eat are an integral part of social behavior and cultural patterns. Marvin Harris discusses food taboos and customs and claims that customs and institutions should be examined by "down to earth" riddles rather than deep spiritualized explanations. The concept of *mother cow* is discussed from the standpoint of those who worship the cow and those who believe it is a nuisance to the greater community. The cow is worshiped for its contribution to the family in the form of milk for nourishment to dung for fuel. The cow is adorned with garlands and tassels, prayed for when ill, and celebrated when a new calf is born. In contrast, those who do not approve may eat the meat and otherwise reject the cow as a part of the family. Hall (1997) continues to discuss the pig as "pig haters" and

“pig lovers”. The Jewish and Islamic cultures consider the pig to be dirty and not fit for consumption; in contrast, many European, American, and Chinese cultures appreciate the pig’s attributes (Harris, 1974).

The civility of a community may or may not rest on the concepts of taboos but may merely be tied to who, what, where, and when we eat. Calvin Schrag discusses a praxis alternative that must be grounded in both why and how; the why refers to the limited nature of a practice, and the how counters the practice with a guiding narrative or communicative praxis (Schrag, 1986). The space of value properties is attached to morals and ethics and determines how the subject is decentered within the culture. The theory of knowledge and the theory of ethics may form a consensus within a community through the shared concerns, traditions, and practices of discovery and disclosure (Schrag, 1986, p. 201). These shared values form the basis for cultural structure and narratives that influence the community and food. The idea of nature over nurture and eating to live or living to eat plays a part in the overall ethics of a community. MacIntyre claims that a culture is made up of characters and that one of the key differences between cultures is the roles of the characters. They are the moral representatives of their culture and they are so because of the way in which morals, ideas, and theories are assumed in the social world. These ideas emerge through philosophies, in books or sermons or conversations, or as symbolic themes in paintings, plays, or dreams (MacIntyre, 1984).

Martin Buber discusses a great character or one who knows a narrative well enough that he or she has earned the right to violate that tradition (Arnett, 1999). A character works within a culture in a dialectic of tradition and change. This unity of contraries is Buber’s great character; this is an individual that is beyond the acceptance of

norms; these characters want to preserve their culture and raise it to a higher level. “Tomorrow they will be the architects of a new unity of mankind (and womankind)” (Arnett, 1999, p. 143). The term *otherness* in regards to food is one of the significant divergences. The contrast between food choices and eating customs between the urban elite and poor date back to Greco-Roman times. The construction is ideological because it places certain people and certain cultures in identity situations.

For one group of people or one particular culture, there has always been the *other* group or culture. This comparison is done by comparing morals, values, and ethics from earlier societies on the subject of what is right to eat and what is wrong to eat. *Otherness* has been a starting point for understanding the different food traditions and customs in a variety of cultures for centuries (Garnsey, 1999). The *other* within a culture is other than self, and the metaphor of inclusion and exclusion requires an approach to the other to understand the structure of the meal and the community. The larger culture determines who, what, when, and how people will participate in the communities celebrations and community feasts. This may be evident in the ethical properties of a community. For example, as Schrag has claimed, theory is displayed by the practices of a culture; this is true of the ethics of a culture also. Schrag says that “it is in the space of *ethos* that we meet rhetoric. The intentionality of the rhetorical event, its directedness to the other as interlocutor and co-agent, discloses the space of *ethos* as the arena for moral discourse and action, as the abode or dwelling in which the deliberations about the morale of the community and the ways of authenticity take place” (Schrag, 1986, p. 202). These practices influence our food choices and the manner in which we engage the meal. The ethical background provides a conversation for the community to make decisions on

when, where, what, and who will join the meal. The metaphors of inclusion/exclusion; private/public; and civility/incivility join together to make common sense of community and the meal.

### The Model

The paradigms of culturalism, structuralism, and hegemonic theory have historically driven the study of food and the culture or society depending on the discipline conducting the research. For this study, an additional dimension will be employed to examine the relationship between food and community and interpersonal communication associated with the meal. An interpersonal metaphoric model will be utilized as a rhetorical tool to determine how the meal either engages or disengages the community through the lens of the metaphors.

The structure of the metaphoric model consists of four interpersonal metaphors that offer hermeneutic entrance into the relationship of communicative interaction and the meal across historical time periods: the metaphor of community and the meal; narrative and petite narrative; inclusion and exclusion; public and private; and civility and incivility. Each of these metaphors is shaped by the *sensus communis* of a particular historical period and culture and can be understood through a social constructionist framework that understands meaning as co-constructed through, and constituted by, human interaction even while engaging phenomena rife with “facticity,” such as food that human beings need for continuing life. The mealtime ritual and the interpersonal interaction that “clothe” this biological ritual generate rhetorical meaning structures that define, shape, and sunder communities. The following section addresses the issue of

*sensus communis*, situating its importance for practices of the meal as a site for interpersonal communication, followed by the elements of the metaphoric model.

#### *Sensus Communis* and the Metaphoric Significance of the Meal

According to Ronald C. Arnett, metaphor is a form of linguistic implementation that provides a unique response to an historical moment; metaphor is a dialogic medium between narrative and an historical situation (Arnett, 1999). Metaphor carries meaning differently within the narrative structures of various time periods. In a postmodern era, which contests the unicity of meaning structures, identical metaphors engaging multiple time periods will manifest different meanings because of unique elements of a given historical moment. Arnett's reference to a "web of metaphorical significance" (Arnett, 1988, 153-157) points in this direction. Paul Ricoeur's book, *The Rule of Metaphor*, describes the connection between poetry and ontology. Ricoeur establishes the ontological significance of metaphor by tracing its operation at its various levels of manifestation or the word, the sentence, and the discourse (i. e. poem, narrative, essay). As analysis moves through these stages, metaphor grows stronger; at the hermeneutic level of discourse, it becomes the primary vehicle for re-describing reality (Ricoeur, 1971). Similar action can be understood to operate in different historical moments. Hence, the metaphors of this model will carry their meaning differently in different historical moments, requiring this work to situate the model's action within a particular culture and time period before application of the model.

Likewise, food and the meal itself can be seen to work metaphorically across contextual (temporal and cultural) environments. Robert Bellah brings forth the idea that contested interpretations exist regarding the meaning of the destiny of the members of a

culture. “Cultures are dramatic conversations about things that matter to their participants...” (Bellah, 1985, p. 27). Bellah applies his discussion to ancient biblical religions, early American cultures and modernity. De Toqueville claims that the historical perspective for guiding American culture has been through the lens of religion as a point of departure. On the other hand, it could be said that food could act as a metaphor or point of departure to introduce contested aspects of contemporary American culture. The American culture is used as an example to increase understanding of the actions of people within their culture; Bellah’s theory applies to all communities whether religion or other social phenomena are the driving forces.

As an example of the connection of metaphor, community, and food in the context of the United States consider this application of Bellah’s work on issues of the meal, particular the frameworks of utilitarian and expressive individualism. For food and community, both a utilitarian and a expressive individualism are present. The community and food are a metaphorical presentation of a form of expressive individualism that defines a culture’s national cuisine. People choose what they prefer to eat from an individual perspective, but the nation’s consumption patterns are dictated to them. A person’s choices are predetermined through utilitarianism. For example, although you may choose an explicit meal, the overall culture will determine what is available in that historical moment. These differences derive from a past of which characters within a culture are not entirely aware. We are more likely to talk about the future rather than the past; a culture’s tradition is always present and influencing our actions in the present and looking forward to the future. For example, if one is traveling into another culture, the

food available in that culture becomes utilitarian in nature; what you may wish to eat in any given moment may not be available to you in the historical moment.

Food consumption practices, including communicative practices, are specific to cultures and time periods, reflecting the “common sense” of that culture or time period. John D. Schaeffer, in *Sensus Communis*, reveals the ideology of Vico and other rhetoricians who developed the idea of common sense. *Sensus Communis* has deeper meanings than merely common sense as recognized community practices; it has deep rhetorical roots. First, common sense is often given to Plato’s term *doxa*, the common opinion of the ordinary man. The second meaning is Aristotle’s *De Anima*, where the philosopher attempts to account for how human senses address themselves to individual things or how categories of objects are listed in universals (Schaeffer, 1990). The Romans developed another meaning: the shared but unstated mores of the community or the manners by which the community acts as a community. The term means a conventional wisdom but with a decidedly ethical cast (Schaeffer, 1990).

Descartes’s meaning of *sensus communis* offers the most common meaning: practical judgment; this judgment. This meaning can be traced to Descartes *bon sens*, that elementary judging faculty that enabled people to follow his simple method of thinking. To Descartes, good sense quickly became common sense. Other Enlightenment philosophers considered *sensus communis* as the first principle on which the reflective and judging actions of the mind were based. By the eighteenth century, *sensus communis* had become the locus of several meanings: an organizing sense, an unreflective opinion shared by most people, the manners or social values of a community, the first principle of reflection, an innate capacity for simple, logical reasoning (Schaeffer, 1990). These

definitions of *sensus communis* will frame the rhetorical implications for community of interpersonal interaction within the meal in the following timeframes: ancient, Greek and Roman; the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods, modernity, and post-modernity. John Schaeffer's work on *sensus communis* will provide the theoretical grounding for examination of each time period as a culture.

Meanings are given life through language. Gadamer's work is helpful for an interpretive approach to community and the meal grounded in the notion of "common sense," with implications for the role of language in the interpersonal interaction of the meal. In *Truth and Method*, Gadamer asserts, "The word is not just a sign. In a sense that is hard to grasp it is also something like an image" (Schaeffer, 1990). Gadamer proceeds to explain just how a word is like an image: A word is not a sign for which one reaches, nor is it a sign that one makes or gives to another. We seek for the right word, the word that might belong to the object, so that in it the object comes into language (Gadamer, 1971). Arnett refers to H. Richard Niebuhr and the nature and role of symbolic forms and says that "persons are displayed, made accessible, nurtured, and integrated into social units through symbol, myth, and metaphor" (Arnett, 1997, p. 200). Arnett continues to explain that language is the catalyst of a community and the social and individual dimensions of language are woven into a unified whole. The role of language as catalyst of a community implies that its operation within particular context, such as the ritual of the meal, is by definition rhetorical, operating through interpersonal discourse as it receives meaning through "common sense" elements of culture that provide a background for that meaning.

Food and the meal are implicated historically with language through interpersonal communication and rhetoric. Throughout history food has been represented in both word formations and images. These words and formations represent the metaphors that guide the language and meanings that surround the meals that we consume. As we see prepared dishes described by metaphors such as golden brown, studded with cherries and cloves, cooked medium-rare, and served with lemon butter we begin to associate the words that describe meaning and ultimately provide image to foods. We apply the metaphor “cooked medium rare” to the object of meat, so that meat cooked medium rare makes entrance into the language of the meal. The words “cooked medium rare” have no meaning until they are imagined or applied to the object of meat. Metaphoric words can be used to describe both image and application of meaning. These metaphors carry rhetorical force and will mediate the influence of the model’s action on community identity, solidarity, and practices.

Language from a social constructionist perspective as used in this study refers to modes of moral discourse that include distinct vocabularies and characteristic patterns of moral reasoning connected to *sensus communis* of a given community. The common sense of the meal is both embodied in and derived from the language that ultimately creates the meal within the structure of the community. To explain the metaphor of community and the meal and its connection to language, it is effective to look to Aristotle: “For Aristotle, the world was sense-able, and the connection between words and the world was indirect, mediated through the human mind or soul” (Stewart, 1995, p. 42). Aristotle discusses narrative and says that the written word is merely the writing of the spoken word (Stewart, 1995). The orality of a community carries the narrative

memory of the community; the written word may have come later, but the significance is evident because of the earlier oral history. Aristotle describes language as a natural phenomenon with symbolic meaning. Food is a natural phenomenon that, although described linguistically, exists within a cultural framework that is both physical and emotional and defines “common sense” for that location.

The web of moral understandings and commitments that tie people together in a community is referred to as a social ecology (Bellah, 1995). Shared activities that are not undertaken as a means to an end but are ethically good like Aristotle’s praxis are a “general” community. Individuals within a community structure may consider the meal a general community or a shared activity. Interests of the self over others can be seen in the ritual of dining and the consumption of the meal itself. While many individuals eat alone, for the most part, the ritual of the meal is an inclusive, non-private, community event. This type of practice may take place at the expense of commitment to others; this situation points one to the problems associated with civility and cynicism within the framework of the meal. Bellah refers to the “Republican” tradition as that which benefits society as a whole and leads to what the founders of America refer to as the public happiness. As individuals gather with others for meals, they seek adequate public facilities to trust and guide the development of civic friendship that makes public life something to be enjoyed rather than feared: this is also called *the common good* (Bellah, 1995). If that circumstance is not met time and time again, cynicism results from a pattern of unmet high expectations.

The Metaphoric Significance of Narrative and Petite-narrative

One way to label and understand a particular cuisine is by reading stories or narratives articulated by the people who create and consume it. Narratives provide some evidence for virtue structures governing cultural practices within a community ( Hall, 2004). These narratives are types of communicative practices within a community that both derive from and reflexively recreate structure and meaning within a community, including practices related to the meal. Particular or local narratives contribute to and gain meaning from larger narratives that provide more comprehensive accounts of the nature of human existence.

According to Arnett and Arneson (1999), a narrative begins with a speech act that is tested by people and competing world views. This is fashioned into a story with main characters, a history, and a direction. A story becomes a narrative only when it is corporately agreed upon and no longer is the product of an individual. A second type of narrative is a meta-narrative; this is a narrative uniformly agreed upon dealing with public virtue that functions as a universal standard. Meta-narratives decline in general acceptance when people are unable to agree on virtue structures.

MacIntyre claims that narratives are recognized as acceptable views of the human good. Arnett and Arneson (1999) discuss narrative as teleology; it is the story that guides people while “propelling them with energy toward a project, worthy of doing.” Martin Buber’s *great character* is someone who works within the dialectic of tradition and change; this individual has earned the right to violate that tradition because he/she knows the narrative well enough to persuade change. MacIntyre discusses the breakdown of a metanarrative and how this breakdown creates a climate for a new voice, that of the *emotivist*. Emotivism thrives in a therapeutic culture and creates a danger to the narrative

structure; the emotivist is more interested in *self* than in the *public* welfare (MacIntyre, 1981).

The narrative of the culture is determined by public voices; these voices are diverse and, therefore, powerful. Gadamer (1960) states that diversity, change, and variety are central to any person in a dialogue in an historical moment with its own individual historical situation. The moment and communicative interaction is shaped by dialogue between the person and the historical situation; to combat the routine of unreflective cynicism, one should offer a vision of dialogic civility as a metaphor calling for concern beyond “me” which is sensitive to the historical moment. The public narrative depends on a commonality where diversity and particularity meet for interpersonal communication (Arnett, 1999, p. 54). Arnett says that there are good and bad narratives and the metaphor of the “humble narrative” is an oxymoron calling us to recognize the need for communal stories or narratives. The art of a story is absolutely necessary for diffusing valuable knowledge and enforcing the right rules of action upon others. The narrative paradigm is that we are basically storytellers, and good reasons are created and ruled by matters of history, people, and culture (Burghardt, 1984). Walter Fisher offers five presuppositions for the narrative paradigm: 1) Humans are storytellers; 2) Paradigmatic mode of human communication is a good reason which varies in form by situation, genre, and media; 3) Creation and carrying out of good reasons is ruled by history, biography, culture, character, etc.; 4) Rationality is determined by nature of people as narrative beings; 5) People choose from a set of stories to lead the good life (Fisher, 1984).

Narratives enable us to understand the actions of others “because we all live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of narratives” (MacIntyre, 1981). Identifying features of the narrative can be accomplished by examining the settings and the temporal relations, flashbacks, and speed of narrative, audience, and theme-points to understand the significance and meaning of the action. Walter J. Ong discusses the nature of narrative use in past and present: “In a writing or print culture, the text physically bonds whatever it contains and makes it possible to retrieve any kind of organization of thought as a whole (Ong, 1982). Ong continues to explain that in primary oral cultures, where there is no text, the narrative serves to bond thought more massively and permanently than other genres with attention on functions of memory (Ong, 1982).

Bochner claims that narrative scholars have developed several different approaches for studying different interpretations and characterizations. As stories are told, the depiction of the *other* requires an understanding of the *self*. Individuals bring their own personalities and histories to the story; this may make the researcher or storyteller part of the story. In this narrative perspective, an autobiographical voice is part of the story. The author’s presence is part of the research and carries with it a moral and ethical dilemma (Bochner, 1985). In addition, one must examine the cultural texts through which is constructed by others; the power of autobiographical stories depends on the separation of universals and elicit identification.

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people, and culture (Burghardt, 1984). Narratives enable us to understand the actions of others “because we all live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of narratives” (MacIntyre, 1981).

For centuries, individuals have communicated with each other while sharing food and drink; this interaction was for the purpose of transmitting knowledge and influencing the actions of others through a common narrative or story. As industrialization has advanced, the nature of the narrative told has shifted from local to global. In modernity, this shift is evidenced by McDonalization as McDonald’s hamburgers relate a common story throughout the world. Ashley discusses the global kitchen and how McDonald’s has revolutionized the restaurant business, particularly in America. This homogenized diet does not merely produce homogeneity, but also diversity. *Life* magazine published an article, “World on a Plate”, November, 2000. This article discusses the melting pot of cooking in a global market. This communication has taken many forms, but undoubtedly, a considerable amount has occurred through public discourse. Anthony Bourdain (2000) tells a chef’s story through his own experience and in his own voice. Bourdain claims that a chef’s story is not written in stone but often a chef may manipulate the public through various means of presenting a meal or a special event. Two key rhetorical terms are conveyed by Bourdain in : *Kitchen Confidential Adventures in the Culinary Underbelly*. Confidential means professional and Underbelly means cynic. Bourdain discusses incivility and civility in the cooking industry and relates morality and professionalism while often alienating his audience and deliberately offending supporters.

The most suitable way to label and understand a particular cuisine is by reading stories or narratives by its people. These stories are often reflections of the larger narrative that drives a culture and contain evidence of communicative practices typical of a culture. With regard to meal and food practices, narratives of a particular community may be approached through cookbooks; these historical documents often reflect the lifestyles and underlying philosophies of certain cultures and their writers. The narratives represented by cookbook discourse may be the most creative and informative communication method available to us for the purpose of regaining some form of diversity in food and mealtime communication. They are a public record of the narrative and cultural significance of food practices.

As stated by Arnett, a story is better told through a diverse and varied input; diversity improves the common narrative structure and the story of a culture (Arnett and Makau, 1997). MacIntyre discusses the need for a common narrative or metanarrative in relationship to a culture's story. The common narrative may prevent the onset of fragmented narratives; this may contribute to a breakdown of values in a postmodern culture. The chaos often portrayed in post-modernity is a response to modern communication an indication that communication is breaking down; a search for new narratives or some philosophical profile needs to be discovered. Calvin O. Schrag *Communication Praxis and the Space of Subjectivity* (1989) outlines and examines several communication methods important for making a connection to some common communication theories called *praxis* and *practice*. According to Schrag, communication praxis and the space of subjectivity may contribute to a new story or narrative that is both informative and ethical. Schrag's theories will be applied to the study of cookbooks in a

later chapter, but the terms *praxis* and *practice* must first be discussed to understand their overall meanings in relation to the written word (Schrag, 1989).

The term *praxis* may be defined as the discourse that connects us to the *why*. For example, why do we use cookbooks to cook and why do we only use certain cookbooks? Discourse and action are referred to as *about something*, *by someone*, and *for someone*. This statement describes the three-dimensional phenomenon that is present in communicative *praxis*, which involves a referential moment, self-involvement, and a rhetorical moment (Schrag, 1989). This is exactly what happens when we use a cookbook. It is the *praxis* of the cuisine and the author's rhetorical moment that connects us to the referential moment and self-involvement. Our connection is made *by someone* (the cultural narrative within which the author of the cookbook is embedded), *about* the cuisine, and *for someone* (the cook, embedded within a particular historical and cultural place and time). This referential moment focuses on human concerns. The rhetorical moment or cookbook is directed toward the *other*. *Praxis* connects us the *why*; it places meaning behind our actions. When the action loses its referential importance, or the cookbook is closed, we no longer see ourselves in it, and therefore, the *praxis* is lost. This is why the cookbook is a form of communicative *praxis*; it connects us to a specific event or cuisine. We learn to cook through the *praxis* of cuisine, and our practice is carried out through the use of the cookbook and the particular cuisine we are attempting to recreate or duplicate.

Mennell (1985) discusses what is meant by structured processes of change and argues that there is evidence over time of diminishing contrasts and increasing varieties between certain food-related habits, attitudes and beliefs. Seasonal eating patterns and

everyday eating are in contrast to each other and have diminished because of technology and transportation. Similarly contrasts have diminished between elite professional cookery and everyday cooking: peasant dishes have been absorbed into haute cuisine; cookery guides and cookery books have spread appreciation of good cookery to wider audiences than before (Mennell, 1985). The growth of the hotel and restaurant industry since the nineteenth century has encouraged culinary democracy because such establishments are more public, less exclusive places.

The increases in menus are evident by different ethnic dishes, parallel process in other arts, namely the loss of a single dominant style, and the mixing of styles together as a defining feature of culinary practice in menus. Mennell (1985) also gives examples of recipes from frozen ingredients, ready meals, or whatever is available. These cookery practices provide a new blend of domestic and public in relationship to the menu, cookbooks, and the meal. Further information is offered in Chapter V: *The Praxis of Cookbooks*, where I address the postmodern time period.

#### Metaphoric Significance of Inclusion and Exclusion

Martin Buber recognizes that community both includes and excludes; there are two sides to every community (Arnett and Makau). The narrative context of a community included in a people's religion and ethnic connection, while including some, simultaneously, excludes others. Those who are positioned outside of a certain community may be excluded from the character of the community. Arnett and Makau make it clear that community is important and to be included is essential for well being. The one side is the welcoming, inclusive community that we all strive to be a part of; the second is the other side of community, exclusion (Makau and Arnett, 1997). Buber's

view of community reflects a longing for inclusion, an invitation, an openness, and a welcome; we want to be part of the community and welcomed into it. Robert Bellah discusses Toqueville's importance to individualism and how one isolates oneself from the masses and withdraws into the circle of family and friends; within this little society; one forms one's taste and leaves the greater society to look after itself (Bellah, 1985). Bellah continues to explain Toqueville's idea of individualism and society and says that man may eventually be shut up in the solitude of his own heart. Through food, we are reminded of our common need to eat to stay alive. We are also reminded of meals that connect us to others with whom we identify and that keep us apart from the rest. Mealtimes offer rhetorical opportunity for both exclusion and inclusion.

Seyla Benhabib discusses the generalized versus the concrete other. As one looks to inclusion and exclusion, the self in relationship to the other becomes salient. The standpoint of the generalized other has us looking to each other in general ways, rather than specific ways; for example, one may consider the other alike with universal traits, or on the other hand, one may consider the other in specific concrete terms (Benhabib, 1992). The idea of inclusion and exclusion is based upon moral theory in several ways. The relation to the other is governed by the norms of *formal equality* and *reciprocity*; each is entitled to expect and to assume from us what we can expect and assume from that other. According to Benhabib, the norms of our interactions are primarily public and institutional ones. The standpoint of the concrete other requires one to view the other in specific, defined, concrete terms. This stance neither excludes nor includes, but provides a point of particularity that transcends these movements. Later, when one has enjoined the concrete other particularly, opportunity for inclusion and exclusion presents itself.

The meal is a significant rhetorical opportunity to identify with others or to differentiate oneself and/or others from different groups or others.

Paulo Freire discusses the limits of inclusion and also speaks longingly about inclusion. He offers us a dialectical reminder that many in our culture are unhappy, and they try to find happiness by inflicting sadness upon others (Arnett and Arneson, 1999). Freire discusses the inclusion of foreign students and how they want acceptance at any cost; Freire rejects this notion and claims that to choose between exclusion and inclusion requires acceptance of oppression. He would choose separation as an alternative; inclusion is important, but not if human aspirations cannot meet the goal. Authority figures often impose ideas on others and Freire says that “an authority figure can only invite a feeling of *we* when he or she gains trust and is given the go ahead to lead” (Arnett, 1986, p. 161). This leads us to the entrance of Martin Buber’s *great character* who in his idealism walks with both feet on the ground, a place where both joy and oppression live.

Buber discusses the *we* and the sacrifices that are needed for the health of a cause or a community. For Buber, dialogue does not begin with the conversation at hand; it begins with the “ground of conviction that one takes into the conversation” (Arnett and Arneson, 1999). This is significant for one’s inclusion into the community and supports Freire who believes that inclusion at any cost is not beneficial to community. Buber wants an openness that is historically appropriate and within the limits of conviction; an openness linked to a creative response to crisis is instrumental in bringing individuals into the dialogue (Arnett and Arneson, 1999). This is particularly important for a community and its meal; to be included in the meal is the ultimate goal of most within a

community. Whether it is the great banquet or the home meal, individuals strive for inclusion into the process. As we study large corporations, such as McDonald's, industrialization met these goals. Inclusion is the key to financial success and personal success within a community. Paul Freire's dialectical reminder is important for inclusion and exclusion and interpersonal communication. Inclusion cannot be the ultimate goal of life or become an ideology; choices, as discussed in hospitalitableness, provide us with alternatives, such as invitations to include others (Telfer, 1996). For Telfer, inclusion was a moral virtue, one to be recognized within a community, and respected. Freire discusses hope within the community and connects dialogue to pedagogy in the concrete moment. The meal is a metaphor for *hope* or equality for the struggle to be included. The primary focus of community and the meal is pedagogy as it works to lessen a "culture of silence"; the most significant connectiveness of the meal, is interpersonal communication. The meal is a form of interpersonal communication; one may claim that the words *to dine together* actually are an invitation to include each other, and therefore, to communicate with each other.

Inclusion cannot be the ultimate goal of human life; the messages must provide messages that are about principles that we can live with. Paul Freire suggests that we forgo cheap inclusion. Freire wanted inclusion with a genuine voice, not in the form of a "handout cloaked in the demand to know and keep one's place." Freire advocated *genuine inclusion, not the mere appearance of inclusion* (Arnett & Arneson, 1999). Two sides of a community reveal those who feel excluded and those who believe they are included. Interpersonal communication depends on how "the self" is perceived and how

“the self” interacts with the “other.” These questions are issues of identity in community and are defined partly by meal practices.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle differentiated three parts of the world that humans know and said that the kinds of knowledge possible in each were different: 1) *Theoria*; events and objects are eternal; *episteme* is the knowledge; *sylogistic* reasoning (inductive/deductive); 2) *Praxis*; things are contingent on each other; they may be other than what they are; *phronesis* or practical wisdom or good judgment; practical syllogism; 3) *Poesis*; things that are made; *techne or skill*; how to do it manuals or training manuals. Arnett discusses the concept of community within the terms of the common good, my happiness, and the idea of a public invitation to be included; *me* and the *other* (Ostwald, 1962). Communities structure their eating habits and times for their meals according to their traditions, manners, and civility. They eat at certain times, eat certain foods, observe particular rituals, and engage in celebratory events. Breakfast, lunch, tea, and dinner or supper evolved through various community norms and practices and have changed according to their community needs.

Mary Douglas (1975) discusses discovering the intensity of meanings and their anchorage in social life by attending to the sequence of meals. Douglas refers to the everyday meal and the ritual of the Sunday lunch, the Christmas lunch, and how meals are rated by the scale of their importance. Douglas argues that there are two contrasted food categories; meals and drinks. Meals are structured and named events (lunch, dinner, etc.) whereas drinks are not. Meals are eaten within a framework of rituals and assumptions that include, *inter alia*, the use of at least one mouth-entering utensil per head; drinks are used with a mouth-entering utensil. There is a seating order with cultural

restrictions on movement such as reading at the table. Other contrasts include hot and cold; bland and spiced; liquid and semi-liquid. Douglas argues that there is a direct relationship between meals and social distance and intimacy. The meal then expresses close friendship and family solidarity; boundaries are highly flexible and represent extremes from distance to intimacy (Wood, 1995). Aristotle's definitions of *Praxis*, *Theoria*, and *Poesis* are applicable to the concepts Douglas introduces.

Interpersonal communication is a part of the domain of *praxis*. What happens in any given conversation is contingent on everything else that happens; the conversation could have turned out differently if you had said something other than what was uttered. In the meal, food and eating can often be other than merely food and eating and may encourage a different voice. Here we include the voice of the other; the meal invites others to join in the cultural conversation through an interpersonal dialectic. First, a meal can be a religious observance such as Passover in the Jewish tradition, symbolizing the Jewish escape out of Egypt. The Christian Sacrament of Holy Communion is also an example of eating; it is less clear because it is more a token eating and drinking because it is not eaten as a meal but rather, the sacrament is eaten in its own right (Telfer, 1996). The Quran says, "The greater part of celestial and terrestrial pleasures consists of the consumption of desirable dishes and drinks" (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002, p. 112). This grounds one as a temporal being as humans need food to live. In the circle of Christ, five barley loaves and two small fishes were a feast; these two incidences created a dichotomy between overindulgence and abstinence. Augustus Caesar was allegedly frugal and was known to snack from his saddle rather than observing time-wasting mealtimes. Caesar needed to "eat to live" in contrast to the concept of "live to eat." His actions were his

praxis as is that of others who eat to live rather than live to eat. For example, the third century Roman emperor Heliogabulus was associated with overindulgence and a desire for pleasure (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002).

The meal reminds us of our need for food and our need for food reminds us of our connectedness to one another and to nature. Bakhtin discusses the grotesque body with an emphasis on orifices; it is those points that open to the rest of the world: the mouth, the anus, the nose, the ears, the phallus, and the vagina. The grotesque body is frequently associated with food as it is a devouring body, a body in the process of over-indulging, eating, drinking, vomiting and defecating. The grotesque body is in transition in the processes of eating and defecating, of dying and giving birth. Bakhtin describes this imagery in relationship to one of carnivalesque (Ashley, 2002).

The classic body, in contrast, is hygienically cleaned with the eyes and mouth closed and little emphasis on lower bodily organs to be replaced with more private forms of consumption. Bakhtin claims that food consumption has become a domestic affair since the Renaissance; the organization of food since World War II created communal meals. Bakhtin addresses a contrast between corporeal and temporal as he describes the transition of how the body is perceived and how individuals engage with each other and the meal.

Bakhtin's observations may also be associated with how one is connected to a particular culture and where one fits into that culture, a significant element of inclusion. For example, eating can be nationalistic in nature and therefore determine one's inclusion with one another within a culture. Hindus who refrains from eating beef may do this for religion and solidarity with their heritage (inclusion). Another example is a Scot who

eats haggis (the inside of the intestines of a cow) on Burn's night may not actually like haggis or the celebration of Burn's night but believe that when he participates, he is showing how much he is included in the act of being Scottish (Telfer, 1996).

The study of food choice is mainly concerned with one question: why do people eat the foods they do? This question connects intimately to the metaphor of inclusion and exclusion from communities. Although this may seem simple on the surface, the answer is often extremely complicated. This is demonstrated by the fact that we do not necessarily eat when we are hungry; often we eat for the activity or socialization. Mark Conner and Christopher J. Armitage, food psychologists, address this topic in their text: *The Social Psychology of Food* (2002). The authors claim that sensory perception of foods plays an important part in food choices. Most senses are important at one time or another (Shepherd & Farleigh, 1989). Touch, sight and hearing also contribute to how we perceive texture, such as crunchy apples and creamy ice cream. The most important sensory factor is taste and odor; odors produce a perception of the taste of the food before it is actually tasted or put in the mouth. Taste is the perception of chemicals in the food mixed with saliva on the taste buds on the tongue (Conner & Armitage, 2002). Although one cannot demonstrate the perception of odors, the perception of taste is divided into four tastes: sweet (produced by sucrose), sour (from citric acid), salty (produced by table salt and related substances), and bitter (produced by substances such as caffeine). People eat the food that they eat to fit into the culture or be included in the culture. Although some individuals eat what is available to them or economically possible for them, eating to be part of a larger community is of importance.

Everyone has a favorite food, and sometimes we may know why that is the case. Whether our sensory characteristics are determined by our experiences with food or are somehow innate is a matter for speculation. These studies are done by examining an individual's response to sweet and salty flavors. Often studies are done on newborns that reveal that infants between one and three days consume more water if it is sweetened. Many researchers believe that this shows an innate preference for sweetness (Desor and Turner, 1973). This reaction to sweetness is reflected by a relaxed nature with facial muscles and licking and sucking of the tongue. This is a marked contrast to bitter and sour stimuli, which produces gaping or expulsive reactions in newborns. The link between sensory characteristics of foods and the choice and consumption of foods demonstrates a relationship between particular sensory characteristics. This is important for the study of nature versus nurture; are tastes inborn or acquired? These studies help a culture discuss and provide an answer for why people eat certain foods. It has been discussed that one's cultural experiences with food are primary to why one eats a certain food or appreciates a given taste. The need for inclusion and exclusion is significant for interpersonal communication and the meal; many meals signify not only inclusion and exclusion, but in fact direct the individual from the private sphere to the public and from the public to the private.

#### The Metaphoric Significance of Private and Public

The private and public spheres are both conducive to narratives and interpersonal communication; this section addresses the differences between the two and the significance of the differences. The metaphor of private and public helps build a bridge between interpersonal communication between persons and between persons and ideas.

The ideas of a community are at the core of what is exchanged within the structure of the meal and within the communication between individuals in the community attending the meal. The metaphor of public and private is best described by Bellah (1991) and his discussion about the Republican tradition. This predisposes that individuals are motivated by public participation and moral involvement and attempts to achieve justice and public good. A tradition could be viewed as a guiding metaphor or pattern of understanding that evaluates how a community has worked these moral understanding out over time. Tradition is an inherent dimension of all human action. There is no way to go out of tradition all together, although any may privately criticize of one point of view over another. Tradition is not used in contrast to reason; tradition is often an ongoing reasoned argument about the good of the community or institution that it defines. Over time, these terms become recognized, part of the vocabulary of the culture surrounding the meal, and become part of the *Sensus communis*, which establishes the common sense practices of a community (Schaeffer, 1990).

Bellah (1991) discusses that a privatized view of community cannot function as the community becomes larger and more diverse. Arnett (1999) says that diversity and difference are seldom keys to private community as most of us are drawn to those similar to ourselves. The blending of private and public discourse brings private discourse into the public and thus, endangers private life (Arnett, 1999). Arnett discusses the narcissist who brings a self-absorbed self into the larger or public domain. Arnett argues that dialogic civility requires an understanding of a public view of life with diversity replacing one's personal view (Arnett, 1999).

Walter Fisher (1984) points in the direction of public narratives that guide and bring individuals together rather than a divisive discourse. “A community needs a ‘common center’ from which to thrive. A narrative, a story of a people or an organization, can provide a common center that can pull people of difference together (Arnett and Makau, 1997). The metaphoric story within a community pulls the needs of the community to a common center; this may be in the form of a web of metaphors or individual stories or may be one metanarrative. However, the story leads the praxis of the individuals within the structure. Throughout history the metaphors change to fit the historical moment (Arnett, 1997).

Elizabeth Telfer discusses Plato’s account of human beings and in particular, his doctrine of false pleasures. Plato says that because eating fulfills a bodily need, the pleasures of “eating are illusory, in that they depend on the body being in a disordered state, in need of repair”(Telfer, 1996). “It is as though ordinary living is a disorder which produces a false idea of the pleasures of eating, in much the same way as illness sometimes distorts our appetite and sense of taste” (Telfer, 1996). For Plato, the being is independent of the body, trapped by it, waiting for death. Another category in the history of food dealt with food ethics and the use of food as remedy. In Gorgias, Plato’s dialogue On Rhetoric included analogies of food in regards to their ethical placement and how they defined rhetoric. The dialogue compares two arts: the first has to do with the soul or politics; and the other concerns the body that is designated in two branches, gymnastics and medicine. In the dialogue, Socrates replies, “Thus cookery assumes the form of medicine; and pretends to know what is good for the body” (Bizzell and Herzberg, 1976, p. 72). In this dialogue, Socrates sets up the famous opposition between

cosmetics, cookery, sophistic (political oratory), and rhetoric (forensic oratory), on one hand, gymnastics, medicine, legislation, and justice on the other. This opposition suggests that rhetoric is not morally neutral because it can be used to conceal the truth. The interesting part of the dialogue is how food is used in the dialogic exchange to discover the value of rhetoric. Cookery is used to help define what is right and what is wrong with the uses of rhetoric. In this dialogue, rhetoric and cookery are mere flattery and temporary cover-ups for the real truth. We also are able to discover how both food and the rhetoric were used to solve man's oldest ethical dilemmas (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1972). Often the dialogue defines the separation between certain individuals in the community and thus, provides a public sphere and a private sphere. This is reflected in who, why, how, and when people eat or engage in the meal.

Private and public may also be divided by categories that include private meals and public banquets. The home meal is most often associated with privacy within the home and the idea of a banquet connotes the idea of many diverse ideas emerging into one meal. This diversity brings many narratives and characters to the event. Mars and Nicod (1984) have written about the restaurant menu and claim that it lies outside of the ordinary daily menus of the family (Wood, 1995). According to Wood, evidence suggests otherwise and claims that the public provision of food is very closely linked to domestic family foods. This may be evident in smaller restaurants, but the concept of public when talking about banquets may lie outside the family and privacy. In the hospitality industry, the dining-out market is divided into two categories: establishments that provide various forms of haute cuisine and specialist foods and styles for which there is limited market; and humble street-corner take-away food shops offering basic menus

(Wood, 1995). In the middle, there is catering for various establishments including Chinese and Pizza deliveries. Delamont (1983) studied public dining and its influence from domestic systems, primarily the wedding meal. Wedding Meals are important ritual events with important messages about the marriage and the role of women in society. Often the menus chosen for wedding meals reflect “tradition” along with external traditions expected at a wedding meal. The cultural influences of the family may be evident in the menu selection.

Women’s magazines and cookbooks offer information on weddings, books on marriage, and wedding etiquette (Delamont, 1983). These publications offer a guide for how the bride will structure her wedding, and ultimately, project her own narrative. Delamont argues that the bride does not cook at her own wedding, but she is a guest. This takes the bride from one of a private member of the family meal to a public and recognized figure at her own wedding. The bride’s mother or the caterer under the mother’s direction, prepare the wedding meal; the bride’s father pays for the meal. The meal is prepared by the mother or a caterer and held at one of three locations: the brides’ family home (house or garden); a public hall; and a club, hotel or restaurant. The cost of the event often determines the environment and the contents of the meal. The suggested menu is linked to whether it is a morning wedding or an evening wedding, and therefore, a wedding lunch or a wedding dinner is prepared.

Two ideal types of meal are represented: one when the celebratory meal is proper food (a hotel) or one where strange food is served in a familiar location such as a public hall (Wood, 1995). Delamont (1983) states that messages about the woman’s role are established by the type of meal the bride believes to be proper and appropriate. The

“proper dinner reveals the family and the bride’s knowledge of what a proper dinner looks like and reassures the groom of this fact while at the same time signaling that the bride is no longer entitled by right to have her dinners cooked for her by her mother: the public location of the wedding meal and the fact that it is catered by another, together with the financial costs involved, signal an end to parental indulgence in the form of personal service rendered to the daughter/bride” (Wood, 1995, p. 83). This reflects areas of civility and cynicism as manners of the family are presented from the private domain to the public sphere. These metaphors are vehicles for the narrative of the family and in particular, the bride’s family to the groom’s family and other guests.

The home based reception offers a different message and that is that the bride’s mother is cool, calm, collected with organizing ability and technological resources. She saves money for her husband, is a good cook, the perfect hostess, and the highly organized wife (Delamont, 1983). The frugality of the bride’s mother may be conceptualized as the future traits of the bride and how she will add to the family’s structure. Her values are those of her mother’s, and her manners are a reflection of the family’s values and ethics.

The mother of the bride, as she selects the menu and venue is expected to reflect the values, ethics, and narrative or story that the family is trying to project to the public. An understanding of the self in relationship to the other is important as one takes these actions. Seyla Benhabib (1992) discusses conventional relations and role expectations between the wife and husband and the parents and the children and the ethical commitment to an ethics of dialogue and feminist ideals. These role expectations demonstrate the traditions and identities of the family, in particular, the bride’s family

and thus, sends a message to the groom's family. Benhabib says that modernity has created discursive negotiation and "flexible appropriation of tradition and the formation of fluid and reflexive self-identities and life histories" (Benhabib, 1992). According to Benhabib, "the women's movement on the other rests primarily upon overly rigid boundaries which Habermas has attempted to establish between matters of justice and those of the good life, public interests versus private needs, privately held values and publicly shared norms" (Benhabib, 1992).

Wood states that women as consumers in public places, are carefully controlled, or policed, and the stereotypes of female restaurant customers in the hospitality industry are as much an aspect of the rhetoric of this control as they are a marketing judgment. Even in an industry dominated by women, the market is marginalized and treated in both abstract and concrete terms, as an appendage to male clients or as part of a family unit. Women are often thought of as "fussy, or poor tippers, or making a coffee and a cake last all afternoon" (Wood, 1995). This suggests that women are not credible as customers. This transition for women into the marketplace takes women from the private to the public; from the home to the workplace. Preconceived universals may be dispelled as women demonstrate public values within the context of the public sphere. These values are a concrete depiction, not a universal or generalized depiction, of the values of the women. Issues of private and public are often tied to women rather than men because of man's inclusion into the public sphere. Whereas, women are often associated with the private sphere or the home; the lines between private and public are recognized by those in the marketplace.

#### The Metaphoric Significance of Civility and Incivility

Arnette and Arneson (1999) introduce the concepts of cynicism and civility as they quote James D. Hunter, *Before the Shooting Begins*, and Jeffrey C. Goldfarb, *The Cynical Society* ((Hunter, 1994). Hunter says that people maintain cynicism when they dispute any meaningful change and whether change can take place in the nature and functioning of public life; Goldfarb says that cynicism is a form of legitimation through disbelief. Goldfarb continues that leaders use rhetoric that they do not believe, but justify their actions. Arnett and Arneson claim that we live in a society where immediacy is more respected than reflectiveness. Kanter and Mirvis (1989) say that there are three key ingredients for cynicism to develop: one is having unrealistically high expectations; the second is the experience of disappointment in self and others and feelings of frustration and defeat; and third is disillusion or the sense of being let down, deceived, betrayed, or used by others. All of these topics are discussed daily by individuals in a postmodern world, and often these subjects are brought to the table and the meal. How one communicates privately may be reflective of public discussions. Hans Gadamer (1980), in *Dialogue and Dialectic: Eight Hermeneutical Studies on Plato*, discussed the concept of word (logos) and deed (ergon) and points to Socrates' discussion of what makes a complete friendship and inadequacies of friendship. Socrates points out that it is problematic to be guided by a view of friendship based upon action without words to support such a commitment (Arnett and Arneson, 1999). The connection between cynicism and incivility are addressed similarly, although cynicism as recognized through ancient descriptions of the *cynics* is not part of this discussion. Cynicism in this discussion is one of incivility and stands in opposition to civility within a culture.

Friendship is important for participation within a community. Gadamer says that “above all, understanding takes place by way of language and the partnership of conversation” (Arnett and Arneson, 1999). The norms of behavior exhibited while participating in the meal require one to perform according to the standards of the culture. The account of culture is unsatisfactory because people’s behavior is determined by existing structures (Ashley, 2002). Our status as human beings is confirmed through our display of good manners. This reflects our upbringing or “nurtur” and is associated with our social position. Ashley discusses how systems of etiquette have arisen historically. Mikhail Bakhtin’s work has been widely explored through cultural studies and carnival celebrations; Bakhtin explores table manners celebrated through carnivals: drinking, feasting, urination, defecation, copulation and giving birth.

Stephen L. Carter (1998) asks the question: “Do manners matter?” As Carter discusses the significance of civility, he considers whether civility adds value to the better society we are struggling together to build. Arthur Schlesinger’s *Learning How to Behave*, published after World War II, traces the rules of manners through two centuries. Schlesinger claims that good manners were the key to reducing friction in an increasingly diverse, mobile American population. Norbert Elias, a Swiss sociologist, *The Civilizing Process*, discusses civility and manners and their development. Elias says, “that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, human beings who for millennia had urinated and defecated in the street or even at the dinner table, passed gas or burped or spit whenever the urge happened to strike, and eaten nearly everything with their fingers, suddenly began to worry about appearances” (Carter, 1998). The public was working toward controlling the appetites of the body, including sexual appetites, killing others on

impulse, and abiding by other rules of conduct. While dueling became unpopular, and bathrooms grew doors, the question of *the fork* became a topic. Carter discusses the disadvantages of the fork and its construction and why using a fork was favored over one's fingers and a knife. The fingers and knife were more efficient, and the fork serves no obvious useful purpose. Several solutions are offered: sanitation, but that is solved through individual plates versus a common bowl; messiness, but that argument doesn't work because some foods are encouraged to be eaten by the hands; and cleanliness, although that argument is somewhat diffused by the offering of napkins. Elias points out that the napkin is the key; the napkin shows manners and civility, and suggests that we are not using the *kitchen rag*; our napkin should be kept clean, and thus, the use of our fingers is prohibited. Eating is separated from food preparation by the use of a dining room. This requires the use of a separate towel or napkin to keep one's fingers clean and the entire table tidy (Carter, 1998).

Elizabeth Telfer offers another discussion on civility and incivility as she discusses the scope of temperance versus gluttony. The word *temperance* is addressed in relationship to food, not what is most often discussed in relationship to alcohol and abstinence. Telfer discusses the virtue that corresponds to the fault of gluttony, a virtue that corresponds specifically to food and drink. She does not agree with Aristotle's view that one moral virtue applies to food, drink, and sex. Telfer argues that merely eating and drinking too much does not make one a glutton; one may be hungry or encouraged to eat by someone else. "It is the person who eats too much because of the pleasures of food and drink who is thought of as a glutton" (Telfer, 1996).

Earlier, Telfer argued about the pleasures of the senses and psychological links to eating; she claims that there are two types of people who eat too much. First, “there are the people who often eat too much because they like that cheerful feeling and improved morale, perhaps deriving from a rise in the blood sugar level, which goes with eating;” and there are those individuals that think that food plays a symbolic role such as when the individual is really hungry for something else, such as affection or self-esteem (Telfer, 1996).

The metaphor of civility and incivility is significant to this study because it ties the community to the idea of an ethical imperative, and thus frames the individual into the larger community through a web of metaphoric significance. Civility and incivility provides community agreement on practices that define proper and improper meal-related behavior within a community, and in this manner provide a standard for community judgment regarding other elements of the model.

The model used in this thesis provides a complete picture to the hermeneutical moment, the individuals, and the community. As one visits the ancients, the model guides the reader through every phase of human interpersonal activity; the model continues to help the reader align with the overall picture of food and community by seeing the differences and similarities between the ancients and the renaissance and early America. The model continues to help as we visit modernity and ultimately, postmodernity; the model transverses the reader from one time frame to another; from one metaphor to another; and eventual, from one community and the meal to the next, and to the next.

### **Chapter III: The Classical Periods** Ancient Greece, Rome, and the Middle-Ages

This chapter applies the communication model designed for this study to communicative practices of the meal in ancient Greece and Rome and the Middle Ages, demonstrating how each metaphor joins the dialogue of the period. After situating the moment and establishing elements of *sensus communis* for this time period, each metaphor will address a specific meal-related communicative artifact for its rhetorical implications for community. The metaphors of narratives and petite narratives will be examined through the communicative artifacts of cookbooks and recipes; inclusion in and exclusion from communities will be addressed through a treatment of social structure and power as demonstrated in the feast; issues of public and private mealtime communicative rhetorical activity are illustrated through banquets and home cooking; and communicative mealtime practices of civility and incivility fall within the purview of table manners and taste.

#### **The Metaphor of Community and the Meal in the Classical Period**

The on-goings in communicative praxis invite us to address the who of discourse and the who of action. Calvin Schrag asks: “Who is writing? Who is acting?” (Schrag, 1989, p. 115). These questions help us interpret what is going on within a given culture, within a given meal, and within a given set of communicative practices during the meal. Schrag continues to explain that the unitary phenomenon of communicative praxis not only delivers a hermeneutical reference to what is going on, but also brings a hermeneutical implicature of a situated speaking, writing, and acting subject (p. 115). A community’s communicative practices during the mealtime ritual have taken a number of forms of delivery. From the nude acrobats who entertained dinner guests in ancient

Greece, to the Roman debauchery and excess eating, to the quiet dining rituals of medieval monks, community and the meal have been rhetorical events rich with community meaning. The meal and its subjects are engaged in an interpersonal setting with a communicational opportunity for interpersonal discourse. Meals are often presented as complex social phenomena created for celebrations (Strong 2004). Meals have divided and united people, signified peace, celebrated marriages and victories, created alliances, and finally, joined mourners together for funerals. Schrag explains that hermeneutical implicature is an experientially oriented tracking of the who of discourse and action. Discourse takes place when the saying *of* something *by* someone *about* something takes place.

The evolution of community and the meal begins with the ninth century B.C., when a Babylonian emperor discreetly invited seventy thousand guests for a ten-day celebration. By inviting someone to engage in the meal, the Babylonian emperor began a cultural conversation with his guests. The evolution continues through the twentieth-century by which time the meal was significantly diminished in scale and grandeur. The meal itself has always adjusted to how these celebrations have reflected the culture within a society. The meal is instrumental in helping a society adjust to shifts in power and has helped shape both the community and class structure (Strong, 2002). In this sense, meals and their associated communicative practices are rhetorical events drawn from the “common sense” or *sensus communis* of a given community. As they reflect that common sense, mealtime ritual and communicative practices work through rhetorical *praxis* to reinforce the meaningfulness of events they accompany or define. This chapter addresses the operation of communicative mealtime praxis in the classical period.

## The Heritage of The Classical Period: Historical Significance and *Sensus Communis*

This section lays out the cultural and historical context of the classical period, highlighting some rhetorically significant elements of meals and food, all tied to the central notion of *sensus communis*. For Vico, the idea of community has always been the civic community and the language of the community. The following answers the question: How have community and the meal joined together to engage a context for discourse in the classical period? Vico's conception of community is political and cultural and is concerned with the *arche* of the community, its languages and its institutions (Schaeffer, 1990). Since the ancient classical period was primarily an oral culture, it is important to understand the importance of oral communicative practice as an element of *sensus communis*.

By the second millennium B.C., both community and the meal have established a reason for sharing food and wine as the social counterpart to the written contract. For example, occasional marriages and the signing of treaties established reason to share a meal and build community structures, a common practice among the Babylonians. The discussion of an oral culture opens the door for what was being discussed, by whom, and where was the discussion taking place. The guests were invited to share a meal while building community; the common sense approach to language was applicable to the sharing of food and wine, a common practice at that time and in that culture.

The Mesopotamian monarchs who staged theatrical banquets for important events such as military victories, the inauguration of new palaces and temples, and the arrival of an embassy evidence the importance of an oral culture. These individuals enjoyed the concept of celebration and conversation about their accomplishments, such as military

victories. According to Strong, eating and dining for such occasions was elaborate and organized as the king sat apart from the others, reclining on a couch with his queen close by, and his guests were placed in groups according to their social status. Schrag suggests that the placement of the speaker and hearer limits the space that the subject is implicated. This is significant for dialogue to take place; such is the ongoing dialectics of dialogue. In addition, the episodically histories of the discussions are only relative to the placement of the speakers and hearers (Schrag, 1989, p. 125). Festivities involving various members of the conversation take on multiple roles, and thus, have multiple voices.

The role of the cupbearer involved a large amount of ceremony with a ritual hand washing, and guests received an urn of oil scented with cedar, ginger and myrtle with which to anoint themselves both at the start and finish of the meal. Grilled and stewed meats were served on flat bread, followed by a dessert of fruits and pastries sweetened with honey. After the meal, entertainment followed with music and song, clowns and wrestlers, and jugglers and actors. Such community gatherings or meals took place on a vast scale, and these extravagant events played a major role in advancing political thought and action through conversation and dialogue. The provisions consumed vividly expressed to all present how the ruler could command tributes from all over the vast kingdom, a rhetorical statement functioning to maintain the stability of the reign. The food and drink brought from remote regions emphasized the government's ability to prepare and act as a community of people. The meal itself made a manifestation or alliance of the monarchy with the great aristocratic families and the people within the communities who supported both the king and the government that guided the land.

One aspect of the grand meal is especially significant to the history of the creation of community. Even the ingredients used in the recipes carried a message to the meal; Strong continues to explain that any ingredients would be deliberately sent to royal individuals within the community to tempt the royal palates and appetites of the powerful guests. Thus here, at the very beginning the phenomenon of using rare ingredients and the creation of meals themselves clearly related to the rhetorical influence on one group of the community by the messages of another for sociopolitical aims.

Similarly in Ancient Egypt, the meal served as a significant social ritual; wall paintings in tombs provide the evidence. The paintings portray female guests carrying flowers, probably on arrival to the ceremony, the entry of food in procession, and the presence of various servants performing music and dancing. According to Schrag (1989), the texts of speaking and writing deliver a surplus of meaning within the socio-psychological-historical situatedness (p. 127). The ancient texts were visual and oral, evident in the writings and pictorial representations on the walls. The meal, even in remote times, was already an aesthetic experience far beyond the mere consumption of food, embracing elegance of dress, some kind of manners, ceremonial events, and every form of theatrical entertainment. All of this was to have a profound influence on Greece and Rome and continued into the middle Ages. Both community and the meal helped contribute to the major evolution of major civilizations from the land of isolated farmsteads and small walled towns that the Iliad and the Odyssey record. Already, however, even in Homeric society, the meal was a place of display and social prestige (Strong, 2002). The very presence of a meal exhibits a power to display new descriptions

and mark out new perspectives. For ancient civilizations, the voice of Homer joins the conversation:

For myself I declare that there is no greater fulfillment of delight than when joy possesses a whole people, and banqueters in the halls listen to the minstrel as they sit in order due, and by them tables are laden with bread and meat, and the cupbearer draws wine from the bowl and bears it round and pours it into cups. This seems to my mind the fairest thing there is (Strong, 2002, p. 9).

Communication is always situated, and hence, though not strategic, is persuasive. Hence, engagement in dialogue during a meal is a rhetorical act, and this rhetorical communicative practice during the engagement of the meal is a significant event. However, more traditional canons of rhetoric with more explicit persuasive ends occurred during that time period during the ritual of the meal. Aristotle reduced the concerns of rhetoric to a system that became the “touch stone” of rhetoric. In the classical system, Quintillian and Cicero further developed the *public* speech, the *ceremonial* speech, and the *legal* speech. (Bizzel & Herzberg, 1990). The engagement of conversation took place within the context of each system of speech. The rhetorical effect of conversation on community may have been most pronounced during ceremonial meals. The ceremonial meal joins music and singing, individuals by status, and in addition, the symbolic role of the cupbearer. The ceremonial meal may encompass various types of rhetoric in one large event. The meal is situated in a public sphere with public rhetoric taking place, and the meal itself is ceremonial in nature. This creates a complex order of events and an overwhelming food engagement. But Ancient Greece was to go on and develop a far more complex culinary culture, leaving it as a legacy to Rome and leading into the

middle ages. Meals and mealtime rituals constitute part of the *sensus communis* of a culture that is tied to the story of a culture. MacIntyre explains that in Greek culture, medieval, or Renaissance cultures, moral thinking and action are structured as classical. MacIntyre says that this means that the thinking and actions present a story; each culture has stories that are important to their culture. Often narratives are presented in a dialogue; Bakhtin claims that to enact dialogue, the parties need to fuse their perspectives while maintaining their uniqueness (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). To better understand the culture and its conversation, it is important to recognize the roles that the parties represent in the dialogue. The dialogue is engaged by various participants within the culture; the meal as seen in the classical period has individuals from the public sphere including those in power. Other voices may be those who are invited to the event and ultimately participate in the conversation or dialogue. In this way, all of those attending the meal become part of the narrative or story that is being told. Homeric poems or the Sagas or the stories provide us with reliable historical evidence about the societies that they portray (MacIntyre, 1984). The following excerpts from Homer's *Odyssey* help relate the story of ancient Greece and the community and the meal. For Homer, the meal is a display, an event, an opportunity for dialogue

When Dawn spread out her finger tips of rose  
we turned out marveling, to tour the isle,  
while Zeus's shy nymph daughters flushed wild goats  
down from the heights-a breakfast for my men (Fitzgerald, p. 149).

My men came pressing round me, come back,  
throw open all the pens, and make a run for it?  
We'll drive the kids and lambs aboard. We say  
put out again on good salt water! (Fitzgerald, p.151).

The community and the meal is further viewed by Reay Tannahill who continues to discuss ancient Greece and the Nile valleys and says that “Athenaeus might complain that the epic heroes knew nothing of even such commonplace delicacies as ‘appetizers served in vines’, but Homer drew on as sound a tradition for his characters’ food as for their exploits (Tannehill, 1988, p. 60). This is in agreement with the theories of Bakhtin who says that social life was not a closed, univocal “monologue” but an open “dialogue” (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996).

The story or narrative told by people within a culture is often related by what they eat and when they eat; in addition, who was at the event is important to the overall story. The practices of food and community are presented by the food served, who is invited to attend, and why those who are included are part of the larger narrative structure. Why people ate what they ate is answered in the following question: Did the early inhabitants of Greece structure their own lifestyles? Or Were they part of the greater culture? To further understand the conversation taking place within the meal, it is important to know how the participants in the meal have come into place. Were the conversations constructed by language or did they evolve because of the cultural influences? Ashley discusses three paradigms for studying the meal: the structuralist, the culturalist, and the Gramerci or hegemonic theory. These paradigms not only define how the conversation during the meal takes place, but also helps define how the food that was eaten came to be food. According to Bakhtin, the self is constructed through different forces that he describes as centripetal and centrifugal; this is relational dialectics that allows a conversation to emerge between the two forces. The outside force and the inside force are instrumental in the dialogic activity between individuals. This theory is also tied to

food in a constructive manner; food is constructed by the forces of centripetal and centrifugal as they afford acceptance or rejection within the community. Outside forces often prohibit the type of food eaten because it is not available, or it is too expensive, or it is unacceptable according to cultural norms. For example, in ancient Greece, the inclusion of meat in the diet was denied because of the scarcity of meat; in some cultures, certain foods are taboo and therefore, not part of the cultural preference. In these situations, the narrative of the culture works with the outside forces and acceptable forces to constitute a food and its community.

The inclusion of meat in the meal was difficult because of the landscape of Greece. This outside force predicted the outcome of the meal; as meat became scarce, adjustments were made to include other foods, continuing the unique food-related identity of this group. In the early days, wild boar was available; pigs were fed acorns and beechmast from the trees, but the terrain made it difficult to continue to hunt meat and to raise animals for consumption. Once again, Bakhtin's theory provides us with a means to understand the ongoing rhetorical forces of food within a culture. The need to connect with another (the centripetal force) and the need to separate from the other (the centrifugal force) are at work within the formation of customs and traditions, including food-related responses to environmental conditions. As the population increased, there were changes that affected farmers and the growing of grain. The excerpts from the *Odyssey* include meat in the diet and do not reflect later problems with acquiring meat. The rich drank more wine than water and could eat goat, mutton or pork without having to wait for a sacrificial occasion, and they may also eat deer, hare, partridge, and songbirds to add variety (Tannahill, 1988). The telling of stories as historical fact

provides a moral background to contemporary debate in classical societies, particularly when discussing the beliefs and concepts and moral backgrounds of a culture. This information is important when contrasting past to present (MacIntyre, 1984). The stories told about the ancient culture are a combination of structuralism and culturalism; this is evident in the choices that individuals made in regards to meat and also to what they drank. These choices came to define “common sense” for a particular location, providing the rhetorical resources or cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) for construction of community identity.

#### Greek and Roman Cuisine: A Community of Ingredients

Language can be considered the catalyst of a community, which implies that its operation within particular context, such as the ritual of the meal, is rhetorical, mediated through interpersonal discourse as it receives meaning through common sense elements of culture that provide a background for that meaning. The meal may be considered a general community or shared activity by individuals within a community structure. The relative importance of the self compared to the community can be seen in the dining ritual and consumption of the meal, including the means by which the ingredients for the meal are gathered and prepared. In this sense, the acquisition of ingredients within a community could be seen as a non-private tradition that benefits society as a whole. The resources available to the community define the consumptive identity of each person in that community, contributing to the store of “common sense” or *sensus communis* that structures meals that are prepared and eaten.

When individuals and groups gather for food and conversation, they look for ingredients that are indigenous to the regions in which they inhabit. The familiarity of

the meal puts the individual in a position to connect with the other (centripetal force). For Bakhtin, this is essential for interpersonal communication; Bakhtin's concept of the chronotype is important in understanding the contexted nature of centripetal and centrifugal. The tensions between the two forces, beliefs, ideologies, and values takes concrete form in the everyday interaction practices of social life (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996), particularly the meal, for the necessity of eating is ever present and must be responsive to the unique environment of a given community (Diamond, 1999). From the available ingredients that define relevant food-related resources, communities begin to develop recipes from the available ingredients. These ingredients encompass meals that all have a narrative structure that guide their completion (Strong, 2002) and that can be considered to derive from the "common sense" environment of a particular place. The olive was of particular interest to the culture and the communities; salted or in brine, barrels of olives were shipped from Spain, Sicily, and Greece. The olives were part of the banquet tables of the well-to-do and were very much appreciated. The olives were quite expensive and very popular; they appear on incoming bills of lading as well as the tax invoices of many Mediterranean port cities, where they were shipped either for local consumption or re-export to distant lands (Rebora, 2001). Each ancient recipe used the available food in list form and created dishes that not only enhanced the nourishment of its people but additionally created a story of sorts that led to the development of the predominant dishes in that period in history. This was certainly the case in the ancient world (Strong, 2002).

The olive was the first export crop but was soon followed a few centuries later by the vine; from the fifth century B.C. until the latter part of the first century B.C., Greece

and the islands were the Burgundy Wine leaders of the Mediterranean world. Tannehill suggests that a basket of grapes was left neglected in a corner at about the time of the Neolithic era. After fermentation, someone (often a woman) had the courage to taste the result and found it pleasant. It is unlikely that wine was made on a regular basis until pottery was invented, which provided a place to store the wine. Drinking wine is mentioned quite often by Homer:

“Go call him, let him come here, let him tell  
 that tale again for my own ears,  
 our friends can drink their cups outside or stay in hall,  
 being so carefree. And why not? Their stores  
 lie intact in their homes, both food and drink,  
 with only servants left to take a little.  
 But these men spend their days around our house  
 Carousing, drinking up our good dark wine;  
 Sparing nothing, squandering everything.  
 No champion like Odysseus takes our part.  
 Ah, if he comes again, no falcon ever  
 Struck more suddenly than he will, with his son,  
 To avenge this outrage!” (Fitzgerald, p. 329)

The social construction of the Greek and Roman cultures was a response to the environment designed to suit the needs of the inhabitants. As the years progressed, both Greek and Roman cuisine was primarily based on resources from the sea. The range of fish in its waters was enormous: blue fish, pike, catfish, swordfish and shark. With these key ingredients the communities of people began to develop recipes that surrounded the use of the ingredients from the sea (Strong, 1992). Domesticated animals are needed far more for their milk and wool, and to work the land, than for consumption. The Greeks and the Romans historically ate sheep, pigs, goats, and game, and also animals such as dog and horse, typical for the “common sense” of that time. Game included hares, boar, goats, fox, deer and lion. Feathered prey included such things larks, quail, geese, pigeons,

mallards, and pheasants. There was some domesticated poultry in place but was not used nearly as much because of the abundance of wild game birds and fowl. As horticulture improved, a wide variety of vegetables became quite popular: celery, asparagus, beets, cabbage, capers, chicory, endive and fennel were all grown for ingredients within the culture. The culture also produced fruit products such as olives, plums, cherries, melons, apples, pears, grapes, as well as a range of nuts. As stated earlier, grapes furnished wine in great abundance for the entire community, but primarily the wealthy. Wine and olive oil were basic to the evolution of both Greek and Roman gastronomy and were added to a list of prestigious imported spices especially pepper, from China, India, Arabia, and Africa. The above list of ingredients is plentiful in the sense that it provides the necessary framework for the creation of the meal (Strong, 2002) and the rhetorical interaction that it embodies and for which it makes space.

Buber suggests that we experience and use the words “*I and thou*” to invite a meeting with the world. Buber’s work suggests that the common mealtime can provide a common center that re-gathers scattered communities to participate in a common activity; this interpersonal task could be thought of as gathering for the meal itself (Buber, 1958). It is important to understand what ingredients were available to the community in order to gain the insight as to *why people ate what they ate* and *when they ate*. It is however, a matter of historical record that good plain cooking in any community, at any particular time, has always been logically and sensibly adapted to the materials, equipment and fuel available. Common food springs from “common sense” practices, and hence provides a rhetorical resource for identification of members of a given geographical region or culture.

In addition to the meal itself, rituals of marking the day that embeds the meal provides important common sense elements of a culture. In ancient Rome, the day was divided into two parts: twelve hours of day and twelve hours of night; this included three meals. The first, the *jentaculum* or breakfast that was eaten immediately upon rising and consisted of primarily bread and fruit. The second, *prandium* or lunch had no fixed time for consumption, and consisted of simple food designed to sustain the eater through the active business of the working day. This meal was considered to be the epitome of Roman virtues. The third and the only proper meal of the day was the *cena* or *fercula* which was taken at the ninth hour; in mid summer this was at 2:30 and 3:45 in the afternoon, and in winter between 1:30 and 3:00. In the early days this was split into two segments: the *cena* and the *vesperna* some time in the evening. But with artificial light, the time became later; this was the Roman version of the dinner party (Strong, 2002).

The orator Cicero regarded such events as lying in the heart of Roman culture because it portrayed a community of enjoyment—*convivium*, a living together. The Roman *convivium* differed from the Greek counterpart because women were among the participants. The *convivium* called for special clothing; the *synthesis* combined a tunic with a small cloak (*pallium*), both made of the same material. These brilliantly colored clothes were worn, weather permitting. The size and draping depended on taste; these clothes were worn by women and men. Unlike the toga, it was a form of dress worn only in private, never in public. “Dannies” could go through several changes of *synthesis* in one evening. Manner of dress at mealtime is a rhetorical resource that brings community together through identification. Seyla Benhabib discusses the standpoint of the concrete other and requires us to view every human being as a concrete, rather than generalized,

other. For Benhabib, the idea of the *convivium* and the inclusion of women may be an act of *complementary reciprocity* or recognition of the standpoint of the other (Benhabib, 1992). Although the idea of community and living together is not often associated with the ancients, community and the meal appears to be lived in *the between* in this narrative.

### The Development of Italian Gastronomy

Peter Berger's (1966) introduction of the idea of social constructionism demonstrates that we construct our realities. In ancient Italian cuisine, the reality of the meal is constructed by looking to the availability of ingredients, what foods were available, and who should be included in the meal. We may add to Berger's ideas an extension of Schrag's (1986) "by," "about," and "for"—the preposition "from" (e.g., the meal is by someone—the chef; about something—a particular ritual, or community solidarity, and sustenance—for the community or the diners, from—the available ingredients).

The development of Italian cuisine is discussed by Anna Del Conte, who claims that it is impossible to trace the roots of European cooking to Italy and that the first known food writer was Arcestratus, a Sicilian Greek who lived in Syracuse in the fourth century B. C. His narrative portrays a culture concerned with the production of food and who was going to join together for a meal. One of his poems is about food, and although the original was lost, it is passed down to us through Atheneus, who quoted it in his *Deipnosophists*. Arcestratus was concerned that the food be fresh, of top quality, seasonal, and that the flavor be distinct and not masked by the addition of spices, herbs and seasonings—an important element of the "from" in the extension of Schrag's model. This was particularly stressed in the preparation of fish (Del Conte, 2001).

A few centuries later, in *De Re Coquinaria*, it is evident through this narrative discussion that this must have been forgotten; a collection of 470 recipes included a huge number of different spices and herbs, which would totally hide the intrinsic flavor of the main ingredients. Many of the recipes consist of sauces and garnishes, most containing a selection of at least six or seven herbs plus honey and spices. Some suggest that the spices were added to hide unwanted flavors in food that was not as fresh as it should be. Del Conte disagrees with this notion and suggests that the Romans knew about good food and had access to the best produce. They had oysters from the Gulf of Toronto; fish from the post of Ostia; game from the hills of Rome; and the freshest fruit and vegetables brought into the city every day by the produce growers themselves, as they are today (Del, Conte,2001).

All of these points illustrate the importance of the “common,” the shared, the *sensus communis* found within a particular time and place. Available resources provide the “common sense” for a community’s vital sustenance, providing ample opportunity to distinguish communities one from another, to bind them in clearly identified ways, and to create spaces for rhetorical communicative praxis within the context of the mealtime ritual. The next sections identify the way each element of the metaphoric model works in this time period.

### **The Metaphor of Narrative/Petite Narrative: Cookbooks and Recipes**

The following section attempts to answer the question: How do cookbooks and recipes advance the narrative of a community? Narratives provide a story about a particular region and enable the reader or listener to better understand the structure of a given culture. MacIntyre (1984) discusses that narratives bring communities together to

form a common story; ancient Greece, Rome, and other the regions in the Middle-ages had a story that was provided by either an oral history or a literary message. According to Arnett and Arneson (1999), a narrative begins with a speech act that is tested by people and competing world-views. This story is constructed by characters who tell a history and find a common direction. A story only becomes a narrative when it is agreed upon and is no longer the product of an individual. A second type of narrative is meta-narrative; this is a narrative that is agreed upon by the public and includes a universal standard for the culture. This conceptualization is important to understanding community and the meal and those who are participating in the narrative being brought forward and the rhetorical dialogue necessary to arrive at a common story.

One way to label and understand a particular cuisine is by reading stories or narratives articulated by the people who create and consume it. The narratives are reflections of the community's virtues, culture, and practices associated with the meal. In ancient Greece and Rome, there were combinations of petite and meta narratives; these stories are often related in the form of recipes or combinations of food and social function within the community. MacIntyre (1984) claims that narratives are recognized as acceptable views of human good; Arnett and Arneson (1999) claim that narratives are a story that "propel" people in a direction, and when speaking of ancient Greece and Rome, the stories were often told through the community and the meal. This is a form of teleology or a driving force within the community's goals and common good for the individuals living within a certain culture.. Martin Buber's great character is someone that works within the dialectic of tradition and change and is positioned to manipulate the narrative when other narratives fail (Arnett & Arneson, 1999). All of these theories help

understand what was happening in the ancient civilizations and their participation in the meal. Buber's great characters contribute to the cultures stories, but also, there are others who join the conversation. The narrative of a culture is determined by the voices within the community, and therefore, the voices often deliver a diverse message. The food that is consumed in the community can offer a unifying message as we see *what* people eat, *when* they eat it, and *where* they eat.

### Sagas of the Meal: Dialogic Perspective

Walter Fisher offers five presuppositions for the narrative paradigm: 1) humans are storytellers; 2) paradigmatic mode of human communication is a good reason that varies in form by situation, genre, and media; 3) creation and carrying out of good reasons is ruled by history, biography, culture, character, etc.; 4) rationality is determined by nature of people as narrative beings; and 5) people choose from a set of stories to lead the good life (Fisher, 1984). Fisher's paradigms may be applied to the sagas of the meal as one looks to the Greek cuisine and the Sophist's Banquet. The humans attending the banquet tell a story within a vast range of topics; the situation and genre are significant to the venue for the saga; the creation of the meal is ruled by the history, culture, etc.; cooking transforms the nature of the beings; and the people attending the banquet are engaged in the good life through the virtues of the community.

The underlying vital nature of narrative is examined by Arnett and Arneson (1999) as they discuss *why* people communicate with another in a way that responds to one's humanness; the *why* is important for understanding the dialogic civility in interpersonal communication. Arnett discusses Robert Bellah and the memory of the community and refer to the nostalgia associated with engagement in dialogue. Although Arnett discusses

baseball in America, the theory applies to all forms of narrative and dialogue. MacIntyre says that “one could live off the power and direction of a given narrative while failing to teach the background narrative that gives direction to action” (Arnett & Arneson, 1999, p. 60).

Historically we know about Greek cuisine from a work that comes by Athenaeus of Naucratis in Egypt entitled *The Deipnosophists* (The Sophists’ Banquet). The recipes are contained in fifteen books and depict fictional dinner conversations that are set in Rome; within the conversations, the parties discuss a vast range of topics, including gastronomy in Ancient Greece. In particular, Athenaeus incorporates writings from the earliest known food cookery writer, Archestratus, a fourth-century B.C. Sicilian Greek.

Cooking in some cultures becomes a metaphor for the transformations of life. It is important to specify that when “we speak of food as raw” the word “raw” becomes the metaphor for the narrative structure that guides the story of cooking itself. The metaphor rawness is a culturally constructed, or at least culturally modified to define the start of the cooking process. Through we commonly eat many fruits and some vegetables with minimal preparation, we take their rawness for granted because it is culturally normal. No one speaks of raw apples or lettuce as cooked. It is only when the food in question is taken from the raw state and prepared for consumption that the metaphor “raw” begins to address the constructive narrative of cooking (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002).

Levi-Strauss was right to suppose that boiling “requires the use of a receptacle, a cultural object”, since a skin or tribe used as a boiler pit is a substantial means of cooking, which has to be dug or lined. But by the same standard the spit or the skewer, and even a kindled fire, are metaphors of cooking or cultural objects that must be

classified as cultural or civilized methods of directional narrative structures. When a culture uses the basic ingredients and metaphors of cooking such as rawness, skewered or kindled fire of the food itself one can begin to see how and why the recipes are developed to guide the story of a society's consumption habits. Cooking and the stories that guide this order are at least as good as all other candidates as an index of humanity and humankind. In all of the ancient cultures, Greek, Medieval or Renaissance, where cooking and action is structured according to some version of the scheme that I have called classical, the chief means of cookbooks and recipes is the telling of stories. Each culture of course has stories that are peculiarly its own; but every one of these cultures, Greek or Christian, also possesses a stock of stories which derive from and tell us about its own vanished heroic age. In sixth-century Athens the formal recitation of the Homeric poems was established as public ceremony; the poems themselves were substantially composed no later than the seventh-century. As we read Homer, it is apparent that his narrative about the community and the meal is at the heart of his recitation.

“Greetings, stranger! Welcome to our feast. There will be time to tell your errand later.” He led the way, and Pallas Athena followed into the lofty hall. The boy reached up and thrust her spear high in a polished rack against a pillar, where tough spear on spear of the older soldier, his father, stood in order. Then, shaking out a splendid coverlet, he seated her on a throne with footrest—all finely carved—drew his painted armchair near her, at a distance from the rest. To be amid the din, the suitors’ riot would ruin his greatest appetite, he thought, and he wished privacy to ask the news about his father, gone for years. Brought them a silver finger bowl and filled it out of a beautiful spouting golden jug, they drew a polished table to their side. The larder mistress with her tray came by and served them generously. A carver lifted cuts of each roast meat to put on trenchers before the two. He gave them cups of gold, and these the steward as he went his rounds filled and filled again” (Fitzgerald, 1961, p. 5).

The words written on a menu are not merely words; they are a story told through the community and the meal. Many scholars offer a structure for food and cultural studies; Bob Ashley, Joanne Hollows, Steve Jones and Ben Taylor (2004) discuss two primary paradigms. The structuralist paradigm originated with Ferdinand de Saussure who was interested in a deep structure, or form of language, and not in the underlying meaning or content. Saussure attempted to develop a universal science of language with unchanging rules, sign, units, and systems as the basic component of language. Saussure's theory would not tell the story in its entirety because the words would be interpreted without essence or cultural meaning. Roland Barthes's structuralism demonstrates how natural or commonsense meanings attach themselves to objects or practices (1972). This approach is important for interpreting the messages constructed by the recipes of a region and the narrative of the community as told in the menu. In the discussion of the menu, it is evident that the norms of the culture, the practices of the people, and the availability of food product determined what people eat, when they eat, and the centrality of food to other forms of social behavior. "To eat is a behavior that develops beyond its own ends, replacing, summing up, and signaling other behaviors" (Barthes, 1972).

In ancient Greece and Rome, men wrote sagas about many events and extravagant eating experiences around the table. Greek and Roman gastronomy developed out of the practice of sacrifice, which is evident as we look to the menu and its contents. Meat, as I have already indicated, was relatively scarce, available mainly following the sacrifice of a domestic animal to the gods. As mentioned above, on such occasions the meat was roasted and divided into equal portions and placed onto trenchers, a plate like device. The

fact that it was divided equally and apportioned by drawing lots meant that there was no such craft as that of butchery. But in any case the consuming passion of the Greeks, certainly of the Athenians, was for fish, which, since it was never part of the religious ritual, was free to be a wholly and secular food (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002). With the invention of that gastronomical cornerstone, the cooking pot, meat or fish could be stewed rather than roasted. The more sophisticated cook began adding other ingredients to the pot, like the inclusion of salt, to heighten the taste or honey as sweetener, or the fragrance of herbs and spices to bring out other flavors. In a sense the manner or art of cookery was born and, in the case of the Greeks, quickly became quite sophisticated. Athenaeus' text contains references to fewer than thirty Greek cookery books, the earliest datable to the fifth century B.C. Much of the culinary skill they record seems to have come to Greece with cooks from Sicily in the fourth and third centuries. By that date, too, the wine trade had fully developed, with geographical differences already being recognized. Cookery by that time included a large range of complex meat and fish dishes as well as the introduction and repertory of biscuits, breads and cakes. The cooking revolution was the first scientific revolution: The discovery, by experiment and observations, of the biochemical changes, which transmit flavor and aid digestion. It isn't called kitchen chemistry for nothing. Meat despite the disfavor it drew in ancient times is still an unbeatable source of nutrition for human bodies. Cooking makes the proteins in the muscle fibers fuse, turning collagen to jelly. In most cultures, for most of history, the chief alternative to dry cooking or direct fire is immersion in hot water. For these particulars, the cooking pot truly acted as the beginning of cooking, as we know it today (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002)

The Greek idea of the *polis* included determinants that are not evident in other eras; it is because of this that there needs to be an ongoing interpretation and reapplication for hermeneutical understanding. The destiny or fatalism associated with the ancients is more subdued in modernity; this was the result of viewing the *polis* as principally an extension of nature. The comprehension of the world and the advent of a consciousness brought about the Greek polis into the composite of freedom, individuality, subjectivity, and uniqueness (Schrag, 1985). Schrag continues to explain that freedom rather than destiny, individuality rather than participation, subjectivity rather than objectivity, and uniqueness rather than sameness received the principal emphasis. We associate the polis with *ethos* and the ongoing social and political concerns of the community. This is evident when looking to the ambiguity, story and guidance of curative cooking and the story it tells.

#### The Curative Story of Cooking: Ambiguity, Story and Guidance

Structuralism and culturalism share a common belief in a dominant ideology that is imposed from above, resisted from below, and occupies the minds and actions of the people, and thus, prohibits alternatives (Ashley, 2004). In ancient times, there were several forces that dominated the culture's norms and practices. For example, Strong suggests the power of Christianity and how it affected the secular table; the Bible offered many eating habits, including the miracle of the *Loaves and Fishes*. Schrag's discussion about the *polis* and *ethos* is appropriate to this idea; the Greek idea of the *polis* is important to the dynamics of communicative praxis. MacIntyre refers to Greek culture and says that the virtues are to be exercised and in terms of which they are to be defined is the *polis* (Schrag, 1989, p. 204).

Schrag discusses a holistic space in which our ongoing thought and action, language and speech, interplay; this space is communicative praxis. Many of these stories or narratives found their way to the subject of medicinal or curative; the structure of the culture carries many oral stories or tales to help with the health and welfare of a community and eventually the practices became a communicative praxis. The fact that many food taboos are enforced by the threat of sickness or deformity puts them, considered from one aspect, in a category as the health regimens, which are found in almost every culture. The only surviving recipes from ancient Egypt are for foods that come from medical treatises. Chicory was added for liver trouble, iris for bad blood, fennel for colitis. The theory of humors dominated Greek and Roman medical dietetics: indeed, it has been the most enduring and thought going influence on the dietary tradition in the Western world. Menu planners for the sick in classical antiquity tried to correct an excess of cold and moist “humor” by providing hot, dry foods and vice versa. The notion that foods have a range of properties, which must be balanced for perfect health, has appealed to all cultures in history. Humeral dietary theory is a traditional framework for recipe design in all societies (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002).

Traditional dietetics depends, in most cultures, on arbitrary categories (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002). It is therefore unscientific or, at least, not scientific in the usual sense of the word. It is more readily understood as a kind of trans-formative magic similar to the magic of cannibalism: you acquire the qualities of what you eat. On the other hand history has proven the commonsense assumption that food and health are linked. What is cooking, “if not medicine?” asked a pseudo Hippocratic treatise of antiquity. Indeed, food is medicine in a sense; despite the efforts governments make to

distinguish between them for purposes of inclusion or exclusion and regulation. In a similar sense, food is also poison. Universal observation reveals that too much food or too little is injurious and sometimes fatal to the body. For this reason much of the history of food and medicine could be written in the study of a culture's ingredients and the stories that surround them in regards to the correspondence between particular foods and particular physical conditions surrounding them. The connection between food and health is at its most obvious cases where specific diseases are caused by dietary deficiencies and, therefore, can be remedied by dietary adjustments in the consumption of both meals and the recipes themselves (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002).

The balance of nature is further discussed in the tastes of the culture; the conversational links are similar to those discussed by Bakhtin who claims that a given utterance is situated within the boundaries of what is anticipated in the conversation. Since the focus is not only on medicinal, curative, foods, the aim in ancient Greece and Rome was to achieve a balance of sweet with bitter, of sour with unusual flavors. It involved the use of a vast array of ingredients of fresh and dried herbs and spices cooked together with honey and vinegar, and ingredients that were also the basic ingredients for the succeeding cuisines in both cultures. Byzantium the fish sauce called *garos* in Greek, *garum* in Latin. *Garos* was made by mixing whole fish with salt, leaving it to ferment for up to three months, then straining off and bottling the liquid. Its production was along factory lines at a very early date.

Only fragments survive of these fifth- and fourth-century cookbooks, but they make plain that by the close of the fifth century B.C. Greek civilization had given birth to a complete meta-narrative formation that unified literature covering diet, health, exercise,

hygiene, as well as cookery. The Greeks furthermore, were the first to identify the story of cookery as one of the indispensable skills and arts of human life. Diet in the ancient world was seen first and predominantly as a means of preventing and acting in a curative manner toward the elimination of illness. It was based on the virtually universally accepted view of the body as composed of four humours: blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile, each of which had its own characteristic: hot and dry (blood) cold and dry (phlegm), hot and moist (yellow bile), and cold and moist (black bile). All foods were categorized as embodying one or more of these attributes. The perfect balance, which was central to maintaining a healthy disease-free body, depended on eating food capable of correcting any existing imbalance in the system (Tannahill, 1988).

### **The Metaphor of Inclusion/Exclusion: Social Structure/Feast Versus Power**

#### The *Convivium*: Interpersonal Common Places

This section asks the question: How did community and the meal serve to create inclusion and exclusion in the classical period? In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle discusses three parts of the world that humans know and said that the kinds of knowledge possible in each were different: 1) *Theoria*: events and objects are eternal; *episteme*: knowledge; *syllogistic*: reasoning inductive/deductive. 2) *Praxis*; things are contingent on each other and may be other than what they are. 3) *Poesis*; things that are made; *techne or skill*; how to do it manuals or training manuals. Arnett (1986) discusses the concept of community within the terms of the common good, happiness, and the idea of a public invitation to be included. This idea is discussed as me and the other (Ostwald, 1962). Communities structure their eating habits and times for their meals according to traditions, manners, and civility. Individuals eat at certain times, they eat certain foods, they observe particular rituals, and finally, engage in celebratory events.

Perhaps the answer to our overall question is beginning to be answered by who was included in the *convivium* or *symposium*. These two events provide a structure within society that excludes most and includes a few. The *convivium* was viewed as a congenial event where social barriers were lowered and normal conventions relaxed, with inferiors allowed to indulge freely in sharp wit without fear of recrimination. It was written that guests were invited for the meal, not to make class distinctions; they are brought to the table as equals and given the same treatment; this was contradicted by the reality that dinner parties in Rome worked as they still do. Who gets invited, and who does not, is the criteria for acceptance (Strong, 2002). A single household may have four hundred slaves; a single *convivium* might require the services of every one of them. A freed slave who knew the tastes of those attending the banquet often chose the menu. To be included in the *convivium* was not available to everyone. Much of what was eaten and who was included was elusive to most. It is difficult not to be curious about elusive cuisine with textures and flavors and the general subject of banquets and social eating. Poor Romans rarely tasted Cappadocian bread or wine wafers; grain pastes were their staple or sometimes a coarse homemade bread with chaff, or a polenta porridge made from millet. By the third century, matters improved when the *annona* began distributing loaves instead of grain. The miller-baker held many tricks and the plebs knew their rights; it would have been a brave miller who tried to pass on bread that was no better than they could make at home (Tannehill, 1988).

#### The Food of The Rich: Historicality and Presence

The horizon of the between is that which is described by Martin Buber as *between man and man*. For those who participated in community and the meal in ancient

civilizations, the choices of who, what, or when were not available. Buber looks to a sphere of inclusion and says that humanness enables us to come together with others in the between (Arnett & Arneson, 1999). Buber's theory suggests that the between is optional or available to the other; the foods of a given community may not be available to all and the idea of a common center for food and community may not exist. Historicity and the individual are addressed in this section and the question is asked: "Is there a great degree of difference between the food of the rich and the food of the poor? The food of the rich was very different, and in Rome, radically different. Other societies had more quantity and quality than materials; the Roman rich had access to an astonishing amount of food. Pickles had to be imported from Spain, ham from Gaul, wine from Jura, oysters from Britain and spices from Indonesia. It is difficult not to be curious about the finished effect of a cuisine that remains persistently occupied by the rich on the general subject of banquets and social eating. In the classical period a parade of wealth was, in itself, a declaration of special qualities that set the rulers and nobles above the common herd. The royal banquet was an important item in the public relations budget during the ancient periods (Telfer, 1988).

Interpersonal communication is a part of the domain of *praxis*. What happens in any given conversation is contingent on everything else that happens; the conversations of the elite were not available to all. As we approach the metaphor of public and private, the discussion continues on who is invited to the meal. For Bakhtin, how one is connected to the greater culture and where one fits into that culture, determines one's inclusion with one another within a culture. For example, Hindus who refrain from eating beef may do this for religious beliefs or inclusion into the greater community. The

religious community has historically provided an opinion on the social construction of our meals (Telfer, 1996).

### **The Metaphor of Public and Private: Banquets and Home Cooking**

#### The Birth of the Symposium: Interpersonal Common Places

As we move on to the *symposium*, we address the same question asking who is included in the meal. MacIntyre discusses the Homeric society and states: “The basic values of society were given, predetermined and so were a man’s place in the society and the privileges and duties that followed from his status” (MacIntyre, 1984, p. 122). A man in a heroic society is distinguished by what he does; a man and his actions become identical; courage is the highest attribute and determines how one is perceived. MacIntyre claims that morality and social structure are in fact one and the same in a heroic society. As we address food and community and community and the meal, it is interesting to note that MacIntyre’s community may not have been available to all. It is important to identify the structure of the community and the culture itself to understand what was happening with food and community.

Robert Bellah (1991) discusses the fact that a privatized view of community cannot function as the community becomes larger and more diverse. Arnett (1999) says that a community and the individuals who are part of the public of a community are drawn to those who are most similar to themselves or their private individuality. This may be viewed in several ways, but within a religious community, these ideals are most often viewed. Also, the religious community may blend with the community at large. A meal can be a religious observance such as Passover in the Jewish tradition, symbolizing the Jewish escape out of Egypt; the Christian Sacrament of Holy Communion may also

be an example of eating; and the Quran says that the greater part of celestial and terrestrial pleasures consists of the consumption of desirable dishes and drinks (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002). The advent of Christianity with many communal feasts highlighted the problem of food hierarchy from another standpoint; the Apostle Paul had to avoid gatherings where the rich and their friends had better food and drink than those present of lower social status (Strong, 2002).

The rise of the Roman Empire and the birth of Christianity are interwoven. Paul, the great missionary was privileged to travel throughout the empire to the early churches because he was a Roman Citizen. The extravagance of the Roman banquet table is legendary. Influence and power were negotiated through extraordinary feasts. An impressive appetizer of peacock tongues might require the demise of two hundred birds. Laws were passed limiting the extravagance of banquets, but as might be expected, enforcement of this culinary moderation proved difficult. Romans loved spicy foods, and their casseroles typically combined several meats, fish, poultry, cheese, vegetables, and herbs in one dish. Garum, the fermented anchovy sauce, appeared in almost every savory recipe. While the Romans introduced many dining customs and foods into their colonies, they preferred imported specialties from all corners of the known world for their banquet tables (Goodman, 1906.)

Walter Fisher's (1984) view of public narratives views that individuals need a common center from which to thrive. The symposium or banquet so dear to literary tradition was a type of supper party at which the food was quickly eaten so that the participants could get on with the real business of the evening, which was talking and drinking (Tannehill, 1988). There were many forms of communal dining in Ancient

Greece, but all began with a blood sacrifice, followed by eating and, finally, drinking. The division between the meal and the drinking party is perhaps the most striking. As is evident in other cultures, the women left the dining room after the meal, and the men continued to indulge in hard drinking and hard talk. In Ancient Greece, the *symposium* first appears in the seventh century BC. By the fifth century, rooms were designed to accommodate the feasting (dining rooms), square in shape and designed at first to hold seven couches. These rooms were eventually expanded to hold eleven couches. The room had three couches to a wall, allowing for an off-center door; the couches could be of stone or wood. These rooms were the prerogative of the elite class; those outside of the class structure picnicked outside of the structure. Some of these rooms still exist in sanctuaries in which the blood sacrifice would be made prior to the *deipnon* and then the *symposium* (Strong, 2002).

Wine occupied a central position in Ancient Greece and also at the *symposium*. It was seen as a divine gift and blessing from the gods, one that could cure sorrow, induce sleep, encourage forgetfulness of cares, and relief from misery. The god of wine, Dionysus, was given great power, but wine was never drunk without being mixed with water. This practice distinguished a civilized man from a barbarian. The separation of the *symposium* from the meal was emphasized by cleaning the floor, hand-washing and the arrival of cups and floral garlands. Men reclined on couches, youths sat on the couches, and the passage of time enabled the youth to graduate to the couches. The *symposiarch's* duty was to set the agenda and decide the balance between the water and the wine in the *krater*. The *krater* was dedicated to the honor of *Zeus* and the Olympian gods, while two paeans in honor of heroes and three more to honor of *Zeus Soter* (the

savior in time of need) were sung in chorus to the accompaniment of a double flute (Strong, 2002).

The interpersonal communication within the structure of the ancient community is evident as individuals joined together to celebrate various events and to engage in a common dialogue. The *symposium* was always occasioned by some event such as public games, a festival, or the welcome of visitors. The significance of these events today is that they were gatherings where great epics were sung to the lyre by professional bards; the sixth century gave way to choruses and new poetic genres, lyric poetry, elegiac poetry and popular song. Later, philosophical and intellectual discussions, such as the Platonic kind, took place (Strong, 2002).

#### Early Medieval Cooking: Discovering Communicative Meanings

The meanings associated with communication began to show significant changes in the middle-ages as the divisions between private and public began to shift. Baxter and Montgomery discuss monologic, dualistic, and dialectical visions: monologic approaches treat communication as one-sided and on the sameness or centripetal; dualism does acknowledge the polarities existing rather than a single side to the event; and dialectical approaches include relational dialectics, implicate interactive opposition (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996, p. 46). This applies to ancient cultures, and in particular, may be associated with food and the community. In contrast to the great festivals and public games, there was a private life with a different set of values and rules for dining. Tannahill says that when one country is being derogatory about another, they say that most nations have the cuisine they deserve. The monologic approach may explain how one perceives the meal. The following exclamation promotes the idea of home cooking,

and in doing so, promotes sameness or monologic ideology. “Good plain cooking” is associated with the materials, the equipment and the fuel available within any given region. Trade influences materials both in northern and southern cooking in medieval Europe; a fire was not desirable in the Mediterranean region because of the lack of metal product. In the north, there was a shortage of timber. The style of cooking was practiced in cauldrons that hung permanently in place in peasant huts (Tannahill, 1988).

The idea of home cooking continues as we look to the ongoing views of a culture, with what seems to remove the idea of a dialectical approach to the meal. There is a gap in food records between Roman times and the twelfth century, and the food of the rich and famous is inadequately documented. It is noted that Charlemagne nearly hated his doctors because they wanted him to give up eating roast meat and replace it with boiled meat. Charlemagne was accustomed to his main meal of the day, served on a spit provided by the hunters. It is agreed upon that a picture of “plain living” emerged over much of Europe north of the Alps, dining mostly on bread and juices produced in the cauldron. These cauldrons were never empty, but instead, were added to daily with whatever was available. The original stockpot or *pot-aufeu* provided an everchanging broth enriched by hare, hen, pigeon or meaty flavor, including salted pork or cabbage (Tannahill, 1988).

Dumplings were also cooked in the cauldron; most were made from rye flour, but from the eleventh century onwards, the most common came from dried legumes known as pease pudding:

Pease pudding hot, pease pudding cold,  
Pease pudding in the pot, nine days old (Tannahill, 1988, p. 95).

Most households had a shallow, earthenware pan that sat on the hearthstone at the side of the fire and was used for special dishes. This pan was used for eggs, left-over scraps of meat hashed with vegetables, and fish or eels that were cooked separately in their own broth. The history of this type of cuisine shows up in various cultures from India to Cuba, and China to England. Often these delicacies were eaten with cold fruit or fresh milk and honey, or heated up and mixed with something savory from the stockpot for a main dish (Tannahill, 1988).

The division of private and public was designated in Rome; the *forum* and the *atrium*. The *forum* was for common meeting space of the city and the *atrium* was for the private spaces of the individual. The *atrium* contained the marriage bed on which was consummated the marriage union or the family; here the images of ancestors were displayed in the form of red threads from various cloths. The *atrium* created the setting for the paternalistic head of house to be revered, although the *atrium* was not exclusively a man's world. This arrangement was different than that of Ancient Greece where men and women were segregated (Tannahill, 1988).

Receptions and entertainment took place within the house along with businesses; without offices and factories, business was conducted within the home. There were shops and workshops such as bakeries, and in the countryside, there were wine-presses and reception rooms under the same roof (Tannahill, 1988). The traditional Roman house with a double faced *atrium* is built in opposition to the Roman social life of public and private, town and country, business and leisure, industry and luxury, and temporally of morning and afternoon. The layout of the room, with three couches on each side of the room, reflects the invitation of guests to the home, not an arrangement for the family unit.

The Roman household is less inviting than that of Ancient Greece where the division of quarters for women and men or a private area and a section for visitors; this arrangement seems more focused on domesticity than that of the Roman household (Tannahill, 1988).

Although the cultural approaches do not take on the form of a dialectical or relational characteristic, the ancient literature assumed a dialogue for coming to an agreeable answer to questions of just and unjust. In the dialogue of Socrates, cookery assumes the form of medicine and pretends to know what is good for the body (Bizzell & Herzberg, 1976). In Gorgias, Plato includes analogies of food in regards to their ethical placement and how they define rhetoric. This is important in this section as it separates the public from the private, cookery is used to help define what is right and what is wrong with rhetoric. Bizzell and Herzberg continue to discuss how rhetoric and cookery are mere flattery and temporary cover-ups for the truth. Being invited to the feast may only be a cover-up or flattery to what is really happening in a dialectic situation or interpersonal communication.

Private and public may also be divided into categories that include private meals and public banquets. Evidence suggests that the banquet connotes the idea of many diverse ideas emerging into one meal; the home meal has less input to the primary function of eating the meal. For example, the conversation or interpersonal connection is minimized in the home versus the larger arena, the banquet.

Seyla Benhabib discusses a web of stories and how stories are handed down through relationships and traditions (Arnett & Arneson, 1999). Arnett says that in everyday discourse and interaction, there is increasing commonsense questioning of the historical importance or appropriateness of privatized emotive approaches to interpersonal

communication. As we engage the conversations that created the meal within the community, it is important to look at the civility or lack of civility or incivility of the culture. The following attempts to examine whether the community's discourse contributes to its civility or whether the lack of dialogue within the community adds to the incivility of the community.

### **The Metaphor of Civility and Incivility: Table Manners and Taste**

#### Table Manners and The Ancients: A Call for Dialogic Civility

Civility addresses a culture from a public and private narrative structure that has respect for others. Seyla Benhabib discusses the other and reciprocity; perhaps through the lens of the self, the subject of public and private can be viewed in the ancient culture. The question: How are public and private narratives structured? And Is there a need for a communicative strategy for understanding the language of civility? Both public and private narratives structures suggest an agreed-upon communicative convention about respect for the other and its relational responsibility to interpersonal relationships. When manners and taste are addressed the first step must be to begin by deciding what is good and what is bad in relationship to the consumption of food. The concept of civility and cynicism is, in many ways, metaphorically connected to private and public and inclusion and exclusion. How one communicates privately may be reflective of public discussions. Hans Gadamer (1980) discusses the concept of word (logos) and deed (ergon) and points to Socrates' discussion of what makes a complete friendship and inadequacies of a friendship. In this discussion, it is revealed that Socrates points out that it is problematic to be guided by a view of friendship based upon action without words to support such a commitment (Arnett & Arneson, 1999).

Bakhtin's theory of monologue, dualism, and dialectic are important for the study of civility and incivility within a community (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). In order for there to be a participation within the structure of the community, a dialogue or discourse must take place. Arnett claims that a public life places demands on us to reach beyond ourselves; the metaphors of self and self actualization may be tempered in relationship to the *other* (Arnett & Arneson, 1999). To live within a community and share its values, a consensual reality is often structured to fit the needs of the community and the people (Berger, 1966).

Friendship is important for participation in a community and manners and civility play a part in the participation between people and their culture. The norms of behavior exhibited while participating in the meal may or may not be according to the standards of the culture (Ashley, 2002). To further understand the meaning of incivility, it is important to look to cynicism as a dimension of incivility. Theodore Windt discusses cynicisms from an historical background, beginning with Plato. The Cynics share with Plato the belief that most people live lives of appearance and lies; cynics attribute this to the reality that people live by societal rules that are life deforming and thought distorting. Cynics find truth in individualism, in stripping away all conventions, and living the natural life. Windt states that the cynics sought absolute freedom and defined life as being free of societal conventions and that counterfeit life. They sought absolute virtue, being true to one's nature and in harmony with the natural essentials of life. They advocated living life on the minimum so not to distract from the pursuit of virtue or be impeded by fear of losing one's possessions or status when speaking the truth (Windt, 1990).

Windt continues to explain that cynics took their beliefs out of the abstract and made that part of their lives; they did what they professes, especially when it came to money. The cynics did not possess power and did not seek political influence; cynics were extremists; and the cynics were the first to celebrate the brotherhood of humankind. By dedicating their lives to virtue, they acquired their own particular set of virtues: ruggedness, apathy, indifference, endurance, idleness, poverty, and contempt for the opinions of others.

Plato portrays the pleasure of eating and drinking as a kind of addiction. Plato claims that seeking pleasure from food is self-defeating: a person who does is never satisfied, and gets less pleasure each time (Telfer, 1996). One argument against this claim concerns after-effects. Those who indulge in pleasures of the table, it is said, suffer from indigestion and hangovers in the short term and ugliness and ill health in the long term, and these miseries truly outweigh the pleasures. Unless we are addicts or epicures, the fact that our desire for food is never finally satisfied does mean that food has produced in one form or another more pain and less pleasure than we think. The constantly renewed desire for food has always provided societies and culture with some form of guidance or recommendation for how one should or should not behave in regards to the table. The Romans believed that you were at a disadvantage in experiencing the pleasure of food if you at anytime declared yourself full. The Romans tried to remove this disadvantage by making themselves vomit during banquets so they would have room to eat more.

In the *Gorgias*, Socrates warns Polus of the capacity of rhetoric to persuade people of unjust things, and he refers to rhetoric as mockery, a semblance of political

justice. Socrates maintains that healthiness is healthiness of the soul, and rhetoric therefore functions as a disease of the political and intellectual spirits. This discussion of the soul leads to the health and disease of the body; he proposes that medicine can minister to the body and legislation can minister to the politic. Socrates continues his discussion on the subject of sophistry and cooking. Rhetoric is to legislation as cooking is to medicine, and thus, rhetoric and cooking are suspect in the highest degree (Thomas, Winter, 1996). Thomas continues to explain how this may apply to today. Cooking is more than an issue merely of practical sustenance, and as Socrates claims, it is also used for medicinal purposes. In modernity, cooking is a part of kitchen details and television infomercials, food clubs, and other persuasions that have influenced our lives. Food preparation and presentation has become the definitive activity of the economy of the home or home economics.

#### Table Manners and The Romans and Greeks: Dialogic Civility

This early Romans and Greeks were faced with a duality; food products were derived from the soil or food products from sacrificing of animals. Cattle, sheep and pigs were the subjects of public sacrifice, while lambs, piglets and pullets were killed privately. The community was divided because the sacrificing of animals and their consumption was part of the upper-classes. The Roman duality was manifested in other ways: there was a contrast between the two ideals of frugality and lavish hospitality. The Romans had a midday snack (*prandium*) made up of left-overs from the day before, eaten standing up. The grander meal or *convicium* was a substantial meal with lavish cooked dishes eaten while reclining alongside guests; the *prandium* was intended to replenish the stomach so one could go on with their day (Strong, 2002). The modernists saw food as a

sign of decay compared to the noble frugality of times past. Indulgences were freely available to those who could afford them. Civility and cuisine may be associated with culinary refinement reflected in the history of banquets given by Licinius Lucullus (died 57/56 BC.). His delicacies include sea-urchins from Capo Miseno, snails from Taranto, Chalcedonian tuna, oysters from Locrino, prosciutto from Gaul, sturgeon from Rhodes, prawns from Formia, hazelnuts from Nola, almonds from Agrigento, Sicilian grapes and Egyptian dates (Stong, 2002). This list also included properly cured wines from different regions.

The Romans associated the best foods the same as the Greeks, but they also believed that foods should be absolutely pure and uncorrupt. For example, an olive should be preserved in olive oil because the pressing of oil is corrupt; meat should not be hung because any notion of decaying meat can cause bad breath, vomiting or dysentery. This is an example of Roman duality as raw vegetables and fresh food are associated with health; compromised food causes ill health. The frugal meal prepared in a cauldron with fresh vegetables and boiled meat is considered to be the ideal healthy meal; the *cena* with elaborate cooked dishes was regarded as potentially dangerous (Strong, 2002).

#### Moral Virtues and The Ethics of Food

Two moral virtues which relate particularly to food are hospitableness and temperance; hospitableness is concerned with ways in which people treat other people, and temperance is the way that people behave in regard to their own eating. Since temperance is one of the traditional virtues, or at least gluttony is a traditional vice, Telfer suggests that temperance is not as narrow and negative as perceived, and hospitableness is not a moral virtue in its own right. The three reasons given by Telfer are: first, it is

difficult to know if we favor one person over another; second, hospitableness is something all should try to acquire; and third, the nature of hospitableness challenges our assumption that each moral virtue is based on a specific sense of duty (Telfer, 1996). “I shall claim that hospitableness is not based on any one motive but derives its distinction character from the value which hospitable people attach to a particular ideal” (Strong, 2002, p. 82). We can define hospitality as the giving of food, drink, and sometimes accommodation to people who are regular members of a household; givers, or hosts, provide these things in their own homes, sharing their own sustenance with their guests (Telfer, 1995).

Gluttony is often associated with issues dealing with civility and cynicism as some individuals, whether Ancient or modern, indulge in the act of eating with issues of excess or frugality. Telfer discusses the glutton and says that a glutton is not simply one who eats and drinks too much; one type of glutton eats and drinks too much, not just on one occasion but quite often. We do not call someone a glutton because he ate too much when he was hungry or ate too much for another extraneous reason. The typical glutton is the person who says, “I’m full up really, but these things are so delicious that I must just have one more” (Telfer, 1995, p. 104). Telfer asks, “Is the glutton concerned only with the pleasures of ordinarily pleasant food, or can there also be gluttons for the more discerning pleasures of the connoisseur?” (Telfer, 1995, p. 104). Some individuals eat for psychological reasons; others eat because of the taste or smell.

Food ethics must be examined by looking at how food and dialogue have been traditionally place in society. Martin Buber’s discussion of *I and Thou* could be discussed in relationship to “let us eat” or “what shall I eat?” The interaction of eating involves

both the individual and the other. Hunger needs no reason as it is as natural as sleep; we do not store up food for future use, to cultivate it, to cook it and make it palatable. All of this requires a degree of reasoning through the development of tradition and custom. To make a custom a tradition, a social pleasure to be enjoyed with others, requires some degree of cultural advancement that is learned through the dialogues of others or created through the individual monologue of reason and desire.

The study of peoples in the world will invariably reveal a story or dialogue dealing with their social progress. One culture may have a higher regard for table manners than another, and this may relate to their civility or their approach to hospitality. One area for discussion is the relationship between food and religion; the subject alone has led millions of people to decide when to eat and what should be eaten. In some cultures, these decisions were made without regard to the needs of people, but decided in favor of merchants or affluent social groups. Food was sometimes exported while poor people were hungry. The merchants needed profits and exploited the poor; the ethics of these decisions is often debated and has been addressed since Ancient Greece.

Our last concern in food ethics history is concerned with the subject of “otherness.” In this category, we examine how human consumption or eating habits have positioned themselves with the other. We gain access to ancient societies and cultures mainly through the dialogue of a wide range of spokesmen. Food is often associated with ethics because of what we eat and the way we eat is an integral part of social behavior and cultural pattern. The term *otherness* is a significant marker for studying divergence; the contrast of food choices and eating customs between the urban elite and poor date back to Graeco-Roman times. The construction is ideological because it places certain

people and certain cultures in identity situations. For one group of people, or one particular culture, there has always been the other group or culture referred to as the *other* which they themselves make comparisons. The comparison is done by comparing morals, values, and ethics from earlier societies to determine what is the right way to eat and what is the wrong way to eat (Garnsey, 1999).

The late classical and early Hellenistic period witnessed a major transformation of diet and food preparation and consumption habits in the Greek culture. This was the starting point of *haute cuisine*, an elaborate style of cooking which imported foods and technical preparations from other cultures. These new cuisines and other diets are the beginnings of modern cookery as we know it today. In our culture, in both the past and present, we are introduced to other approaches to cuisine and dieting.

As previously discussed, Gorgias analogies of food to their ethical placement in defining rhetoric is discussed in Plato's dialogue *On Rhetoric*. A comparison is made in the dialogue to define two arts: the first deals with the soul or politics; the other concerns the body as designated between two branches, gymnastics and medicine. The opposition suggests rhetoric is not morally neutral because it can be used to conceal the truth. In this dialogue, rhetoric and cookery are mere flattery and temporary cover-ups for the real truth. We also are able to discover how food and the rhetoric were used to solve man's oldest ethical dilemmas (Bizzell, Herzberg, 1990).

This chapter examines the Classical Periods: Ancient Greece, Rome and the Middle-Ages through a metaphoric lens; each metaphor gives a clearer picture of what was happening in each time frame. Several scholars are included to introduce the reader to the different metaphoric situations. The Classical Period lays the ground-work for the

Renaissance and Early America in the Enlightenment. The following time frames are shaped by the same metaphors and also, include several of the same scholars to analyze what is happening in the historical moment

## Chapter IV: The Renaissance and Early America in Enlightenment

The Renaissance and Early America in the enlightenment period will be examined through the lens of several metaphors: community and the meal; narrative and petite narrative (cookbooks and recipes); inclusion and exclusion (feast and power); public and private (banquets and home cooking); and civility and incivility (table manners and taste). The focus of the Enlightenment period will be on early America and the influences from Europe and the new world. The next section revisits the importance of *sensus communis* as background for application of each metaphor in the model.

### The Metaphor of Community and the Meal

Meals of the Day: The Heritage of Renaissance and Early American Meals

In *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* (which Gadamer claims was the beginning of Vico's *sensus communis*), Vico develops *sensus communis* as a norm for both moral and aesthetic judgment for both individuals and the community; common sense, along with being the standard of practical judgment, is also the guiding standard for eloquence (Schaeffer, 1990). *Sensus communis* provides a criterion that certifies communal decisions by recognizing the underlying agreements from the community. Vico recognizes this as "the mental dictionary for assigning origins to all the diverse articulated languages" (p. 105). *Sensus communis* becomes the "public ground of truth", the ground of the relationship between judgment and language, a ground inhabited by both the individual and the community (Schaeffer, 1990, p. 105). The relationship between the orator, the language, and the tradition of the audience becomes a dialectic between shared values and shared language acting on both communal and universal levels.

Thus, the structure of the day's routine as practiced by a community has given meaning through the juxtaposition of judgment, language, the individual and the community. The practice of meal consumption rests at the intersection of these elements, providing structure for daily routine and serving rhetorical function of stabilizing community practices, contributing to community identity and identification of the individual with the community. This section describes meals taken during the day, exploring their rhetorical functions for interpersonal connection and integration during this time period.

The three meals of the day that were normally eaten during the latter Middle Ages were an early morning breakfast, a dinner sometime before midday, and supper at about 6 p.m. This meal structure was in place during the renaissance and enlightenment periods and has since been replaced by the four meals normally eaten today; breakfast, lunch, dinner and afternoon tea, have all been altered greatly in arrangement and time.

These changes were a shift from the aristocratic civilization transmitted with little change by the Middle Ages; this stayed in place until the French revolution in 1732. In England, it lasted into the nineteenth century and the Victorian era. Breakfast and other meals have been altered in both time and size; we do not know the breakfast time in this period and depend on what is told in Pepys's *Diary* where he speaks of *betimes* and *very betimes* which means 4 a. m. If we assume that he did not eat immediately upon rising, we may put breakfast at about 6 or 7 a. m. By the end of the eighteenth century, the usual hour had slipped to 10 o'clock; since then breakfast has been between 8 and 9 o'clock. This has been the time for breakfast for a hundred years or longer (Brett, 1969).

The Victorian breakfast included a variety of meat and game dishes, egg dishes, porridge and toast. The breakfast sausage served existed since Apicius with little mentioned about their ingredients; porridge is dated from the sixteenth century, and the English belief is that porridge was originated in Scotland. Toast must be almost as old as the eating of bread, but there is another type of bread eaten exclusively with tea. You take one slice after the other and hold it to the fire on a fork till the butter is melted and penetrates the bread: this is called toast. The usual drinks at breakfast have been tea, coffee and chocolate (Brett, 1969).

The second meal of the day is Dinner, a name given in many households as the last meal eaten during the day; dinner during the later Middle Ages was commonly eaten before noon. This continued until 1900 when an average time for dinner was 7:30 p. m. According to Brett, it is difficult to generalize about the food eaten at dinner during this period, but something must be included on the subject of carving. In medieval times, the carver was ceremonial and lost popularity by the fifteenth century; Ben Johnson in *The Devil is an Ass*, writes about the carver, Dick Robinson, a boy actor described as able to perform various feminine duties including Carving (Brett, 1969). In the seventeenth century, the carver is seldom heard of, and the task of carving was for host and hostess; this is more evident with the host, and in the eighteenth century this was still the case.

It is clear that from the eighteenth century guests were frequently called upon to do the carving. Boswell gives this illustration of this in the *Life*: “The cheering sound of ‘Dinner is upon the table’ dissolved his reverie, and we all sat down without any symptom of ill humour. There were present beside Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Arthur Lee, who was an old companion of mine when we studied at Edinburgh, Mr. Miller, Dr. Lettsom,

and Mr. Slater, the druggist...Pray give me leave, Sir; It is better here---a little brown---some fat---very few persons are perfect in this useful art which requires not only grace, but a great deal of skill. Others become very nervous; many complain of the knife, which has not the least objection to be found fault with; or else they say, this capon, pheasant, or poularde is not young, and consequently not of the best quality. You may sometimes be right, but it certainly often happens that the greatest gourmet is the worst carver, and complains sadly during that very long process, saying to himself, ‘I am last to be served; my dinner will be cold’” (Brett, 1969, p. 107). There are only a few words necessary to describe supper; the last meal of the day. Meals were invented to fill in the time between meals; the first of these is lunch which was an irregular light meal in the Middle Ages often eaten out of doors and known as Nunchin.

The two alternative present forms of the word are lunch and luncheon; both date from the last years of the seventeenth century. Johnson’s *Dictionary* of 1755 defines lunch as “as much food as one’s hand can hold” (Brett, 1969, p. 108). Our nineteenth century ancestors often declined to eat lunch in anticipation of dinner; lunch was eaten at about 1:30 p. m. and some ate a cup of tea in its place; this may be<sup>3</sup> the invention of afternoon tea as a separate meal. The drinking of tea was after the large midday meal and started in the latter part of the nineteenth century. There were two types of tea: “There is tea and tea, the substantial family repast in the house of the early diner, and the afternoon cosy, chatty affairs that the late diners have instituted. Both are eminently feminine; both should be as agreeable and social as possible. The family tea-meal is very like that of breakfast, only that more cakes and knickknackery in the way of sweet eatables are provided. A High Tea is where meat takes a prominent part and signifies really what it

is, a tea-dinner” (Brett, 1969, p. 109). Brett continues to explain that hot buttered cakes, plain and sweet, are chiefly served at tea. Also a cup of tea is often a reviver for a lady before dinner. A menu for afternoon tea will be included in the appendix; this menu is quite extensive considering that lunch and dinner were served close to the time of the tea. For example, five main sandwich courses and various pastries were served along with seven choices for beverage (See, Mrs. Humphry’s tea in 1902).

The meal engages community through conventions, codes, and stories. Nel Noddings (1984) claims that stories help us understand personal and collective experiences, and also, that each story or narrative includes characters, choices, actions, and meanings. Noddings’s *ethic of care* addresses society and self promotion and self protection and that two common responses to codes have emerged. First, a person may rely on a code as a refuge, following the guidelines, while distrusting others. Second, because of a distrust of others, some individuals believe that codes do not apply to them. Those who are distrusting believe that they did not make the codes, and therefore, they do not need to follow them. In both situations, an abstract principle enables those who are distrusting to disengage from the community or communication with others. This may take place because there is a missing narrative (Noddings, 1984).

The usefulness of the code depends on the stories out of which the abstraction emerges; the moral principle is removed and then the story that carries it and the power of the story to inspire us to apply it to our own lives is lessened. The structure of the day and the inclusion of the meals is positioned in society as a code for individuals to share a common narrative or story. The choices that are made are important, but the stories that create the choices are not all of great importance. Daniel Taylor (1996) says that stories

and values are different and incommensurable; some stories are affirmed while others are rejected; stories based in historical experience give us the confidence to make choices that are wise and beneficial to us and society. “Living and understanding one’s stories is a form of praxis; stories are a form of social theory which inform action” (Arnett & Arneson, 1999, p. 238).

Seyla Benhabib’s (1992) conversational model is integral to social theory and helps to understand how individuals within a culture fit into the larger cultural norms. For Benhabib, the idea of reciprocity and the other is an important component for understanding social theory; Benhabib believes in the idea of a concrete other while other theorists, such as Kohlberg and Mead, look to a generalized or universal other. The importance of reciprocity within a culture is evident as the ancient cultures worked toward a model of “care” while engaging the entire community and the taking of the meal. For some, there was disengagement with the meal, while for others, they were completely engaged and therefore, trusting of the decisions of the community. The standpoint of the concrete other requires us to view each and every rational being as an individual with concrete values and norms. Nel Noddings ethic of care helps better understand the social theory brought forward by Benhabib. By looking to the story of a culture from the standpoint of care, one can readily see whether or not the larger culture is providing a code that will be engaged or disengaged by its individuals. Nel Noddings’ ethic of care theory provides an interpersonal rhetorical perspective that helps guide *sensus communis* and the meal. The metaphors of narrative/petite narrative, public/private, inclusion/exclusion, and civility/incivility all encompass ethics of care that surround the meal. Community engagement with the meal can be found in the stories of

the culture. The meal invites or includes communities and individuals who would otherwise be excluded. The meal through conventions and codes requires its participants to be civil even when a distrust for others is present. The idea of public and private is also applicable as the meal is enjoyed in both the public and private spheres; the narratives guide the interpersonal communication toward an ethic of care, rather than that of evil. Noddings discussion is taken from Martin Buber's *I and Thou* and gives us an environment of caring and love situated in the context of education; she invites us to renew the story of relational ethics by revisiting the ethic of care (Arnett, & Arneson, 1999).

#### Manuscripts and The Meal: Story and Guidance

Ronald C. Arnett (1999) discusses metaphor as a form of linguistic implementation that provides a unique response to an historical moment; metaphor is a dialogic medium between narrative and an historical situation. Narrative carries different meanings in different historical moments with different sets of symbols, and the manuscript entitled *The Forme of Cury* is the oldest standard work on the subject of cookery in our language; the document is at the British Museum. It was written about 1390 AD by the master cooks of King Richard III. Lord Stafford as a curiosity presented it to Queen Elizabeth in 1586; at a later date, it became the property of the Earl of Oxford and was acquired at the sale of his manuscripts by James West. Samuel Pegge published in 1780 wrote the preface of the text; Pegge prints a full transcript of the roll, with numerous valuable comments. A recipe from this text is included in the appendix: "Cream of Almonds" (Cooper, no date available).

King Richard II appears to be the first of the monarchs to establish a reputation as a gourmet, and therefore provided a bountiful table. Charles Cooper adds that Edward IV gave the most elaborate and extravagantly profuse dinners and “must have certainly have gone far to outvie Edward III and Richard II” (p. 3). The tastes of these early “epicures” was more in the direction of quantity than quality with mammoth dishes such as “porpoises, hugh venison pasties, peacocks...being their idea of a dainty dish to set before a king” (p. 3). While the kings were eating lavish banquets, the food range of the community was restricted to chiefly carnivorous. “Our ancestors ate practically everything that had wings, from a bustard to a sparrow, and everything that swam, from a porpoise to a minnow; but in the matter of fruit and vegetables, they came off very badly. The game list was prodigious, and included many birds, such as herons, egrets, bitterns, etc., that have long passed out of use” (p. 3). In the sixteenth century, it was forbidden for street sellers to sell plums and apples because the sight of them “offered such temptations to apprentices and servants that they were led to steal their employers’ money in order to gratify their longing” (p. 3).

The age of Elizabeth witnessed many awakenings including a vegetable renaissance; the virtues of vegetable foods were beginning to be recognized, and although there was still superstition about them, the writers were on the right track. *A Briefe Treatyse on Gardeninge* by Thomas Hylle, published in 1560, gives a list of vegetables and herbs that a garden should contain; the garden did not necessarily contain every vegetable on the list, but contained many of the suggested plants. In the early periods, the scarcity of vegetables caused severe health problems for the people: “Cutaneous diseases were rife, leprosy was a frequent disease, and the practice of touching for the

king's evil, prevailed even to late Stuart times" (Cooper, p. 4). It is suggested that the "reputed efficacy of the treatment was probably due to the fact that people journeying from their country homes to the Royal presence were forced to supplement their food supplies on the road by wild herbs and berries..." (p. 4).

#### The Lavish Table: Power and Responsibility

The context of the meal is studied through a model that situates the rhetorical action of communicative practices during the meal; this action takes into consideration the texture of the community with implications for human connection and separation that provide the framework for life and ritual meanings. In 1529, the archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este entertained his brother Ercole II at his palace. The palace was surrounded by marvelous gardens and a park and adorned with frescoes depicting the elegant life of this court. There were fifty-four guests invited to the event on this cool evening. Also, there was a running at the ring, in which mounted men charged a target with lances. This ended at nine o'clock after the company adjourned to one of the great frescoed halls of the palace for the performance of a farce, followed by a concert; that was over at ten, and then came supper.

The meal was presented on two credenzas or service tables, one for food and one for wine; the other side was constructed of greenery, flowers and coats of arms. The musicians were utilized to unite the theme of the meal, which included a layer of two tablecloths. This evening, the Cardinal surprised his guests by doubling the number of cloths; after nine courses, the guests started over again with nine more courses (Strong, 2002).

The importance of a good and lavish table grew in the sixteenth century with the power of princesses from Florence, Rome, Venice, or Ferrara; the importance of good food reached France, then Germany, and then the rest of Europe. As in other arts, foreigners who either invaded or traveled to their country influenced Italian cooking. A nobleman of Ferrara, Christoforo Messisbugo, published his book, *Banchetti Composizioni di Vivande*, in 1549; this book contains descriptions of the banquets (Del Conte, 2001).

The influence of European food cultures were adopted by the early Americans as reflected in Lucy Emerson's *The New England Cookery* which had its roots in English Cookbooks from the 1730s to the 1740s. Emerson's cookbook and dozens of others followed the strict rules combined with moderate flexibility:

“These women did a much better job of codifying for an elite American market the cooking habits that the English had been practicing for more than a century than reflecting the pressing reality of the culinary moment” (McWilliams, 2005, p. 238).

McWilliams explains that the cookbooks adopted a more unified way of cooking, and included culinary measures that Emerson had codified. Also, the new kitchens, utensils, British attitudes, and a sense of metropolitan hospitality were observed. Although they had allegiance to the dominant cultural heritage, they imposed a modest level of culinary habits based on their own region (McWilliams, 2005).

### **The Metaphor of Narrative and Petite Narrative: Cookbooks and Recipes**

For centuries, individuals have communicated with each other while sharing food and drink; this interaction was for the purpose of transmitting knowledge and influencing the actions of others through a common narrative story. The recipes of the classical period, the renaissance, and early America give us a glimpse into the culture in the historical moment. The narratives presented in cookbooks may be the most creative and informative communication method available to us for the purpose of regaining some form of diversity in communication. According to Arnett, a story is better told through a diverse and varied input as diversity improves the common narrative structure and the story of a culture (Arnett & Makau, 1997). Common narratives may be the only narratives that survive centuries of storytelling as fragmented narratives lose their connection to history.

Calvin Schrag discusses praxis and the space of subjectivity and their overall meanings in relationship to the written word. In the discussion of cookbooks, the story is now written, but may have come from an oral history. The term praxis may be defined as the discourse that connects us to the why. For example, why do we use cookbooks to cook and why do we only use certain cookbooks? For Schrag, discourse and action are referred to as *about something, by someone, and for someone*. This helps define a three dimensional phenomenon that is present in communicative praxis, which involves the referential moment, self-involvement, and a rhetorical moment (Schrag, 1989).

Another important part of narrative is the subject of the *other* as the “other” is “other than self” within a social structure. The metanarrative of the public and the petite narrative of the private often do not consider reciprocity. Otherness is often defined by economic conditions, cultural practices, cultural values, and cultural habits. This often

determines one's food practices or choices as the cultural practices of the "other" may influence the reciprocity of the other. Class, consumption, and taste show the class divisions and ultimately, the standards of the culture or the universals attached to the culture.

#### Pre-Renaissance Cookbooks: Common Narratives; an Oral History

During the middle ages, anything preserved on paper was at the sole discretion of churchmen and kings. The result is that very little of the Roman culinary tradition survived into late medieval times, and everyday techniques were lost over the thousand years and forty generations of cooks. Food in Europe in the Middle Ages, like food in every period up to the present, was an adaptation to current circumstances rather than a remembrance of things past.

Two manuscripts have survived from this period, written in the fourteenth century by a Tuscan and a Venetian cook; also, a manuscript written by Maestro Martino, a fifteenth-century cook from Como who became chef to the Patriarch of Aquileia at the Vatican. Martino's manuscript, *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, is a kind of cuisine that is light and elegant in character; it is the earliest Medieval Renaissance cuisine. There is a recipe for *Macaroni Siciliani* made by wrapping dough around an iron rod. The macaroni is then dried in the sun and will last two to three years, especially when made in the August moon. The difference from the ancient recipe to the modern version is that the macaroni is cooked in capon stock with saffron (Del Conte, 2001).

The chef for Pope Pius V wrote another great cookbook; *Opera* is written in five books and contains more than 1000 recipes, plus arrangements for banquets and kitchens and table utensils. Bartolomeo Scappi avoids the previous trend of the importance of

game, the meat of the court tables. Instead, he brings domestic animals and courtyard birds into the meal and reflects a more modest household. He describes cooking the poorest cuts of meat: tongue, head and shoulders, and he explains how to clean the meat. He also addresses cooking fish in his third book for the purpose of Lent; he indicates the size of the fish, in which sea or river it is caught, the freshwater shrimp of Brescia and Verona and the trout of the Tiber. He dedicates the second section of the book to soups and vegetables all prepared for Lent; the fifth book contains 237 recipes for pies, tarts, and fritters. Here Scappi includes a Neapolitan pizza, unlike today's pizza, it is sweet (Del Conte, 2001).

#### Post-Renaissance Cookbooks: Narrative and Literacy

The most suitable way to label and understand a particular cuisine is by reading stories or narratives by its people. Narratives provide some evidence in regards to what types of communication are used and the role they play in shaping a culture. Community and the meal may be approached through the cookbook narratives of a certain period; the narratives presented in cookbooks may be the most creative and informative approaches to the culture itself and the people participating within the society.

Food practices can be deconstructed by the application of structuralism or culturalism. Culturalism is a developmental term that describes the input from the community in regards to class and food consumption. Peter Berger states that man produces himself within a human environment that is both sociological and psychological. Since Berger claims that we construct our own reality, it is safe to assume that the reality is constructed by the food that we eat. Each food that we eat is an organism, and man's animality is transformed in a process of socialization and a reality

constructing process (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The metaphor of metanarrative and petite narrative are all products of a community's construction of reality. Food as a symbol becomes part of the community's rhetoric which is evident in its recipes and cookbooks.

The main distinction about Renaissance food is that basically, the old medieval core remained intact, but it was enlarged, refined, and enriched as the sixteenth century progressed. For example, the same spices were used, and their presence was due to the wealth that is the essence of court cookery. Also, the sauces continued to be made, and the passion for roasts, pies, tarts, and figurative food remained, but there were new ways for preparing the same foods. One cookery writer gave 227 recipes for cooking beef, 47 for tongue, and 147 for sturgeon; no medieval cookbook could compete with that number (Strong, 2002).

The construction of a narrative came long before the discovery of the cookbooks of the renaissance. The meal came before the cookbook, but this did not prohibit the ongoing story of the meal. There were no cookbooks before the middle of the nineteenth century that mentioned any meals except dinner and supper; even the editions of Mrs. Benton published before 1880 give only a few lines to breakfast, a half page to luncheon, and do not mention afternoon tea. Several of the cookery books give diagrams of how the dishes should be arranged on the table: Henry Howard's *England's Newest Way*, 1703, and Mrs. Smith's *The Compleat Housewife*, 1727. There is a contrast to the medieval way of arranging the food on the table; this was the beginning of the progression of food: the Renaissance influence of order brought soup first, followed by fish and meat, and lastly, sweet dishes (Brett, 1969). *A New System of Domestic*

*Cookery*, 1807, includes arrangements for the table and a bill of fare for each month, but they are in general terms. Following them are more detailed suggestions for family dinners with the recipes and instructions on how to cook the dishes. The Remove appears in the *OED* in a quotation from the fourth edition of Johnson's *Dictionary*: "...where it is defined as a dish to be changed while the rest of the course remains. It next appears in Parson Woodforde's *Diary* for 1796. In his description of a dinner are the words... 'Salmon boilede and Shrimp Sauce, some White Soup, Saddle of Mutton roasted & Cucumber & c., Lambs Fry, Tongue, Breast of Veal ragoued, rich Pudding the best part of a Rump of Beef stewed immediately after the Salmon was removed'" (Brett, 1969, p. 117). The family dinner menu is included in the appendix.

The cookbooks published during the late 1500s and early 1600s provide a view of Shakespeare's world; they show how people cooked and ate and how they wrote and organized their thoughts. Elizabethan recipes were written as running text and did not include the details we are used to seeing in modern cookbooks, such as titles and ingredient lists. Similarly, Shakespeare's plays were also originally written and published without the numbered acts and scenes we are accustomed to today. Cookbook authors assumed that the chef knew the proper proportions of ingredients; when quantities were mentioned, it was with colorful and sometimes vague references to proportions.

Robert May wrote his first and only cookbook at age seventy; his recipes span several decades of culinary history, back to Shakespeare's day and Medieval styles of dining and food preparation. May wrote of the bygone era of elaborate preparations for noblemen's special feasts "before good House-keeping had left England" (Segan, 2003,

p. ix). Segan approaches the life of Shakespeare through food and states: “Since Shakespeare so passionately glorified eating and drinking in his plays and verse, food provides an ideal medium for approaching his life” (p. xv). Segan says that one who knows food also knows history, language, and culture.

The defining qualities of eighteenth century English food migrated from England to America in several ways: word of mouth, novels, plays, and newspapers. The most important, however, is through the cookbook. From the 1740s to the 1760s, Americans craved and consumed British durable goods, textiles, architectural innovations and written recipes. The book trade grew rapidly during these years, and dozens of cookbook titles arrived during the British invasion (McWilliams, 2005). McWilliams continues to explain that Hannah Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, published in 1742 in London, did well enough in America between 1742 and 1804, that an American edition was published in 1805.

#### Early American Cookbooks: Narrative Revisited

Arnett and Arneson (1999) discuss the emergence of a narrative story coming from Buber’s humble narrative or great character narrative. This is evident in the early American stories or narratives as they often emerged from a story from a folk hero or other storyteller. MacIntyre claims that we all understand narratives because we all live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of narratives (MacIntyre, 1981). Individuals bring their own personalities and histories to the story and may become part of the story themselves (Bochner, 1985). Early American cookbook narratives were written with the history of England interwoven into the new

American story. The early cookbooks reflected the history of the cuisine of England and were often written in England and then shipped to the colonies.

The first American cookbooks relied on eighteenth-century English recipes; Amerlia Simmon's *American Cookery* (1796) worked from these paradigms. Food historians claim this as an American cookbook because it also includes recipes that incorporate Indian corn and pumpkin, as well as recipes for "spruce beer" (McWilliams, 2005). At least 95 percent of the recipes are of direct English derivation, and most of them came from Susan Carter's *The Frugal Housewife*. The recipes revolve around the classic English meat dishes and include roast beef, roast lamb, fowl and oysters, stuffed leg of pork, dresses calf's head, a variety of pies, puddings, and preserves. *American Cookery* might be American in name, "but in content it's as British as batalia pie and warm stout beer" (McWilliams, 2005, p. 230).

Amerlia Simmon's idea was not to pin down an American style of cooking but intended to collect a reservoir of British American tradition. Most of the cookbooks were not new but a reflection of the English menus from the early nineteenth century. By 1796, Americans had diverged from the English tradition; the cookbooks the Americans published after 1796 captured the early trends. The 1730s to the 1770s cookbooks depicted what cooks were doing in their kitchens during those years. Another good thing that Simmon's cookbooks accomplished was to "spawn" other cooks to record their recipes in local American cookbooks (McWilliams, 2005).

New England reflected the American cooking at mid-century because it was New England "that led the charge to Anglicize the region's culture and its cooking habits" (McWilliams, 2005, p. 230). The ingredients were spread by way of mouth through oral

traditions and “thus evaporated like water from a boiling kettle” (p. 230). Lucy Emerson’s tour de force is an exception; her manual explains how New England’s local traditions converged to produce “Anglicized” food in America. There were instructions on how to grow a garden, slaughter an animal, dry herbs, churn butter and press cheese. Emerson’s standards closely followed the advice of Simmons *American Cookery*, but also in Hannah Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* and Richard Briggs’s *The English Art of Cookery*. She warns: “When cooking salmon obtained from a neighbor or a merchant, strictly examine the gills---if the bright redness is exchanged for a low brown, they are stale”. She continues, “I have tasted shad thirty or forty miles from the place where caught and really conceived that they had a richness of flavor, which did not appertain to those taken fresh and cooked immediately” (McWilliams, 2005, p.231).

Meat and fowl required the same scrutiny as to freshness: “The large stall fed ox beef is the best, it has a coarse open grain and oily smoothness...dent it with your fingers in order to see if it will rise again. If the dent remain...it will be rough and spongy.” She also added: “Woodcocks ought to be thick, fat, and flesh firm, the nose dry and the throat clear...partridges, if young, will have black bills, yellowish legs; if old, the legs look bluish; if old or stale it may be perceived by smelling at their mouths.” And finally, “Pidgeons have red legs, blackish in parts, more hairs, plumper” (p. 232). Briggs advised his readers to seek pale legs and to loosen a vent to test for freshness.

The early Middle Colony Quakers were pleased with the abundance of food in their natural surroundings. The relatively simple way of life yielded a “cornucopia of wealth” (McWilliams, 2005, p. 170). The settlers found that the crops that were grown in

England grew extremely well in Pennsylvania. Penn referred to his people as those who had “Houses over their heads and Garden plots, Coverts for their cattle, and increases of stock, and several enclosures for corn” (p. 170).

### **The Metaphor of Inclusion and Exclusion: Feast versus Power**

Every community is known for the fact that it may include, and it may exclude its own members or those who come to visit or join the community in another way. Martin Buber discusses the community and how there are two sides to every community: the one side is the welcoming or inclusive side of the community; the other is the side of the community that excludes its members (Arnett & Makau, 1997). Robert Bellah discusses one’s need for individualism and the formation of tastes that may purposefully exclude oneself from the larger community. This leads one to compare the self in relationship to the larger community.

In the early days of America and in the renaissance, there were many ways for an individual to be excluded from the main culture. For example, the status of an individual in the larger culture was pre-determined by kings, queens, or other people of position or status. In early America, the community was divided by the newly acquired status of its members.

### **The Common Use of Eating Utensils**

The church often established the structure of a community and who its members would be and how they would be received. The dialectical structure of the culture provides its members with either happiness or unhappiness (Arnett & Arneson, 1999). The liturgical year, even in Protestant countries, dominated menus in the second half of the sixteenth century. In Catholic countries, emphasis was on the observance of days of abstinence and of piety that could lead to fasting excesses. As mentioned above,

Bartolomeo Scappi's *Opera* (1570) was dedicated to a pope, Pius V, "famous for the extreme abstemiousness of his diet" (Strong, 2002, p. 143). Scappi was one of the most influential cooks of his time and began his service for Cardinal Marin-Grimano, a member of the papal Curia in Rome. He later worked for Pope Paul III and Pope Pius V; he arranged Pius V's coronation banquet. Nothing like the *Opera* had ever been written before, and it is the first cookery book that works from a notion of the centrality of taste, and also, establishes cooking firmly as a science. Scappi writes about cooking utensils, table arrangements, how the kitchen operates, and a consideration for ingredients. He moves on to deal with meat, fish, eggs and sauces, and adds thirteen seasonal menus for supper, collations, dinners, and banquets (Strong, 2002).

The transition of eating with utensils rather than one's fingers was a turning point for individuals and how they fit into their culture and how they consumed their food. Tannahill says that most medieval food fell into five textural categories: play, dry roast; small pies, pastries, and fritters consisting of meat, sauce, and plate; sauced mixture sometimes like a custard and sometimes like a whole-grain pudding like frumenty; brewet of meat, poultry or fish in a spicy, creamy sauce; and there was the simple soup. Texture was as important as it was in Roman times because there were two pieces of cutlery: the knife or dagger and the spoon. Although kitchen forks had been used for some three hundred years, it wasn't until after 1700 that "a few eccentrics" began using a fork for dining; most Europeans continued to eat with their fingers and knives, or spoon and bread. As late as 1897 the British Navy was forbidden to use knives and forks; in America, nineteenth-century etiquette manuals were critical about those who ate their peas with a knife (Strong, 2002).

## Frugality and the Quakers: Self-Sacrifice and the Other

Martin Buber discusses the we and the sacrifices that are needed for a community to have convictions and dialogue (Arnett & Arneson, 1999). Inclusion cannot be the ultimate goal of human life, but in contrast, must be a product of having a voice or finding one's place (Freire, Arnett & Arneson, 1999). This was the end result of what may have happened as many people came to America looking for inclusion in the greater culture. In 1682, the ship *Welcome* carried William Penn and one hundred other Quakers from England to the new colony; Penn's charisma and the rich fertility of the land enticed ninety shiploads of settlers, from the Society of Friends. The tens of thousands of Quakers became the Middle Colonies and brought with them a well developed culinary philosophy as structured as their religious beliefs. The Quakers were more concerned with what they ate than with their attitudes toward eating (McWilliams, 2005).

McWilliams says that the Quakers were a people who made a virtue of frugality. Penn once remarked: "Frugality is good, if liberality is joined with it" (p. 169). He suggests how far his people would go to keep their food simple, basic, and modest. As non-Quakers entered the Middle Colonies in the eighteenth century, the Quakers influence began to decline. However, their "culinary stamp" had already impacted the society (McWilliams, 2005).

### **The Metaphor of Public and Private: Banquets and Home Cooking**

#### Bakhtin and the Feast

Bakhtin provides us with an account of history of the feast since the Renaissance and how food increasingly loses its public celebration and grotesque conducts, to be

replaced by a more private form of consumption. This new consumption is orderly and refined with a set of table manners (Ashley, et. al., 2002).

Michael Bakhtin's analysis of the banquet appears in *Rebalais and His World*; Bakhtin traces the banquet from the sixteenth century as written by Rebalais. Rebalais offers many tales about the development of table manners and the actions of participants during carnivals. Drinking, feasting, urination, defecation, copulation and giving birth were all a part of the banquet experience. Rabelais's novel *Gargantua and Pantagruel* describes the birth of the giant Gargantua; the details of the birth are described in great detail (Ashley, et. al., 2002).

Bakhtin identifies four features in his account of the carnivalesque banquet: first, it is a communal event oriented around a central body rather than an individual body; second, is its connection to labor and struggle; third, the carnival made way for the suspension of prohibitions and allowed for free and frank forms of speech; and fourth, the banquet is associated with a "gay" time. The Renaissance culture constructed an alternative to Bakhtin's imagery of the grotesque body and the carnivalesque banquet. Bakhtin contrasts the images of feasting to those found in early bourgeois literature and claims:

"...it is no longer the banquet for all the world, in which all take part, but an intimate feast with hungry beggars at the door. If this picture of eating and drinking is hyperbolic, it is a picture of gluttony, not an expression of social justice" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 301).

#### Early American Feasting: Privatized View of Community

Robert Bellah (1991) discusses that a privatized view of community cannot function as the community becomes larger and more diverse. Arnett (1999) says that

diversity and difference are seldom keys to private community as most of us are drawn to those similar to ourselves. The blending of private and public discourse brings private discourse into the public and thus, endangers private life. Whether or not the early settlers were aware of this phenomenon is not as important as the reflections we have toward the early community.

Feasts and homecomings were popular in early and mid-nineteenth century in America; during the time of Lincoln, a late autumn thanksgiving, complete with a feast, had become the custom. The settlers adjusted to their new community by blending their private lives into the newly created public. Carole M. Counihan (2002) says that there was no reference to the Pilgrims nor origin myth in evidence. Counihan does concede that as early as 1636 fasts and thanksgivings were occasions for long sermons and abstinence from work and play. This was evident as early as December 22, 1636, in Scituate, Massachusetts, part of the Plymouth Colony. Here there was a thanksgiving celebration associated with a congregation-wide-feast (Counihan, 2002). The Pilgrims of Plymouth, like the Puritans in other Massachusetts and Connecticut settlements, religiously observed only the Sabbath, days of fasting or humiliation, and days of thanksgiving. If an event displeased the deity, the leader of the congregation announced a day of fasting. These days were observed frequently throughout the year, and on days of thanksgiving, a meal was eaten the evening before, between or after sermons. The preparation and consumption of the meal was not an important ritual activity; this signifies that the celebrated historic feast in Plymouth does not fit into the conception of thanksgiving (Counihan, 2002).

Walter Fisher (1984) points in the direction of public narratives that guide and bring individuals together rather than dividing individuals. This is accomplished by looking to a “common center” from which to thrive. A narrative is a story of a people or an organization who can provide a common center or story; this may be in the form of a web of metaphors or individual stories or may be one of metanarrative.

### **The Metaphor of Civility and Incivility: Table Manners and Taste**

#### Pre-Renaissance Table Manners: Dynamic Process

Elias shares with Bakhtin an emphasis upon the Renaissance as a turning point in the development of table manners (Elias, 1982). Elias argues that before the Renaissance, European societies were primarily organized around feudal structures; from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, these structures gradually gave way to the emergence of nations with authority. This authority was in the form of the absolute power of the monarch with an army and taxes. Elias looks to a court society, an aristocratic elite surrounding the monarch, and the manner in which these emergent power structures brought in new social developments and the transformation of personality and behavior (Ashley, 2004).

Elias explains the development of manners as a dynamic process, created by the competition between social classes. The rising bourgeois are less free to elaborate their conduct because they have professions. They were attempting to gain admittance to the courtly circle, exclusively for the ambitious bourgeoisie, and they imitated the nobility and its manners. The noble groups elaborate their conduct further, and customs that were once refined became vulgar (Elias, 1982, p. 304-5).

The social structure of table manners is attached to actions, once tolerated at the table, but no longer acceptable: belching or breaking wind were a source of embarrassment with a fear of social degradation. Tannhausser's thirteenth-century poem on courtly manners claims: "I hear that some eat unwashed (if it is true, it is a bad sign). May their fingers be palsiede!" (Elias, 1978, p. 88). Two examples given by Elias from the fifteenth century have a similar message: "Before you sit down, make sure<sup>4</sup> your seat has not been fouled;" "Do not touch yourself under your clothes with your bare hands" (Elias, 1978, p. 129). Certain feelings of shame and embarrassment were also attached to sharing bowls or plates or utensils and the boundaries between people around the table were emphasized. A late seventeenth-century song by the Marquis de Coulanges suggests:

In times past, people ate from the common dish and dipped their bread and fingers in the sauce.

Today everyone eats with spoon and fork from his own plate, and a valet washes the cutlery from time to time at the buffet (Elias, 1978, 92).

As Elias states, the use of cutlery and crockery are also associated with boundaries. The following is a guide to etiquette published in 1774:

The serviette which is placed on the plate, being intended to preserve clothing from spots and other soiling inseparable from meals, should be spread over you so far that it covers the front of your body to the knees, going under the collar and not being passed inside it. The spoon, fork, and knife should always be placed to the right...

When the plate is dirty you should ask for another; it would be revoltingly gross to clean spoon, for, or knife with the fingers...

Nothing is more improper than to lick your fingers, to touch meats and put them into your mouth with your hand, to stir the sauce with your fingers, or to dip bread into it with your fork and then suck it (Elias, 97).

Elias accounts of the emergence of manners agrees with Bakhtin's analysis of the banquet. "In both cases, a historical trajectory emerges within which grotesque, vulgar forms of behaviour are increasingly banished from the table, and bodies are increasingly policed and cleansed" (Ashley, 2004, p. 50). Elias emerges from analysis of etiquette books, and Bakhtin's account is from historical detail; for Elias, as for Bakhtin, the development of table manners comes from societal changes. Ashley, et. al. argue that Elias theories may be a problem because he deals with manners as a means of regulating relationship between men and women. Elias sees manners as a way for men to curb their passions and enhance the degree of self-restraint in men's relationships with women (Ashley, 2004).

#### Post-Renaissance Table Manners: the *Honors* of the Table

In Trussler, *The Honours of the Table*, 1788, the author explains the modern custom of the ladies leaving the dining room; in the early days, they stayed until the men drank three glasses of wine, and then they moved. "...it is the part of the mistress or master to ask those friends who seem to have dined, whether they would please to have more. As it is unseemly in ladies to call for wine, the gentlemen present should ask them in turn, whether it be agreeable to drink a glass of wine and what kind of the wine present they prefer, and call for two glasses of such wine accordingly. Each then waits till the other is served, when they bow to each other and drink" (Brett, 1969, p. 136). It was customary for the men to drink more wine than the women and not customary for the women to stay after the cloth and the dessert are removed; the ladies retired and the men remained.

Del Conte discusses a new approach to cookery writing in a book written in Manova in 1662. It is *L'Arte di Ben Cucinare*, written by Bartolomeo Stefani, chef to Gonzagas. He was the first writer to adhere to Italian traditions and include a section dedicated to *vitto ordinario* (ordinary food). Also, he was opposed to the food of the grand tables and even gave a cost of a menu: six lire for 5 kg/11 lb of meat, pasta, cheese, lard, eggs, salad, ricotta, oil, pepper, vinegar and raisins (p. 17). Stefani also dedicated part of his book to the cooking and serving of banquets; the banquet was given by the Gonzagas for Queen Christina of Sweden. It shows that at this time, Italy led the way in the organization of banquets, as well as the preparation of food. It was the first time that dinner was served with a knife, fork, and spoon, their own glass, a plate instead of a bowl and a napkin. The Italians were also known for their knowledge of good wine and their elegant manner of drinking it (Del Conte, 2002).

At the medieval dining table, guests sat in groups according to rank, “each with his own trencher and spoon...and perhaps a knife” which he kept in his pocket. Food was placed at the center of the table on large dishes for the whole group. Each diner took what he wanted and put it on the trencher in front of him. The thumb and finger were normally used for the purpose of carrying the food to the mouth, but they often used their knives to assist them. The spoon was for the soup served in a bowl. Around 1600, the manner began to change, but the manner of eating is not clear, but seems to involve the use of knives and forks. The difference is that the large medieval dish was replaced with smaller dishes. Many of the dishes in the seventeenth century show dishes scattered over the table; at the end of the century, the dishes were neatly arranged over the entire table (Brett, 1969).

Whatever the manner of serving meals, the first thing placed on the table is the table cloth. The late medieval practice of laying three cloths did not survive, but this was succeeded by either two cloths over the whole table with one removed for dessert and the other was referred to as the “accident cloth” or “spatter cloth”. The Victorians sometimes removed the table cloth entirely and replaced it with a luncheon mat at each place. The earlier nineteenth century tables also adopted this practice. A marble table without a cloth replaced the polished mahogany table (Brett, 1969). The table setting included a decorative cup; the medieval standing cup was originally for this use; the new type seen in the seventeenth century is called a porringer. Often a flower arrangement might have been placed in the center of the table and were well known and accepted.

The *plateau* in modern terms would be called a table-center, although it was much larger than any of the other pieces of the same name. It was rectangular with rounded ends, on either a low base or short separate legs two inches above the table. This center was adapted in England under European French influence; the European ones are often of mirror glass with a continuous edging made of porcelain. English examples were often of wood, painted with floral designs or papier mache. These center pieces continued to be expanded as individuals adapted themselves to various manners of expression.

Brett describes an example in the possession of the Bishop of Norwich: “A most beautiful Artificial Garden in the Centre of the Table remained at dinner and afterwards, it was one of the prettiest things I ever saw, about a Yard long, and about 18 inches wide, in the middle of which was a high round Temple supported on round Pillars, the Pillars were wreathed round with artificial Flowers---on one side was a Shepherdess on the other

a Shepherd, several handsome Urns decorated with artificial Flowers, etc” (Brett, 1969, p. 125).

William Penn and the Quakers brought their knowledge of civility and the meal to the Middle Colonies in 1682. As stated above, the Quakers were known for their frugality and temperance. The following statements are attributed to William Penn and his reference to women and men and their collective culinary attitudes. Men and women, he wrote, should never “live to eat,” but rather “eat to live.” Even when “recipes of cookery are swelled to a volume,” the Quaker must choose to “have wholesome but not costly food.” Penn said, “Enough is as good as a feast” while criticizing “the luxurious eater and drinker who is taken up with an excessive care of his palate and belly” (McWilliams, 2005, p. 169). At a point of inclusion or exclusion, Penn admonished his followers to shun “feasting and revellings, banquetings and wakes” (p. 169). The Quakers were instructed to keep life plain and simple; they strove to take the pleasure out of eating. According to Penn, these people were liberally frugal.

Elizabeth Telfer offers another discussion on civility and cynicism as she discusses the scope of temperance versus gluttony. The word *temperance* is addressed in relationship to food, not what is most often discussed in relationship to alcohol and abstinence. Telfer discusses the virtue of temperance and how it corresponds to food. The pleasures of food are argued throughout the ages; Aristotle defines pleasure in relationship to food, drink, and sex; Telfer disagrees and argues that merely eating too much or drinking too much does not make one a glutton. One may be hungry or encouraged to eat by someone else.

This chapter looks at several metaphoric frameworks to analyze what was happening in the historical moment. The Renaissance and Early America offer the reader two distinct time frames but are similarly connected because of the relationship of Early Americans to their European ancestors. The following chapter, Modernity and postmodernity, follows the same metaphoric frame work as the previous chapters, but also includes more specific applications of the models used in Chapters III and IV. For example, the idea of community and the meal is examined by gender, popularity, and also tradition. Modernity and postmodernity were influenced by the classical period and the renaissance and early America, but the actuality of this period is the influence of the popular media. Magazines, newspapers, and television added to the complexities of the period and also, the content of cookbooks and eating habits. Modernity and postmodernity has been the subject of scholars and popular culture. Encompassing all three periods for a clearer picture of the metaphors and their contribution to understanding community and the meal completes the story of community and the meal.

## **Chapter V: Modernity and Postmodernity**

The modernity and postmodernity periods will be examined through the lens of several metaphors: community and the meal; narrative and petite narrative (cookbooks and recipes); inclusion and exclusion (feast versus power); public and private (banquets and home cooking); and civility and incivility (table manners and taste).

### **The Metaphor of Community and the Meal**

Each week, members of the community pick up a variety of newspapers to read their favorite section about sports, entertainment, travel, or cooking. For many Americans, enjoying a cup of coffee or tea and turning the pages of an American, daily newspaper has become a true ritual embedded in a consumer culture. Individuals carry on a conversation with writers on foods and their significance to daily life. While at first glance the newspaper seems harmless, in contrast, a second glance of a newspaper article may cause some concern regarding conflict, stereotyping, class difference, political prejudice, or even gender profiling regarding food related topics. For this reason, a more in-depth reading of any section of the newspaper may reveal a more complex situation. Individuals may begin to form some type of internal response or public opinion about the articles presented. This type of media coverage is truly a phenomenal means of communication that has and continues to form a majority of the cultural ideals that promote an embedded social discourse, create social interaction, continue to form public opinion, and ultimately promote individual choices in community and the meal.

The findings reveal an abundance of information on the analysis of food as it appears in a variety of scholarly and non-scholarly publications. In the popular print media, there is one common thread that unites *Family Circle*, *The Wall Street Journal*,

and *the Pittsburgh Post Gazette* each publication regularly publishes material on food or related patterns of consumption that affects community choice.

Mennell & Murcott (1972), is one example of a body of research that examines food and community among social classes, the development of culinary cultures, and also, how ideological strains have developed through the development of cuisine identity. This text is a history of food and culture and describes why people consume food within a particular cultural period. This work helps define why certain foods or recipes are present in a given culture. While this may seem ambiguous for an analysis of food, it does provide a quick assessment of scholarly attention and (inattention) that has been placed in food and community studies throughout the years. However, this text does not provide an all-inclusive framework to the study of food and community. For this reason, it is important to classify where and how food studies have been researched historically. Most of the works in the field have been concerned with surveying how food and culture are inner-related, why these patterns of data are important, and in what ways future food studies may be related to other fields. Some of these surveys include the work of folklorist Don Yoder (1972), Jay Anderson (1971), and nutritionist Christine Wilson (1973). This particular article dealt with folklore and culture and discusses how culture shaped what people ate and why.

Margaret Mead (1964) further engages the conversation by discussing home cooking, home life, and caring for the family. In addition to these resources, two other sources are worthy of special notice. The newsletter in the Food Section of the *American Folklore Society* stays current with not only new publications and research projects in American food, but they also publish syllabi and other courses on food in a variety of

academic departments. The work and publications of the National Research Council's Committee on Food Habits occupy a central position in the study of American food. This group acts as a ground-breaking coalition between social scientists and nutritionists. They are concerned with dietary change and cultural and nutritional effects on everyday life (*National Research Council*, October, 1993). All these bodies of literature begin to offer the groundwork that has evolved in the development of food, culture, and journalism. Another study that provides a wealth of information about culture and food is the work by Pricilla Ferguson. Ferguson's research shows how cultural fields are embedded in food ideologies that define the foundations of gastronomic writings (journalism, cookbooks, and literary works); these writings propose an expansive, nationalizing of culinary discourse. It was these types of discourses that secured the autonomy of the field, and determined its operative features.

One of the best patterning studies and watersheds for applied social scientific research in food is John Bennett (1942). Bennett integrates agricultural data and local systems of custom and belief within an analysis of cultural and community change in a rural area. This study is important because it focuses on custom and beliefs of food within a community. Elenore Doudiet (1975) is similarly creative gathering materials and methods which deal with local cookery patterns of food choice and their determinants for specific regions. In this article, Doudiet claims that people choose food that comes from the ocean; in contrast, Sam Hillards's writings about southern food and geography dealt with a combination of black culture, Cajun, French, and a mix between the two cultures. Southern food and cultural geography present a consideration of food and patterns of everyday local diet that is clearly framed in an anthropologic model,

which influenced American cuisine. Richard Schweid examines many of the same questions within a much smaller scene (Schweid, 1980). This work is devoted to the relationships between how and why *hot peppers* have become such a cultural mainstay. This book examines a specific food, hot peppers, and applies the hot pepper to a variety of cultures. The peppers were not indigenous to one specific culture but were prevalent in many cultural recipes.

#### Changes in Cultural Attitudes about Food Community and the Meal

According to Geertz, “Culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action” (1973). The food section was originally written and designed with a female audience in mind. This was the turning point or horizon of significance for the increase and marketing of cookbooks and reprints of collections of recipes that appeared again and again, each week, in the newspaper food section. There has been an ongoing technical revolution in the kitchen during the past fifty years. In Europe, America and other parts of the world, cultural fields have developed and resulted in a profound change in the feelings, attitudes, and behaviors related to cooking and eating (Mennell, 1989.) Women are not nearly as concerned with home cooking as they are with “eating out.” Today’s family engages food differently than the family of the 1960s; the 1960s family was home oriented and ate most meals with the family present.

The following attempts to continue this pattern of research in food and culture by adding two additional disciplines related to community and the meal. The *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* food section had changed cultural fields in terms of gender roles, cultural attitudes about food, and appearances in food reviews. The *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* is

included because of its diverse interest with American food and culture and its commitment to community over forty-years. Although the paper has been in print since 1905, reviews of the paper were selected from the years 1960 and 2000. This expanse of time was chosen to determine if this cultural field has changed over the forty-year span or remained the same. This investigation helped support the argument that while the foreground of the news may seem banal, the background of the news still contains hidden forms of conflict that are social, political, and economical. The research was conducted in a topical order showing first how food studies have been placed in a historical context and second, to see how public relations history and media studies have framed and developed the field of food criticism in newspaper journalism.

The findings in these articles claim that food consists of a set of dietary and cultural alternatives most fully expressed in the choices and preferences of individuals within a given culture. As one can recognize, food seldom is neutral in content nor is it the product of a single disciplinary line of analysis or a simple collection of data about what people eat and why they eat it. This analysis includes information regarding public relations history, media studies, and explores why the food section is positioned where it is, and examine whether or not it contains a conflicting message.

The food section remains as one of the key components and most significant tools for social change that occurs in eating and dining out. This is reflected in the articles reviewed; the 1960s articles show families together; the 2000 articles show a cultural split. This is often because both parents work outside of the home, and time constraints are of the utmost importance. The choice and availability of foodstuffs, dishes and meals have increased enormously for most people. The democratization of cookery techniques

and manners of preparation has forced many home cooks and restaurant owners into a new and innovative style of cultural conflict. What should be eaten? How much is good or bad? These two questions have spurred an entirely new culinary narrative; the two themes are embedded in a new form of food journalism and conflict. Each week a story either promotes meat or vegetarian cooking. One example of this conflict occurred when nutritionists and medical experts began to re-examine the egg. September 7, 2001, the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* devoted an entire article to welcoming back the egg as a healthy and suitable form of food that can and should be consumed in higher quantities. Accused in the past of being harmful as a source of high cholesterol and salmonella, eggs are again being welcomed into a healthful diet (*Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, September 7, 2001.) This example is a small taste of what has and continues to revolve around a significant amount of the food section today. These ideas of conflict between good health and food have become the cultural norm. In a postmodern society, food and community are always going to be changing and the need to re-describe the basics will always be in conflict. The food section allows people to change with the social, cultural, and historical moment, and at the same time, it allows people to promote camps of cooking that are either healthy or traditional in context.

Another way to further examine the food section in its full cultural context, is to study its relationship to folklore. Folklorists have an emphasis on oral communication; their focus is on texts as fluid and changeable products of people who are often creators and audiences at the same time (Bird, 1992.) Media scholars, on the other hand, have traditionally viewed texts as fixed entities made by producers and then consumed by audiences. The food sections, however, are best understood as lying some where in the

intersection between fixed, producer-oriented text, and flexible, audience-oriented performance. Food writers make the content, but the content is shaped by an understanding of the narrative image of their readers, this in turn reshapes in a continuing circular process (Bird, 1992).

### Gender Changes in Community and the Meal

All forms of media communicate images of the sexes; many of these images promote unrealistic, stereotypical, and limiting perceptions. Three themes describe how media represents gender and gender related concerns. First, women and minorities are represented as separate voices and often women are directed to the “fluff” areas of the paper. For example, advertisers include feminine related ads on pages that include feminine related articles. Minorities are often addressed culturally through food and recipes or style rather than substance. Any scholarly research on food must address the significance of *Aunt Jemima* and how she related to the mass culture. This is the basis of a conflict within a given publication and often in the news generally.

Secondly, men and women are portrayed in stereotypical ways that reflect and sustain socially endorsed views of gender; this is evident if you read the sports section and note the inclusion of strip clubs and other related masculine interests. In contrast, the women’s sections include information that directly relates to feminine interests. These interests are usually in the form of products for the family rather than services for the individuals. Thirdly, depictions of relationships between men and women emphasize traditional roles and normalize these positions in our culture (Wood, 2001.) In general, the media continues to present both men and women in stereotypical ways with limited voices that ultimately constrain our perceptions of human possibilities.

Consistent with cultural views of gender are depictions of women as sex objects who are young, thin, beautiful, passive, dumb, and dependent. Carol Gilligan defines the need for studying girls or women differently than men. In contrast to Kohlberg, Gilligan says that a model of caring must be applied to women because the statistical studies done by Kohlberg cannot cover the complexities and issues related to women (Benhabib, 1992). Often there are stereotypes included in stories that are directed to feminine interests; these stereotypes were often emphasized in the food section in 1960. All of the news stories revolved around how women could cook better, faster, and more efficiently. The only male presence was seen in stories that showed how these beautiful, feminine women could learn more from their male counter roles and how the male world could help them be more efficient in their tasks. All the news about food seldom showed men doing housework or participating in any care-giving models. Cooking was a woman's duty in the early 1950s and 1960s and had its greatest influence in news stories advocating both rational and traditional standards of cooking and composition of meals. In 1960, the American women continues her relationship with cultural icons such as, *Betty Crocker*, *General Electric*, *Heinz Ketchup*, and a variety of other corporate themes; the newly created electronic media brought these products into a homemaker's living room. In addition to television, *The Betty Crocker Picture Cookbook* was featured as a narrative and was regarded as "the key to successful cooking."

At this point in history, women were looking for easy, quick, and nutritional foods to prepare, and journalism began to offer them a story. Standard news stories included various foods that tasted good, the recipes were easy or interesting to cook, and in addition, the recipes and stories began to reveal character and show presence in a

narrative context. News story boundaries of public and private eradicated cooking for the first time. This change encouraged the reader to satisfy internal desires through external advertising; new forms of expression were evident and being presented in the newspaper. The food section became an instant favorite for American women who were interested in food, cooking, and the family. The traditional housewife was being introduced to new cuisines, efficient appliances, and a whole new story about food and home cooking. These stories spawned a whole new sisterhood and also, recognized that the newspaper narratives were a feminine domain (Bogart, 1989).

The news stories that featured American male chefs were technical in nature. All the males were portrayed as chefs because most professional chefs did not share in popular homemaking narratives. One such article, “Feasts of Sparkling Champagne Make Holidays Last all Year Long,” portrays a chef giving your typical house wife advise on how and what to serve with champagne. The chef was quoted as saying “Some of the specialties of the house are secrets” indicating that the chefs form of cooking could not and should not be understood by your typical American housewife (*Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, September, 1960). Although the 1960s appeared suppressed and gender specific, this particular time in food journalism truly enhanced and developed the structure and format of the food section today. Food is covered in its own section and continues to highlight specific recipes, cuisines, and cookbooks; the significant change revolves around the audience. In contrast to the historical significance of the food section, the narrative is now targeted towards women, men, and children. This change is a direct reflection on the shift in public demographics, occupational changes, and most importantly, the arts and entertainment section that has become one of the leading

sections for family readership. In a statistical study in 1989, about 54% of the women and 54% of the men read and interacted with some type of the food section on a weekly basis (Bogart, 1989.)

The history of mass media reflects the tension between two conflicting impulses; one is to conserve and reinforce existing values and tastes, the other is to innovate and thereby to undermine the prevailing conventions. In the 1960s, the conservation between existing values and tastes were the norm; the only conflict that seemed to highlight the articles dealt with background and gender bias issues and the development of corporate advertising. Today the food section has changed with a new focus towards innovation and dining out, undermining the prevailing conventions to stay home and have a meal prepared by the women of the household.

#### Food Criticism as Communication

Food critics are not meant to define absolute truth. In contrast, they intend to launch a critical voyage and not chart its eventual course. Bourdaine (2003) says that the food critic's job is usually a life-long love of food and a story or narrative that provides some form to follow. This ultimately provides soul to a restaurant or eating establishment. The power of a food critic is a topic of many chefs or food providers. Chefs deliberate about the significance of a food critic and the power of the press; this is often considered to be destructive as it imposes values and meaning on consumers. This narrative structure is public and reveals private functions on the part of the cook or food preparation personnel. Critics evaluate the standard, the significance, and the critics educate the public about a particular style or cultural performance. They inform the public about whether or not they should engage or experience the restaurant's tastes and

flavors. Most critics do not understand the history of a particular chef, what has been done previously, or what experiences preceded the cultural event. The text, *Kitchen Confidential* offers a unique narrative of one chef who provides insights to these unanswered questions about the function of a chef. The true form and human experience of a real chef are exposed through this text.

*Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, Article analysis: 1960 and 2000

Stuart Ewen (1996) offers a good starting point to understand how newspapers and magazines became the mass voice in social construction. Ewen argues that the mass audience had an I. Q. of approximately 100, and therefore, audiences were capable of being manipulated and persuaded through calculated, public relations campaigns. Ewen's text provides essays by Walter Lippman, and Ivy Lee, both leaders of the liberal voice in history. They argue that people are not illiterate and that they can understand information given through the press. In addition, they argue that the liberatarian form of press is what people are thinking. This is the voice of the people with interaction between people and the media. This is significant because the food section in the 1960s was interactive and contributed to the cultural voice of the people.

The news and its development are also covered in an article written by Leo Bogart; Bogart covers what news interests most people. Which medium is preferred for what types of news? The work results were obtained from a national sample survey that compared the news preferences expressed by the public with those attributed to the public by a group of newspaper editors (Bogart, 1969). Daniel Myers covers how events enter the public sphere; this work also provides a history and placement of the newspaper in our society showing how publics are covered in the news (Myers, 1999). This is

important to this study because the food section usually provides some sponsorship. A newspaper must consider its sponsors when deciding on content because the paper is a profitable business venture. Karl Manoff, provides a body of literature that outlines the Who? What? When? Where? Why and How? of news coverage (1986). These five “Ws” and “Hs” help define what audience is reading and interested in the food section.

Manoff’s text specifically provides an outline that explains who is interested in reading the food section; what food will be featured for that year or month; when in the week a food section will be included; where the articles will appear in the paper; why the articles appear at a given time of the year or month; and how people will interpret the information given to them. It also provides a summary that explains how the news is written in story form. This text is important because it provides the voice of six working journalist, press critics, and scholars at the leading edge of media criticism. Jay Black (1997) provides essays surrounding how the American newspaper has become the public’s conversational commons or public space. A close examination of the food section will be addressed to explore where change may appear in the *The Pittsburgh Post Gazette* food section.

The following list of articles are from 1960:

Fresh Purple Plums Now in Season

Apple is Still Favorite Fruit

Food a Bed for Souls

Cool Weather Whets Families’ Appetites

Angel Cake Gala Holiday Dessert

Philosopher’s Kin Among Latest To Enrich Culinary Bookshelves

Decorated Baked Ham Main Dish for New Year’s Day

Feasts of Sparkling Champagne Make Holidays Last All Year Long

Turkey With Oyster Stuffing A t Festive Christmas Dinner

Molded Salads Are Party Fare

The Noble Roast and What to Serve With it

Give Children Part of Preparing for Yule Festival

Pitt Player's Family Lives Football All Year Round, His Wife Reports.

The 2000 articles include the following:

Pierogi and Polka

Learning what seniors think about restaurants

Al's Café big and bountiful, with dishes ranging from burgers to lobster

Food for Thought: Tour of the Strip District offers a wholly wild and woolly time  
at Wholey's

On the Table: French Connection

Munch goes to Gap City Diner

Vegetarian sandwiches aren't stuffed with flavor

Pot de Crème, crème, crème brulee are rich custards

Making the most of summer tomatoes

Cook's Corner: Come peruse the pick of the pierogi

Sauce you can't resist

Figs are in, and apple season has started.

The differences between the 1960s and the year 2000 are evident in the titles of the articles; the 1960s emphasis was on the home and home interiors, and 2000 encourages the consumer to venture out of the home and into a public venue. These

articles reveal the changes in taste, style, consumerism, and values. The public and private narrative is reflected in the content of the articles and choice of topics discussed. In the 1960s families stayed home with a savory pot roast; in the 2000s, vegetarian sandwiches, Pot de Crème, were understood and relished. These articles are a story source embedded in the cultural American tastes and lifestyles.

### **The Metaphor of Narrative and Petite Narrative: Cookbooks and Recipes**

Both old and new cookbooks can be approached as curiosities, or they can be appreciated as historical documents used to reconstruct the lifestyles and underlying philosophies of certain cultures and their writers (Bevan, 1988 ). While many think we live in an age where the practical and the philosophical have crisscrossed, and we are unable to agree upon a common ground, my interpretation is that food and culture will always bring us together. The narratives that are presented in cookbooks may be the most creative and informative communication method available to us for the purpose of regaining some form of agreeable communication. The chaos created in post-modernity is a response to modern communication and an indication that communication is breaking down; a search for new narratives or some philosophical profile needs to be found. Why not let it be through cookbooks? Calvin O. Schrag outlines and examines some of the communication methods that are important in making our connection to some common communication theories called praxis and practice. According to Schrag, communication praxis and the space of subjectivity can perhaps contribute to a new story or narrative that is both informative and ethical (Schrag, 1986). With this in mind, it may be interesting to compare and contrast some of the more important issues in Schrag's

work to the structure of cookbooks. We will be able to examine how cookbooks help us communicate more effectively and also, why cookbooks are gender bias.

### The Praxis of Cookbooks

The term praxis may be defined as the discourse that connects us to the, why? For example, why do we use cookbooks to cook and why do we only use certain cookbooks? Discourse and action are referred to as about something, by someone, and for someone. This statement describes the three-dimensional phenomenon that is present in communicative praxis that involves a referential moment, self involvement, and a rhetorical moment. This is exactly what happens when we use a cookbook. It is the praxis of the cuisine and the author's rhetorical moment that connects us to the referential moment and self involvement. Our connection is made by the cuisine (about something) by someone (the author) for someone (the cook). This referential moment focuses on human concerns; self-involvement notes that it is performed by an actor or cook. The rhetorical moment or cookbook is directed toward the other. Praxis connects us to the why? It places meaning behind our actions. When the action loses its referential importance or the cookbook is closed, we no longer see ourselves in it, and therefore, the praxis is lost. This is why the cookbook is a form of communicative praxis; it connects us to a specific event or cuisine. We learn to cook through the praxis of cuisine, and our practice is carried out through the use of the cookbook and the particular cuisine we are attempting to recreate or duplicate

One subject area that is very similar to praxis is the folklore. Often when we cook, the folklore of the dish or meal answers the why (?) in relationship to praxis. A certain method of cooking or style of a cuisine puts us in context or dialogue with the

text. In attempting to read and learn the text, we observe the cuisine or folklore as praxis. We position ourselves in the folklore of a recipe so that it becomes familiar to us. When we attempt to reconstruct a cuisine, the praxis and folklore of the cookbook acts as a deterministic communication tool which influences our eating and social habits. It is the praxis of old and new cuisines and specifically, the praxis of famous authors and cookbooks, like Julia Childs, and the Betty Crocker picture cookbook that have used folklore to steer American taste buds in new directions. The use of folklore has allowed many other authors of cookbooks to carry both the old stories and at the same time, create new ones. Praxis is crucial in the writing of all cookbooks. It is the praxis or the cuisine that creates the historical moment by understanding and recreating that moment every time the cookbook is reopened. These authors must have an awareness of the historicity of their writings. By comparing praxis and cookbooks, we able to see that every cookbook has expressive discourse and a system of history or language on one side, and on the other side, expressive action which encourages each individual to cook or act by recreating a certain historical cuisine or social practice. This connection between the individual and the steps that one follows to recreate a certain cuisine or food and thus, performing the tasks written in the cookbook text, is the discourse in action or otherwise known as “the praxis of cooking.”

Another interesting connection between communication praxis and cookbooks is the use of metaphors. According to Calvin Schrag, expression creates meaning; it is the food terminology that makes the connection to the metaphor (Schrag, 1986). Their expressions create different meanings in different contexts and are demonstrated in the interrelated discourse and action and invariably, exhibit the social consciousness upon

which language is built. The balance between discourse and action is brought together by the metaphors of action when meaning is expressed. This is exactly what happens when metaphors are used in cookbooks. “You are what you eat” means one thing to a nutritionist and another to a novelist. Standard cookbooks include various foods for several reasons: they taste good, the recipes are easy or interesting to cook, or the food is nutritious and nourishing. In addition, authors include recipes that reveal character. The metaphors provide a jumping off point of action that creates meaning. For instance, a food may be delectable, hot, sour, or possibly, slimy. It is not surprising that some foods provoke you to not want to eat them because of their revulsion. Much can be conveyed about one ethnic group’s views of another by the way they react to each other’s treasured foodstuffs. As many chefs reminds us, one man’s bowl of soup may be another man’s cup of pond water. The meaning is made by the action of pleasure in taste. The boundaries of public and private are eradicated because the action stems from the internal and is expressed in the external, and therefore, it becomes an expression in two forms. This is how many authors use metaphors in cookbooks to express meaning (Schrag, 1986).

It is important to recognize the metaphors of our ordinary diet; for example, *Chicken MacNuggets* and *Big Macs* are those foods that are so familiar to us, we eat them with barely a second thought. Other exotic delicacies like sautéed filet mignon or caviar are other types of metaphoric diet. They are the foods for the rich because they are hard to get, more expensive and often, more difficult to prepare. Last, but not least, are the foods for special occasions and sacramental celebration; we don’t prepare or eat these everyday, but we save them for special occasions. These traditional foods help us mark

our seasons and special religious events. Nearly all religions observe the custom of offering food to demonstrate gratefulness or for giving thanks. For a person whose religion is lived at a profound level, any food may have metaphoric meaning. In contrast, any food may be edible to a starving or homeless person. For an anorexic, all food may be taboo or undesirable (Bevan, 1988). All cookbooks possess and deliver some sort of metaphoric diet or bill of fare. The authors allow us to study foods and diets by distancing ourselves through recollection. Cookbooks are, in a sense, a hermeneutical process that ultimately allows us to produce more than just the sum of its parts. Through cookbook praxis we are able to recollect again and again. Eating is our earliest metaphor, preceding our consciousness of gender difference, race, nationality, and language. We eat before we talk. Each time we formulate a new recipe, we tell a new story and praxis the art of cooking.

#### The Gender of Cookbooks

All of this relates well to the concept of gender and the horizon of possibilities because using cookbooks allows our recollection to act as a key component; we relate the stories from our mothers and grandmothers from cookbooks. The morality of care situates responsibility within the context of the relationship and connection with others. Carol Gilligan (1992) offers the image that ultimately connects everyone. Gilligan's view dealt with the need to respond, and the moral imperative to care. Relationships are understood as a response to the other through a morality of care. A morality of care implies principles of equity, flexibility, and responsibility in dealing with particular situations, needs, and people. In morality of care, this focus on multiple responsibilities affirms human connection. From an ethic of care perspective, the cookbook was this human

connection. Women were labeled as care givers; they were supposed cook, clean and care for the family. The 1950s had the greatest influence on cookbooks by advocating a rational of care instead of traditional standards of cooking and composition of meals. In 1950, American women were introduced to the *Betty Crocker Picture Cookbook*. It became an instant favorite for American women who were interested in food, cooking, and eating. The traditional bride was moving away from home and leaving behind the complicated ethnic recipes that her mother created. Betty Crocker Picture Cookbook offered an ethic of care in response to cooking. Each recipe guaranteed success. For the last 49 years American women have been supplied, not only with good cake mixes, but have also been graced with the image of the perfect American homemaker “Betty Crocker”. Woman lined up for hours at department stores to buy the preview edition. Big business was a male preserve and the factory venue stood in sharp contrast with the home. Since Betty Crocker herself was made up and did not really exist and illustrator was commissioned in 1936 to create a personality that was competent-looking, dignified and appeared to be an ageless 31-year-old woman. A company conducted by a public relations firm revealed that 91 percent of all American housewives knew who Betty Crocker was and 56 percent of the woman women were able to correctly identify her to General Mills. Betty Crocker’s success spawned a whole new sisterhood and recognized the narratives in cookbooks as a feminist domain. All over America woman began to use cookbooks in their daily lives. The cookbooks were the elements that were lacking in the lives of the college girls and women war workers who moved to Levittown and settled down with ex-G.I.s. These were the girls who missed the apprenticeship at the stove which had ounce been equipped with mothers, grandmothers and great grandmothers

before them who had basic culinary skills. The breakdown of the family and culinary expertise, which traditionally passed down through the ranks, was now reestablished in cookbooks.

The only cookbooks that most American male chefs used were technical in nature. Male chefs did not read or share home-making narratives. The cookbook was written and designed with a feminist audience in mind. The responsibility of care giving was the point at which the feminist audience took control. This was the turning point or horizon of significance for the increase or market of cookbooks, and reprints of these collections of recipes appeared again and again. For many generations, cookbooks have brought together new wives and mothers to practice some form of home-management care giving and cooking. This knowledge is still apparent today as we experience an ever increasing market of cookbook publishing. The cookbook enters every home like a bible with the primary intent to offer care for the family in some way or another. These written texts maintain their historical significance because they are the tools we use for current understanding and explanation in our every day lives. We grasp meaning and create a new horizon of significance each time we use a cookbook. Meaning is derived from the constant movement of clarification between understanding (cooking procedures) and explanation (finished dish). It is the actual cooking that is saying something about someone. There has been an increasing affluence and ongoing technical revolution in the kitchen during the past fifty years. In Europe, America and other parts of the world the cultural spheres have resulted in a profound change in the feelings, attitudes and behaviors related to cooking and eating (Mennell, 1992). The cookbook has remained the key component or most significant communication tool for all of the change that has

occurred all over the world. The choice and availability of foodstuffs, dishes and meals have increased enormously for most people. The democratization of cookery techniques and manners of preparation has forced many home cooks to prepare elaborate and healthy meals for their guests and families. The circumstances of affluence and security of living favor the tendencies towards refinement in preparing the family table. According to Schrag, we need to describe and redescribe communicative praxis time and time again. This happens every time we set the table.

In a postmodern society, things are always going to be changing and the need to redescribe the basics will always be in demand. The same could be said for cookbooks. They describe and redescribe a form of communication that is in constant change. Cookbooks allow people to change with the social, cultural, and historical moment and at the same time stay within the context of cooking and eating. With these two attributes, cookbooks may be classified as a new horizon of subjectivity (Schrag, 1986).

With every writing, we hear from a new author or a new form of hermeneutical self-implicature; the perspective is on who is writing or speaking. In any communicative exchange between persons or persons and objects, there is always a self involved, and thus, there is always a person from whom the words or actions originate. For example, every cookbook has a speaker or a writer, there is always an author. What is said is not just an act of vocalizing, expressing, or saying words, rather, it is understood as saying words by someone. This concept is similar to narrative or the telling of a story by someone. Cookbooks interact with each other as people do; this is from the perspective that there is a who involved. For instance, when we read cookbooks, we subconsciously ask ourselves who is doing the cooking? Because it places their discourse and cooking

style, it is the who or the subject that is placed in a certain frame or context that influences our interpretation of their cooking. Thus, every cookbook yields a hermeneutical implicature or a situated speaking, writing, and cooking subject. Every cookbook author may be called a cooking implicate. As Schrag summarizes: “Implicated within the dynamics of communicative praxis, the subject emerges via its co-constitution with other subjects as the narrator, actor, and respondent within the human drama of discourse and social practices” (Schrag, 1986, p. 138).

Communication praxis is the space where speaking, writing and action are situated. Schrag’s theory articulates an interpretation of the self as an end and the defining notion of historical from which one searches for meaning and interpretation. To accomplish this, emphasis on the story between us is heightened, and self becomes decentered but not forgotten. This new humanism does not ignore the power of the actor but directs the actor towards a referential. This is where communicative praxis narratives emerge; they are about something, by someone, and for someone. The story of every cookbook immerses a woman’s subject in the text. We use cookbooks to make sense out of our worlds through the stories they tell. The historicity and horizons of significance are both present in every cookbook. Cookbooks are written by someone for someone and they are all about something.

#### Cooking Toward A New Rhetoric

If we are what we eat, then American food rhetoric is an all-you-can-eat buffet, a feast that stretches from sea to shining sea. They offer everything from burgers and steaks to vegetarian fare, from low-fat dishes to decadent deserts. They exist with an abundance of fresh produce ingredients available to cooks of all levels; cooks can experiment with

cuisines as varied as Thai to Tex Mex. Food rhetoric and cookbook publishing are probably one of the leading forms of acceptable communication in America today. The sheer volumes of new titles exceeds close to a thousand per year. The food rhetoric that is written in these cookbooks is nothing more than postmodern hermeneutical conversation and action for mankind. These cookbooks make us think and act outside of our decentered selves. Cookbooks offer a sense of comfort and identification to who we really are. Each cookbook has a rhetorical intentionality that reaches out by someone for someone and is about something. The purchase of a cookbook creates a deliberative action that provokes a reasoned judgment, and therefore, for this reason, cookbook ethics are unavoidable. Food rhetoric will solicit a response and create ethics. For example most of the new top selling cookbooks are written by celebrity chefs and encourage their rhetoric; a portrayal of “what’s hot? and what’s not?” From a culinary standpoint, these television cooking shows and new books are all practicing pure culinary ethics. In modernity, ethics were designed to define moral behavior from a scientific perspective. A range of ideas in relation to moral or immoral, authentic or unauthentic, and appropriate or inappropriate could all be measured and justified in relation to agreed upon moral sentiments and value judgments. The ethical questions in a postmodern society is no longer an inquiry guided by theories of moral subjectivity and an inventory of moral character, but rather it becomes a question about fitting responses for each individual and how they use and interpret discourses in all their social practices (Schrag 1986). Cookbooks and food rhetoric are the most neutral and persuasive forms of communication marketed today. When was the last time you heard someone complaining about the *Frugal Gourmet’s* methods for speaking, writing and acting.

Celebrity chefs and down-home-fare have become the new rhetorical turn. It may be thought that cookbooks and chefs represent the new Americas hero's.

Now, we are in position to see a direct relevance for a deeper understanding in relationship to the importance of cookbooks, gender, and food rhetoric discourse and action, and ethical disclosure. The rhetoric of food makes visible to the American people how the horizon of ethos and a new cuisine meet. It is through the use of food rhetoric and cookbooks that we are able to provide a deliberative and ethical discourse. The texture of relationships between, home-cooks, new cuisines, cookbooks and celebrity chefs, becomes visible only after the food rhetoric is applied and utilized in a postmodern culture. This food rhetoric becomes the turning point for creating both old and new recipes. By reading cookbooks and food rhetoric we begin to realize the importance of food and its terminology in relationship to its usefulness in its written context.

#### What's for Dinner in Postmodernity?

The philosophy of communication and cooking are both concerned with making choices according to certain situations. The presentation of information in cookbooks has a significant impact upon the eating choices we all make on a daily basis in both our public and private lives. When we read and interpret cookbooks, we influence the beliefs, attitudes, and actions of all those we feed. This critical choice-making process allows us to develop and better understand the true philosophy of cooking. A philosophy of cooking is concerned with the level of agreement or overall understanding we all have when we use a particular style of cooking. The main subject of cooking remains the same. What changes is the ethos (new chefs) ethics (new cooking techniques) and a new

humanism (new cuisines). With these ideas in mind, how should we prepare to cook in post modernity? First and foremost, the trend towards home cooking is back. Just as the explosion hit in the 1950s, the 1990s have proven to exhibit an increase in the preparation of home cooked meals. In post modernity, the main narration or conversation is on-going within an individual's home. When people go to work, they have home and food on their minds. If they are dining out they are attempting to frequent home-style chain restaurants like *Eat 'n Park* and *Lone Star Steakhouse*. Cookbooks and recipes can be a key communication tool and enhance mealtime conversations. The successful cookbooks are the ones that practice and produce home cooking and at the same time tell a story. For example, *The Three Rivers Cookbook* featured professional chefs and home cooks from Pittsburgh and surrounding areas and included favorite recipes that had a history. Families and cooking are the primary focus of authors and publishers because people are weary of architectural food and rich desserts. However, public tastes may change in the years to come, one thing is for certain, cookbooks will be there to point the way. It a communication category and tool that has been in use forever and will continue to be because people *want to* and *have to* eat.

It is interesting to think about why we write cookbooks and how they influence our daily eating and cultural habits. Reading, writing, and using cookbooks are all significant forms of communication praxis. Cookbooks are the nuts and bolts of culinary communication. Certain cookbooks and recipes are the foundation of the trade. We interpret these books and pass on the knowledge to others who are interested in learning how to cook. The concept that is interesting is the overall continuous response that never changes from year-to-year in relationship to cookbooks. Some cookbooks are like old

classical manuscripts that are passed from one generation to the next (Peters, Dec. 1997). This is why the cookbook is probably one of the most important communication tools we can use in post-modernity. A cookbook's narration or conversation is, in a sense, a silent but persuasive form of communication. We buy and use cookbooks without any negative response. Every cookbook is similar to a true virtue. We read, interpret and decide, with little bias, every recipe that is written. If an individual wants or needs to change or heighten an event, a new or old cookbook may be utilized to cook- up the dish of the day, *Post-modernity Stew*.

### **The Metaphor of Inclusion and Exclusion; Feast versus Power**

#### Taboos, Tastes, and Culture

As is evident in many cultures, proverbs are used to describe a way of life through the consumption of food. While there are many perspectives to the study of food and culture, the best way to study organizational differentiation is to categorize different cuisine as sub-cultures. According to these studies the consensus emerges only within the boundaries of a subculture. These macrocultural and microcultural cuisine types emerge out of consensus within the nationality itself. The difference is how and why we want to reinterpret particular cuisine and do not adapt to others. For example, Irish food is rich in heritage and tradition both here in the United States and Ireland. The Irish are noted for their hospitality toward both friends and strangers, and this is evident in all aspects of their social functions. In ancient days, anyone who had partaken of food in an Irishman's home was considered to be secure against harm or hurt from any member of the family. No one was ever turned away. This subculture is very different from other cuisines such as Indian or French. In both of these subcultures, we see a different picture

of organizational culture. The French treat an outside diner as just that: an “outsider.” The same is true with Indian cuisine. If you are not from that culture, your participation in dining in certain dining rituals is not welcomed. This is quite different than that of an Irishman (Levenstein, 1988).

Today many regional differences distinguish different tastes with different cuisine. Take, for example, the cuisine of both the United States and Canada. Both of these cuisines have evolved over several centuries and both encompass a large area of land and massive population. But both cuisines are very different in different subcultures within each country. This is because of temperature and migration. In both the United States and Canada there are many climates ranging from subfreezing cold to blistering summer heat! Ethnic mixes, dining styles, and natural resources differ from one province to another. With such a variety of resources and a wide historical context with migration, both of the population’s eating and dining habits encompass organizational cultural differentiation. Although other ethnic cuisines have not entered the main stream, many individual foods from various ethnic groups or subcultures have been accepted throughout most of the world. Take, for example, beef stroganoff (Russian) and Goulash (Hungarian). Some other examples of micro-cuisines might be African American cuisine, Amish cuisine, and Native American cuisine. The foods from these cultures are examples of cuisines that grew out of American sub-cultures. African American cuisine has its roots interrelated between ethnic groups from the African American culture and southern American culture. While many different cuisines still operate within their cultural boundaries, many subcultures reject adaptation and change in different eating and dining habits. But even with these strong cultural differences, certain ethnic dishes have

been modified in some form or another to avoid complete cultural fragmentation and elimination (Levenstein, 1988).

While many food studies have been done in the past and many will surface in the future, researchers should consider framing their studies through organizational cultural methods. Of course, people have been thinking about organizational communication and how it affects managerial approaches and the effects on people. Although few studies have approached food in this manner it is quite clear that it can be done. What we fail to recognize about food and people is that we all have to make plans to eat. How cultures have handled this organizing principle in the past varies. What we have tried to do in this essay is apply three different approaches from organizational culture theory to depict where an emergence of food rituals have occurred to see if they have integrated, differentiated, and finally fragmented in any way. Because of the nature of this effort, we have had to organize our research from a historical perspective. What might be interesting for future researchers is applying this approach to modern food rituals to see where organizational cultural integration, differentiation, and fragmentation may be present (Levenstein, 1988).

Each religion has evolved certain rituals or customs that are important to the members of the religion. The observance of these rituals is believed to be mandatory since they express and reaffirm the various beliefs of the religion. A fragmentation in belief occurs when these rituals or customs are neglected. Religious ceremonies have encompassed food throughout history within many cultures. The various religions of the world have a profound influence on man's dietary practices and customs. Over the centuries, religions have often decreed what foods humans could or could not eat.

Certain foods are meant to be eaten on certain days of the year and prepared in special ways. Many of these dietary habits have become symbolic and are fragmented from the rest of society. In fact, regulations regarding food and drink either fragment or promote religious membership. For example, the giving of food, or abstaining from food, to secure the goodwill and protection of the gods has been common throughout history. The practice of fasting and feasting has fragmented society in all sorts of ways. The idea of sacrifice and abstaining from food has fragmented throughout religious belief systems. Historically, both guilt and sacrifice have meant different things to different cultures. The one certainty we see here is that fragmentation and alienation of certain rituals and food traditions vary from culture to culture (Levenstein, 1988).

Taboos, like religion, have fragmentation throughout history. While certain foods seemed good for some, they were forbidden for others. Dietary rules are a predictable feature that allowed groups to see themselves as separate and distinct from the rest of the world. Early people had to learn by trial and error that foods were edible and which were not. As indicated above the perception of edibility is heavily concerned by the society in which one might live. In all cultures, aversion to food has created multiple fragmentation. Food aversions, according to Rozin (1987) arise because of beliefs or ill health or misfortune. Rozin suggests that the term “taboo” should be reserved for those aversions that are backed up by religious views of obedience to the will of a deity. Even in Roman literature, Cicero records in his description of the squalid feast, “food that has touched the ground was taboo to Romans.” Another explanation relates to an ancient taboo still observed by some primitive cultures. The raising of pigs was part of the early agricultural pattern and pastoral people soon came to regard the swine as an expression of

settled existence. Later, they transferred their contempt for the pig as a way of life to its symbol of dirt. They decried it as unclean and avoided its flesh. Finally, some cultures considered the pig as part of the group; killing it would symbolize the killing of one of their own ancestors (Rozin, 1987).

It is clear that religion and taboos have fragmented food ritual throughout history. Even today, certain cultures still will not eat certain foods. What is important at this point is while man tends to organize, he also tends to fragment when it comes to food rituals. We have seen examples throughout history that prove that a significant amount of organizational cultural fragmentation has split people for many reasons. This frame of reference, however, only goes so far in explaining interpretations of ambiguity expressed by members in different cultures in history. What needs to be noted at this point is that when cultural fragmentation occurs in cultures regarding food rituals, the culture has to have a predominate negative tone in their stories and metaphors to be classified as organizational cultural fragmentation (Levenstein, 1988).

#### Tradition in a Changing Age

The Thanksgiving Banquet has been a vital segment of American life for three and a half centuries. The early days of prayer set aside by the Puritans positioned individuals into cheerful days of family reunion in modernity and postmodernity. The holiday has accommodated new attitudes and inventions and at the same time, maintained an original tradition (Counihan, 2002).

The centrality of tradition observed by our ancestors continues today: families gather for the holiday; ministers deliver Thanksgiving sermons; and political figures, primarily, the President of the United States, present Thanksgiving proclamations with a

hint of political bias. Although families still maintain traditional values and customs, recent decades have added “a new twist” to time-honored traditions. Horse drawn buggies once pulled up to small houses in colonial America, and now, sedans and station wagons pull into suburban driveways. The vehicles that bring families home for Thanksgiving may have changed, but the love and faith that draws them together has not. Families still carefully pack pies and vegetable dishes to the banquet to add to the welcoming aroma of a roasting turkey. “Home for the holidays” creates a web of metaphors that explain the national tradition and personal desires of individuals. Offices close and campuses begin to empty, as Americans go “home for the holidays”. Thanksgiving eve is one of the busiest travel days of the year as Americans hope for the traditional dinner created by the Puritans; millions of families attend church, sing hymns, and give “thanks” for their year’s blessings (Applebaum, 1984).

Television has presented a new dimension for the Thanksgiving feast; homes are filled with “togetherness” that revolves around the Thanksgiving Day Parade and the annual football game. While the Puritans quoted scriptures, modern Americans attempt to blend religion with modern technology. Television provides the background for the family while receiving guests, setting the table, and eating the annual feast. The following is a poem written by an Episcopal Bishop tying the Lord’s Prayer to the National Football League:

Our football, which art on television  
 Hallowed be thy game  
 Thy fullback run, thy pass be flung,  
 In Miami as it is in Dallas.

Give us this day our four quarters  
And forgive our trips to the bathroom  
As we forgive our fumblers.  
And lead us not into conversation,  
But deliver us from off-sides;  
For this is power and the popular culture  
Forever and ever, Amen (Applebaum, 1984).

#### Proclamations and Sermons

Early American political ends were associated with an association with the American Indians; today proclamation speeches are much like sermons that were delivered in earlier days. President Lyndon Johnson managed to move both liberals and conservatives with his Thanksgiving day speech in 1966; this speech was filled with social reform that promoted society:

“Never, in all the hundreds of Thanksgiving Days, has our nation possessed a greater abundance, not only of material things, but of the precious intangibles that make life worth living. Never have we been better fed, better housed, better clothed. Never have so many Americans been earning their own way, and been able to provide their families with marvelous products of a momentous age. Nor has America ever been healthier, nor had more of her children in school and in college. Nor have we even had more time for recreation and refreshment of the spirit, nor more ways and places in which to study and to enrich our lives through the art” (Applebaum, 1984).

It was not uncommon for Puritan ministers to discuss politics in their

Thanksgiving sermons. It was part of their duties to direct attention to the hearers of events of a public nature (citation). Sermons functioned as an important medium for political discussion; these sermons preached for specific purpose just as the political proclamations are delivered today. Ministers believed that they could discuss specific aspects of the changing political climate and thus, represent the people involved.

Thanksgiving sermons in 1766 illustrated the specifics directed to the events that dominated the time frame. The following sermon was delivered by Edward Winslow to celebrate the earlier Thanksgiving harvests:

“Our harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent foure men fowling, so that we might after more special manner rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruit of our laboures; they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with little helpe beside, served the company almoste a weeke, at which time amongst other recreations we exercised our arms, many Indians coming amongst us, and amongst the rest their greatest King Massasoyt, with some ninetie men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five deere which they brought to the plantation and bestowed on our governour, and upon the captain, and others” (Hough, 1957).

These rhetorical discourses share many common attributes. First, they both encompass government and the people serving as one. Second, they give thanks for an abundance of good fortune in relationship to food and material things. Both of these speeches share a common rhetoric.

Prevailing Customs Past and Present

The first Thanksgiving observance was in December, 1621. On July 30, 1623, Governor Bradford proclaimed a second Thanksgiving when a ship was sighted, heading for the port, carrying needed supplies from England. This second Thanksgiving was not connected to the harvest, but on the delivery of supplies. In the year 1668, November 25 was designated as Thanksgiving day; the following is taken from the Plymouth Colony records: "It has pleased God in some comfortable measure to bless us in the fruits of earth" (Hough, 1957). At this time the Puritans were observing the harvest; this established the rhetorical tradition with a universal power in relationship to meaning. The gathering of food and the symbolism of life both represent community observance; the custom of feasting and sharing was established (Hough, 1957).

The manner in which all religious seasons were observed by the Puritans was the natural expression of the lives they lived. They were serious people with a great deal of superstition. For example, people abstained from food until the second service; this fasting was a custom that was from ancient times. Later, they would sit down to a simple and a plain affair; they lost their significance early because of prejudice against the church of England. The customs around the New England Thanksgiving are the most interesting: the autumn harvest festival related to social life, and the forces that inspired them have gradually built modern social life. The Thanksgiving rhetoric was based on a rhetoric of "home life," and its power is in the social rather than the religious (Hough, 1957). The feast includes members of the family, fathering, and sharing a rhetorical significance. The "thanks" is in the spirit of great gratitude representing a symbol of the Lord's good will.

### **The Metaphor of Public and Private; Banquets and Home Cooking**

Every year we celebrate Thanksgiving as one of America's most treasured holidays. Millions of American families pause to give "thanks" for the "blessings" they enjoy. The last Thursday of November has become a day of thanks and is part of a fixed rhythm in our national life.

#### Thanksgiving and Puritan Rhetoric

The first American Thanksgiving was celebrated in the little colony of Plymouth, Massachusetts. The values of the early Puritans are similar to those represented in modernity and postmodernity. By engaging the historical moment of the seventeenth century Thanksgiving, it is possible to compare the early values to those of postmodernity. The rhetorical ideas presented, provides evidence that a "Thanksgiving rhetoric" has significantly shaped this traditional holiday (Hough, 1957).

Among the early settlers of the British colonies along the Eastern seaboard of North America in the seventeenth century, were a community of religious dissenters who, in their fantasies, had portrayed themselves as the elected Saints of God's invisible church (Love, 1895). Prior to their migration, they had been part of a major expression of the Protestant Reformation in England. These people were known as the Puritans because, in their shared dramas, they saw their role as that of reformers of an established church. They restored it to the primitive purity and simplicity of the early Christian church and dreamed of ridding the Church of England of its sinful morality (Love, 1895).

In England, new communication practices evolved; this dramatized preaching as the central communication transaction for their community. They developed a complex canon that guided their communication and formulated a sophisticated rhetorical theory.

They brought to America a mature rhetorical style. By the time they signed the Mayflower compact off Plymouth Rock, they already had a tightly knit rhetorical community (Applebaum, 1984). Never before, in the history of white settlements in North America or in the history of the United States, has a group of speakers developed that had such a clear and uncontested set of rhetorical ideas. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Puritan rhetorical style had become detailed and consistent. The Puritan rhetorical style of speechmaking emphasized and fantasized about the drama of preaching and their role in religious observations (Love, 1895).

The celebration of a harvest festival and the Pilgrims in 1621, is an illustration of the influence of these new conditions and circumstances. Colonial *fast* and Thanksgiving days evolved from the large number of holidays that the Catholic Church celebrated at the time of the reformation (Love, 1895). Most Puritans believed in God's providence; they believed that God intervened directly in men's affairs. Abundant harvests, and the birth of a healthy child, were all interpreted as manifestations of God's pleasures or displeasures with the people. God had sent a sign; special days were needed, and Thanksgiving days were created to satisfy this need (Love, 1895)

Since preaching was the central form of communication, the congregational minister explained, to his parishioners, that it was fit and reasonable to assemble together to give thanks to God for an abundant harvest. Thanksgiving sermons were primarily concerned with assembling people together to give thanks for good will and also, to share food. Colonists invited guests to their homes, enjoyed lavish meals and generally, celebrated in the same manner we demonstrate today. Thanksgiving combines both religion and public celebration while inducing the community to act in unison (Hough,

1957). Puritan rhetoric sustained this cohesive religious community; the daily routine for the people was “back breaking” and full of drudgery. The rhetorical appeal to the drama of being God’s chosen people and the celebration of Thanksgiving, provided a sense of importance. This ceremonial rhetoric in the form of preaching, provides the persuasion that forced people to assemble together to give thanks. This was the “birth” of Thanksgiving (Hough, 1957).

#### Thanksgiving Rhetoric in Modernity and Postmodernity

Experiencing and enjoying holidays and food provides an opportunity to participate in rhetorical ideas that determine the parameters of the society in which we live. An analysis of rhetoric in popular culture and Thanksgiving offers a unique and modern perspective of this American holiday in popular culture. The rhetoric reflects the ideas and cultural norms of everyday life as the language of the holiday transmits a persuasive style of rhetoric (Hough, 1957).

The holiday falls on the last Thursday of November, and the advertising and participation, in relationship to artifacts and symbols, encourage the holiday to remain unchanged. In modernity and also, postmodernity, turkey is the predominant symbol of food served at the Thanksgiving “feast”. In addition to the Thanksgiving symbols, holiday parades and Christmas shopping “fall” around the same time of year. These cultural norms help identify and support the creation of a unique rhetorical style (Hough, 1957).

Popular culture rhetoric is so persuasive that it is almost invisible. The simplest way to perceive rhetoric in popular culture, and how it operates in society, is to understand that people do what is expected of them. This action is performed because of

its familiarity, and thus, action becomes habit; habit ultimately becomes custom. For example, families and individuals celebrate Thanksgiving every year at the same time, rooted in sentiments, justifications and explanations that have the force to create what we think and speak (Applebaum, 1984). These customs are believed to be right and are ultimately and necessarily, right. Another issue is that one does what is expected because it is convenient. We celebrate Thanksgiving by reading and interpreting rhetoric in popular culture because of its ease and efficiency. The exchanges of dialogue and the use of advertising and popular narratives are essential; these exchanges support the moral convictions that identify this style of rhetoric (Whetmore, 1979).

Two styles of rhetoric that have been introduced are both significant because Puritan rhetoric created the concept of Thanksgiving; and rhetoric in popular culture maintains its traditions. The rhetorical theories presented have created traditions for the Thanksgiving holiday that contain similarities both past and present. These theories combine humanistic and social perspectives that interpret the historical record in terms of rhetoric.

#### Culinary Rhetoric and the Harvest Feast

The foods consumed express a variety of messages about individuals and their culture. Some are related to the availability of food; the foods in season; the economic nature; and other unique factors contribute to the tradition. Tradition and context shape the foods we eat and when we eat them. Thanksgiving dinner is a national institution; each dish must be prepared in the same way year after year; the menu seldom changes. There is no substitute for turkey and stuffing, although, the stuffing recipe may vary. The participants understand the rhetoric, the food, the event and the contexts that are encoded

in them. The foods appear in a particular event, in a particular time, embedded in the historical moment; the theory of food rhetoric is significant because food is fundamental to a community's values. Such meaning may become ritual because individuals participate in traditional structured ways in their social network. This is an issue often taken for granted because of its social norm. The values and social context between Puritan times and Modernity are unchanged because of food rhetoric; this rhetoric created the focus of our Thanksgiving holiday. Thanksgiving is a "constant" with the power of food rhetoric present. Two Thanksgiving menus, from Puritan culture and from Modernity and Postmodernity are included in the appendix (Applebaum, 1984).

#### **The Metaphor of Civility and Incivility; Table manners and Taste.**

When ethical judgments dealing with manners and taste arise, a focus on what is right and what is wrong are the most common issues that come to mind. Ethical judgments do not stop here; they also focus on virtue, vice, and obligation in all types of human behavior. Ethical issues arise whenever human behavior is imposed on other people, and the impact affects their choices both past and present. Ethics denotes the general and systematic study of what ought to be the grounds and principles for right and wrong human behaviors (Johannesen, 1996.) When applying this concept to manners and taste, the issues of virtue, vice or taboos, and obligation or participation are evident.

As mentioned before when we think of what is ethical and what is not ethical we also think about what might be right and what might be wrong. In the case of defining a food ethic we must first examine how food and dialogue have been traditionally placed in our society. Man was created hungry. And being hungry created this response: "*Let's eat, or what shall I eat.*" As you can notice by these brief words as well as with Buber's

words of *I and Thou* (1958) the interaction of eating involves both the individual and the other. Although to satisfy hunger needs no reason; and it is as natural as sleep, we do need reason to store up food for future use, to cultivate it, to cook it and make it palatable. All this requires a degree of reasoning through the development of tradition and custom. And to make eating a custom or tradition, a social pleasure to be enjoyed with one's fellows, requires some degree of cultural advancement that is learned through the dialogues of others or created through the individual monologue of reason and desire. Take any people in the world, study their eating habits and you will have a pretty good story or dialogue in regards to their social progress.

The French and the English, who have reached what we consider a high degree of civilization, in the social sense, have all developed table manners that have been regarded as the right way to eat. The Australians and the Africans who are still groping at the bottom rung of civilization eat with their hands and crude implements that are referred to as the wrong way to eat. So you can see that even though human beings need food to survive there is still a high level of reasoning between right and wrong and how we choose to make choices in the way we eat and communicate about food. While some of these decision about food may seem simple and mundane many other issues regarding food choices are not so simple (McIntosh, 1985).

For example, food and religion, this subject alone has led millions of people to decide when to eat and what to eat in relationship to their faith. The politics of food and faith are by no means neutral. Some of the ethical concerns concerning food and religion are also followed (McIntosh, 1985).

Foreign trade generally concentrated on the movement of luxury foods. While this was beneficial to merchants and affluent social groups, it undermined the position of the poor. Food was sometimes exported while poor people were hungry. Monopoly control over the food supply provided merchants with the opportunity to exploit the poor. The merchants were hungry for profits and resented the fact that the Sabbath and holidays were days of rest. The exploitation of the poor, which resulted in hunger and poverty, involved the unethical uses of power by merchants, government officials, members of the court and religious authorities to decide how to distribute food making it a social injustice and not a fateful accident. Clearly the above circumstances are limited but they do introduce some of ethical concerns regarding food and religion (McIntosh, 1985).

Another category in history that dealt with food ethics was the use of food as remedy. Even in Gorgias, Plato's dialogue On Rhetoric there were analogies of food in regards to their ethical placement in regards to defining rhetoric. A comparison is made in the dialogue to defining two arts. The first which has to do with soul or politics; and the other which concerns the body is designated and is designated in two branches gymnastics and medicine. In the dialogue Socrates replies "Thus cookery assumes the form of medicine; and pretends to know what is good for the body." In this dialogue Socrates sets up the famous opposition between cosmetics, cookery, sophistic (political oratory), and rhetoric (forensic oratory), on one hand, gymnastics, medicine, legislation, and justice on the other. This opposition suggests rhetoric is not morally neutral because it can be used to conceal the truth. The interesting part of in the dialogue is how food is used in the dialogic exchange to discover the value of rhetoric. Cookery is used to help define what is right and what is wrong with the uses of rhetoric. In this dialogue rhetoric

and cookery are mere flattery and temporary cover-ups for the real truth. We also are able to discover how both food and the rhetoric were used to solve man's oldest ethical dilemmas (Garnsey, 1999).

Our last concern in food ethics history is concerned with the subject of the “*Otherness*.” In this category we examine how human consumption or eating habits have positioned themselves with the other. We gain access to ancient societies and cultures mainly through the dialogue of a wide range of spokesmen. Food is often at the ethical questions, because the food we eat the way we eat are an integral part of social behavior and cultural patterns, which themselves differ in many ways. The term “*Otherness*” regards food as one the significant markers of divergence. The contrast of food choices and eating customs between the urban elite and poor dates back to Graeco-Roman times. The construction is ideological because it places certain people and certain cultures in identity situations. For one group of people or one particular culture there has always been the another group or culture referred to as the other which they themselves make comparisons. Comparing morals, values an ethics from earlier societies about what was the right ways to eat and wrong ways to eat do this comparison. While this may sound rather absurd, the “*Otherness*” has been a staring point to understand different food traditions and customs in many varying cultures for centuries (Garnsey, 1999.) The late classical and early Hellenistic period witnessed a major transformation of diet and food preparation and consumption habits of Greeks everywhere. This was the starting point of *haute cuisine* an elaborate style of cooking which imported foods and technical preparations from other cultures. These new cuisine's and other diets are the beginnings of modern cookery as we know it today. In our culture in both the past and present we

are introduced to other approaches to cuisine and dieting. Even today this method of *Otherness* is the on going dialogue of food ethics (Davidson, 1997).

#### Food Ethics Today

To this point, we have learned the importance of dialogue and cultural reactions to food ethics. We have discovered they been very diverse depending upon the contexts in history and how ethical questions were framed in relationship to food and societies. With a-historical bedding in place we can now turn to examining this on going dialogue in food ethics today. While many of us may think that food ethics have transpired into a new and unusual phenomenon, some may be surprised to learn that food ethics still encompass the same complex issues that revolve around the uses of dialogue, religious intents, rhetorical effects, and how others react to these issues. So what is food ethics today and how do we find out the direction it is going. “Interactional competence refers to a social judgment about the goodness of fit of the interactions that define a particular relationship with exigent conditions of social context (Baxter and Montgomery, 1996.)

There is an ongoing dialogue between the social self and a culture that leads us to a constant understanding of the different social structures we encounter every day. Thus, notions about competence are thought about and changed in both interpersonal and group exchanges. We experience these exchanges with group settings through cultural artifacts like films, magazines, and institutional teachings, in the form of church sermons and college lectures. From an interpersonal level we share in conversations with partners, friends and family. By observing, comparing and talking with others in their social network’s people are able to re-create and revise social judgments. This type of a dialogue is common in modern food ethics, because food ethics are relational in practice. Food ethics are found in our daily social practices in a wide variety of conversational

exchanges. We make social judgments in regards to what we should eat, how much we should eat, and when and why we should eat. The dialogue of food is present in our daily lives, and deciding what should be right and what should be wrong in relationship to food choice is captured in these dialogical forms of interactional competency relationships. From these relationships three common themes emerge from competency literature: location, abstraction, and criteria (Spitzberg, 1994). With respect to location, our dialogic view locates competence in the social unit formed between the “object” of judgment and the “subject” who provides the judgment. In regards to abstraction, a dialogic view of competence must be grounded in interactive behavior and finally, any discussion of criteria must acknowledge the dialogical view of relating well, or understanding existing criteria to draw judgments. As mentioned before food ethics revolve around issues that deal with religion, rhetoric, and the other. A significant amount of research in food ethics continues to raise ethical questions within these interactional areas. These interactional patterns both define and redefine how and why we make certain social judgments regarding food ethics (citation).

#### Food Ethics & Religion

Since primitive times, human beings have used food as a means to relate to a Supreme being. Since food is so essential to the physical existence, it is not surprising that it has embedded itself in religion. Along with their religious role, dietary habits have served as a means of separating one religious group from another. In a recent article published by Muriel R. Gillick (Feb., 2001) *The Journal of Medical Ethics*, the role of religious beliefs was questioned in relationship to a patients’ right to accept life sustaining treatment through artificial nutrition. According to the article, the interactional

competency location involved a dialogical exchange between the patient, family, and medical staff trying to decide if religious traditions would advocate the use of artificial nutrition and hydration in cases where the patient can no longer feed themselves (*Journal of Medical Ethics*, Feb., 2001.) The essay extended the dialogue and questioned traditional feeding values, and religious beliefs, as the object to judge and the human as the subject being judged in regards to suffering. According to Nelson (1980), the dialogue between ancient beliefs and modern medical procedures show how justifiable social judgments need to be made in the field of food ethics. The meaning of life that originated in traditional Halachi Judaism poses many ethical dilemmas for patients and physicians. This is significant to the study of food ethics because a patient's rights versus the will of religious beliefs or the value of life will continue to require some form choice. The role of food and religion continues to increase. People need to obtain spiritual gratification and also will continue to observe certain religious traditions through dietary practices. The ongoing dialogue between food and religion will continue to play a major role in how we choose to make ethical decisions in regards to our food selection and how we practice our religious beliefs (Nelson, 1980).

#### Food Ethics & Rhetorical Behavior

While it is customary for food to be served at the table in Western societies, many cultures still eat food on the floor and also eat with their fingers. From an ethical standpoint this may seem odd to many people depending upon cultural background. Historically, and even today, many of the world's people prepare foods in such a way that they become essential component of the meal. Some research has provided insight to the quality of food and dietetic practices. Zigun (1997) discusses both food choice and

nutrition education and the concern for food ethics in both the past and now future. Understanding which foods are appropriate for a given meal, who prepares the meal, how the meal is prepared, the way it may be served, and who eats with who are all ethical concerns that encompass interactional competency of abstractive dialogue. To understand certain cultures eating behaviors and nonverbal gestures involves some understanding or social judgment in regard to how one might behave or should behave. Thus the study of meals and meal ethics shows how food conveys powerful rhetorical messages about social relations, personal beliefs, and many other aspects of a culture in relationship to making ethical judgments. Symbolic meaning in food and cultural behavior make up the dialogue that continues today in food ethics (Zigun, 1997).

As indicated above, the perception of ethical choices in eating habits may seem progressively relaxed. On the other hand food ethics may also take another turn regarding certain taboos and uses of food. Two such cases involve cannibalism and food aversions. Dialogues of all societies reveal that during starvation, some of its members have resorted to cannibalism. The most famous recorded example in American history was the tragedy that occurred at Donner Pass in 1846. A party of settlers from Illinois became snowbound and ran out of both food and water. While some died of natural causes others chose to eat the dead. This raised many ethical questions regarding both the rights to life and the sacredness of death (Barlett, 1989). Also According to Rozin, (1987) a leading author of food and cultural habits claims, many food aversions arise because beliefs that ill health or misfortune may result from the consumption of various foods. He suggests, “that the term “taboo” should be reserved for those aversions which are backed up by religious views of obedience to the will” (Barlett, 1989).

## Food Ethics and the Other

Our final area of emphasis deals with understanding the dialogue that goes on between the “*other*” and how certain criteria lays the ground work for making social judgements. Nearly all the ethical concerns that revolved around food the “*other*” was subject in some form of dialogue. Take for example the *Jack in Box* crisis management dialogue that was created in the late 1990’s. Ulmer & Sellno (2000) discuss the case that involved the distribution of bad hamburgers by the hamburger chain that in turn ended up killing six children. The public relations campaign used had an already existing criteria of crisis management rhetoric that allowed *Jack in the Box* to protect it self from public demise. The dialogue involved *Jack in the Box* against the “*other*” the public to save its reputation as a hamburger chain and continue to stay in business. The public relations crisis management dialogue was later questioned concerning the judgements made by the corporation concerning why they lied about evidence and intent. (*Journal of Business Ethics*, May, 2000). Another case involving food ethics and the “*other*” concerns diet and image. We are faced with in our society with dilemma of always trying to measure up to the images of eating right and looking our best. Food companies and the diet industry spend millions each year trying to convince the public what and how they should eat. From this perspective, the existing criteria is in advertising and persuasion by these food giants. Consumer behavior and social science research will not always yield truthful outcomes (Zigan, 1997). The “*other*” in this case is the consumer who is persuaded through rhetorical techniques to change their belief about the way they look and what they should be eating. There have ethical questions raised concerning diets and how they should be enacted as health replacements. For many a quick diet is not always the best

thing for good health. Diet companies everywhere advertise how a person can lose a few quick pounds not taking into consideration the danger involved with mere interpretation. Medical science counters gluttony with the need for a sensible diet: it prescribes rational control over one's eating with discipline or change. Science comes to the table, controls the menus and works with the moralists (Diet Industry) in converting the natural into the cultural. Just like the institution of civility, the diet industry seeks to control bodily instincts and subject them to a form of social censure. An educated man should know how to order his eating and control his appetite through proper meal patterns and exercise (Zigan, 1997).

Dialogues dating back in history contend that diet is not only part of life it's a way of life. Diet companies focus not on greed but condemnation of gluttony-one of the seven deadly sins. This moral ground seems to be the dialogue of choice for many diet plans and individuals. Secular wisdom and Christian ethics overlap here. Hunger defies reason, glutton dulls the spirit and leads to temptation. As mentioned earlier the condemnation of cookery as the art of deceit goes back to Plato. In the famous passage in *Gorgias*, Socrates attacks rhetoric, which he says is so powerful that it even convinces people of unjust things: it is but a caricature of justice and owes its power to flattery alone. At the physical level the diet industry is doing this to the "other" the public in its dialogue to flatter us with plans that will provide us with perfect health and a new image. Cooking is doubly at fault: morally, because it cares nothing for what is best and only seeks to please, the true nature of things become nothing but causality. For this reason orators throughout history have adopted cookery as a metaphor of deceit. We continue to re-engage this deceit today when we think of modern food ethics. Issues concerning food

ethics are squared of against the “other” every time we eat. This ongoing dialogue is the basic criteria for understanding how we arrive at the social judgments we make regarding food ethics. Right and wrong good and bad all define how and what we should eat. By no means is a dialogue of food ethics neutral the “other” is always present in some form or another (Nelson, 1980).

## Conclusion

The main theme of this dissertation is to demonstrate how the application of metaphor, interpersonal communication, and the study of community and the meal can be used as a new approach for scholars to study food, rhetoric and communication. The main focus of this study is to use the lens of interpersonal communication as a tool to advance food theories pertaining to the development of food, community, and the meal. For example, there are many levels or contexts of interpersonal communication that surround the activity of the meal, from interpersonal phenomenology to group, organization, and community levels; each situates the rhetorical interaction of interpersonal communication and community from a different perspective. The significance of food consumption and its historical context to the ritual of the meal in human life and the opportunity for communicative interaction provided by these human gatherings sets the stage for the practice of a mealtime ritual. This concept offers a rich but new site for examination of rhetorical interpersonal communicative praxis at a number of levels across several historical periods: ancient Greece, Roman, and medieval; the renaissance and early American; and modernity and post modernity. This study examines the rhetorical role of interpersonal communication in mealtime ritual within a given community during these historical time periods.

The overall approach of interpersonal communication and the use of metaphor predicated an interaction that would work well together; the analysis of community and meal provides a valuable framework for understanding the over abundance of meanings that people bring to food use and consumption. This dissertation developed the metaphoric model using *sensus communis* and the meal; narrative/petite narrative;

public/private; inclusion/exclusion; and civility/incivility. This model guided the interpretive study, which situated it within perspectives traditionally engaged by sociological, psychological, cultural studies, and food scholars. Many studies of food communication have been done in anthropology and sociology, but few have been approached from the standpoint of interpersonal communication and rhetoric. An interpersonal rhetorical perspective offered a compelling framework within which to view the importance of food, language, and the metaphoric process that linked them together. Thus, many rhetorical, interpersonal, and food scholars were utilized to help understand and interpret the dissertation question: “How do food and interpersonal communication work together to offer rhetorical engagement with community and the meal?” From a rhetorical perspective, the use of metaphor afforded a general set of possibilities for communicating a particular set of ideas persuasively within a given time period. When the meal was treated metaphorically, the messages produced an identifiable rhetorical action that could be found in a pattern of social relations being expressed through interpersonal communicative interaction within the process of engaging the meal. Interpretive research was applicable for this project because it enables the scholar to investigate everyday life throughout history and apply the findings in collected information. The most significant discovery in this dissertation is that the Interpersonal Mills’ Model, created for this study, worked well in discovering food and gathering, particularly, the relationship between individuals and their community.

This dissertation looked at community and the meal through several interpersonal communication scholars: Peter Berger and social constructionism; Mikhail Bakhtin and dialogism; Calvin Schrag and praxis; Martin Buber and inclusion/exclusion; Seyla

Benhabib and reciprocity or private and public; Charles Taylor and civility and incivility; and Ronald C. Arnett as a rhetorical guide to understand the primary authors. Aristotle paves the way for the study of community and the meal as we look to the *Nicomachean Ethics* and Aristotle's three parts of the world recognized by humans: *theoria*; *praxis*; and *poesis*. *Theoria* includes *episteme* or knowledge and *sylogistic* or inductive/deductive reasoning; *praxis* shows us that things may be different than what they appear; and *poesis* shows that things are made with *techne* or skills. These three areas frame the study of community and meal and show the knowledge of a community, combined with the practices and techniques are at the core of how a community and its people interact or engage in interpersonal communication within a given culture.

*Sensus communis* and the metaphoric significance of the meal is approached in three different time-frames: the classical period, including ancient Greece, the early Romans, and the middle-ages; the renaissance and early America; and modernity and postmodernity. Robert Bellah said, "Cultures are dramatic conversations about things that matter to their participants" (Bellah, 1985, p. 27). This dissertation includes cultural conversations or interpersonal communication about the community, individuals within the community, and their relationship to the meal. The community and food are a metaphorical presentation of a distinct individualism that defines a culture's national cuisine. Georg hans Gadamer's work is used to help interpret the community and the meal or the relationship of "common sense" and the community. According to Gadamer, a word is not merely a sign, but has a context and meaning which reaches beyond the word itself. This helps define the catalyst of a community and their social and individual dimensions; the common sense provides a background for meaning within a culture. The

combination of these two theories helps unravel the complexities presented within a community and the meal and the participants engaging in the actual consumption of foods.

Peter Berger (1966) says that language is utilized to construct the reality of a culture, and therefore, the common sense of the meal is both embodied and derived from the language that creates the meal within the structure of the community. Bellah says that shared activities that are not undertaken form a web of moral understandings and commitments that tie people together in a community. Individuals within a community structure may consider the meal a general community or shared activity within the community. The self and the community play an interactive role while participating in the meal or food related festivities. Interests of the self over others can be seen in the ritual of dining in each of the metaphors used in this study: inclusion and exclusion, private and public, and civility and incivility are all present when deciding on the structure of the meal itself. The metaphoric significance of narrative structure also plays a significant role in the configuration of the meal and what is served, who is in attendance, and where the meal will take place. Interpersonal theory applied to the community and the self are important ingredients in this study.

According to Ronald Arnett (1999), a narrative begins with a speech act that is tested by people with competing worldviews. This is developed into a story with main characters, a history, and a sense of direction. A story becomes a narrative when it is corporately agreed upon and is no longer the product of an individual. A second type of narrative is a meta-narrative; the meta-narrative is public and determines a universal

standard for the community's story. The meta-narrative cannot continue when the general public is in disagreement with the virtue or structure of the narrative.

The public voices determine the narrative and are directed by the diversity, change, and variety of dialogues contributing to the historical moment; there are good and bad narratives, and the story told is based on the history, the people, and the culture. Alisdair MacIntyre (1984) says that we live out narratives, and we understand our own lives in terms of narratives. The art of the story is necessary for discerning the knowledge and enforcing the right rules of action upon others.

The classical period, including ancient Greece, the Romans, and the middle-ages, provides a rich resource for studying community and the meal. The narrative structure of the classical period was often presented by those in the public sphere and by choice, included or excluded the private sphere. The classical period was primarily an oral culture, and in ancient Greece, the rhetorical message was delivered in an oral tradition of public presentation. The meals of the community were often delivered within a complex social phenomenon created for celebrations. Meals often united people, signified peace, celebrated marriages and victories, created alliances, and joined mourners together for funerals.

The idea of community has always been the civic community and the language of the community, and *sensus communis* derived from the cultural experience. Eating and dining was elaborate and organized as the king sat apart from the others, reclining on a couch next to his queen; the guests sat apart from the king and were invited to participate in the meal or the dining experience. The meal was far from *just* the consumption of food; it was an event, embracing traditions, ceremonial events, and theatrical

entertainment (Strong, 2002). The metaphor of community and the meal is interpreted by looking to MacIntyre (1984) who says that the thinking and actions present in a story are what is important to the culture. This is expressed in the community's food celebrations and sharing of the meal.

The cuisine of a community reflects the language of the community. From the classical period to modernity, the cuisine is represented in recipes and cookbooks that tell the story of the food sources and the availability of food to the region. The Romans depended on such regional foods as olive oil and various spices to develop their cuisine; these foods were derived from the culture, their own communication, and neighboring communities, such as Spain, Sicily, and Greece. Also, the olive was the first export crop from the region, and this is as prevalent today as it was in the Classical period. Drinking wine is mentioned throughout history and is expressed by Homer in the *Odyssey*; the structure of the culture was determined by such writings, along with, the availability of foods and the overall structure of the community.

The communication model used for this study places community and the meal at its' center, with four interpersonal communication metaphors interacting with the center: narrative and petite-narrative; inclusion and exclusion; private and public; and civility and incivility. Each metaphor interacts with the community and the meal to explain what happens within the culture. For example, if the center of the model is situated in the historical moment with ancient Greece, it is possible to interpret what is happening with individuals and the entire community by looking to any of the four metaphors. This study situated three time-frames at the center of the model and interpreted the community and the meal by looking at the influence of each of the four metaphors with the time

frame. The following engages the model and demonstrates the usefulness of this interaction for examining what, who, and when a communication process is taking place.

In ancient Greece, the metaphor of narrative and petite-narrative interacts with community and the meal through an exchange of stories constructed by the people. An early cookbook, *The Deipnosophists* or The Sophists' Banquet includes recipes that tell a story through recipes. Homer often used food in *The Odyssey* to explain what was happening in Athens; the narratives included messages about feasts, utensils, and menus for large, extravagant events. The development of the menu reflects the norms of the culture, the practices of the people, and the availability of food product; in return, what people eat, when people eat, and with whom people eat is included in the structure of the meal. Food was not only taken for the sake of consumption, but in addition, food often was utilized for curative purposes. The subject of medicinal or curative recipes was carried in oral stories or histories and often related food taboos and how they caused disease. The history of food and health is included in a culture's narrative about the overall culture and whether a food is bad for consumption or good for food or curative purposes.

Pre-renaissance cookbooks also were the source of common narratives and oral history; these messages were included in manuscripts such as Martino's *Libro de Arte Coquinaria*, a kind of cuisine that is light and delicate in nature. Post-renaissance cookbooks were in greater abundance because of the increase in literacy; narratives were related dealing with the community and the meal and were considered informative. An interesting finding is that Renaissance food is basically old medieval recipes offered with the same ingredients but with a different configuration. The messages of the cookbooks

continued to be a reflection of the community and the meal, including a view of Shakespeare's world in England. The early American cookbooks emerged with a narrative story coming from eighteenth-century English recipes; most of the cookbooks came to America from England and were then incorporated into a local cuisine.

Modernity and postmodernity offered a narrative based on history, but influenced by the merging of cultures from around the world. As we look to the stories being told in postmodernity, it is important to recognize the input of many cultures, merged together, to form a new cuisine; this is often authentic in nature, but may also be a combination of various cultures blended together. The work of Martin Buber helps interpret the nature of narratives, cookbooks, community and the meal. Arnett and Arneson (1999) discuss Buber's humble narrative and the emergence of a voice within a community structure. The humble narrative presents a story needed by individuals in a time of metanarrative decline within a community. A cookbook often tells the community's story in a petite-narrative form, easily comprehended by individuals, and adapted as a cultural norm.

The metaphor of inclusion and exclusion may be adaptable to each of the time frames used in this thesis. The ancient Greeks interpersonal common place was that of the *convivium* or *symposium*; the *convivium* was a cordial event with few barriers, while the *symposium* excluded some while inviting others to be included. The food of the rich is evident in this era because certain foods were not available to the poor, but were always available to the rich. The *praxis* of the cultural conversation often excluded individuals from the public sphere but instead, included them in private meals.

In the Renaissance and early America, the subject of inclusion and exclusion is evident in the status of individuals within the community and the meal. The church often

influenced the eating habits and structured the community and their tastes. A significant change took place as the Quakers in early America introduced a frugality to the culture. McWilliams (2005) said that the Quakers were more concerned with what they ate than with their attitudes toward eating.

As we look to the metaphor of public and private and its relationship to the model, it is interesting to include Mikhail Bakhtin's work including the carnivalesque banquet; here Bakhtin studies the form of the body and its connection to labor and struggle. The renaissance banquet was the ultimate feast with beggars at the door; gluttony and the feast took on new meaning. The *symposium* answered the question of who was included in the meal, and at the same time, showed the relationship between the public sphere and the private sphere and interpersonal spaces. Robert Bellah (1991) discusses how individuals are drawn to *like* individuals to form a community; the ideals are often common to all included in the private or public sphere. Bellah also says that the privatized community cannot function as a community becomes larger and more diverse. This is evident throughout history and is reflected in modernity and postmodernity as well.

The meanings of cooking and community and the meal are often included in the private meals of a community or the home meal. Early medieval cooking had a different set of materials, equipment, and menu than that of early American cuisine, or the cuisine of postmodernity, but the meanings were delivered in the same manner. From the *Gorgias* to *Betty Crocker*, receptions, dinners, and eating events depicted the norms of the culture in a given historical moment; the rules change, but the source for the rules of the community and the meal stay the same. In *Gorgias*, Plato includes an ethical

placement of the rhetoric of the time; in modernity, the community and the meal and its interpersonal communication is evident in the norms of the meal.

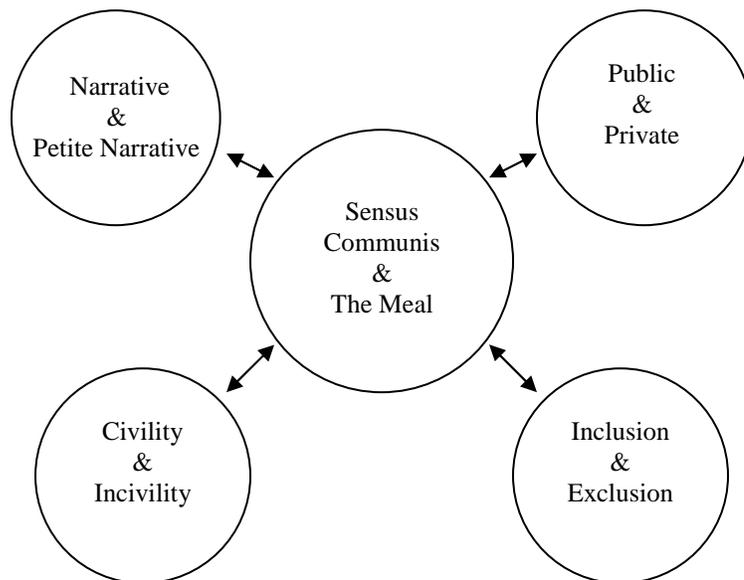
The metaphor of civility and incivility and the table manners and taste of a community and the meal are described in this study; for the ancients, the manners utilized during the meal were the accepted manners or civil behavior of the timeframe. As we look to the renaissance and early America, it is evident that society changes with civilization, and the inclusion of manners during the meal also change. The concept of civility and incivility and the meal may be metaphorically connected to private and public and inclusion and exclusion; often the line is thin and easily discernable. This does not attack the integrity of the model as all of the metaphors have distinct qualities as well. How one communicates privately will always be different from public displays; who is included will always be an issue within a given culture; and how one acts in public and private will be the result of the civility or incivility of a civilization or culture.

From an interpersonal communication standpoint, the discussion of the ongoing dialogue between the self and society becomes part of the interpretive process. We share in conversations with partners, family, and friends; by observing, comparing, and talking with others in their social network, people are able to re-create and revise social judgments. We make social judgments about what we eat, when we eat, and with whom we eat; this provides an ongoing dialogue with the self and the culture. Through the time frames of this study, it is apparent that religion plays a role with food ethics. This is obvious with the discussions in modernity and postmodernity as dialogues are questioned according to traditional religious beliefs. Also, many feasts that are consumed are part of a greater religious sphere and include certain foods for specific religious events or

ceremonies. Another sphere that is included in modernity and postmodernity is that of diet, body image, and other concerns about the individual and the community.

The importance of this study is evident as the significance of the interpersonal model used for this dissertation is applied to the dissertation question. This model may be applied to any interpersonal communication study and merely needs to substitute the center of the model with the artifact of the study. Each metaphor is capable of interacting with the center in a meaningful way and gives the interpretation a texture not available in other methodologies. An example might be to substitute community and the meal with diets and body image in postmodernity; each metaphor would then be applied to the time frame of postmodernity and the study of diets and nutrition. This of course would be applicable to a study of *the symposium* in ancient Greece or the menu in early America. The model and the metaphors work together to tell the interpersonal communication narrative. This is accomplished through a rhetorical study of the prevailing literature in an interpretive research study.

The question of why this dissertation may make a difference is evidenced in the Model and its application to the community and the meal throughout various historical periods. The model works within many time-frames and philosophical transgressions; this model may be added to other rhetorical or interpersonal communication studies or course work.

**Appendix: Communication Model**

### **Appendix: Sample Recipes**

The recipes of the classical period include cookbooks and cookery from Ancient Greece and Rome. Rome is the only one of the ancient civilizations from which we are fortunate enough to have a “real live” recipe book. It is attributed to Apicius compilation of recipes, not necessarily his own. There were at least two people who lived in Rome in the last century BC, both of whom had great reputations in the field of gastronomy. Also, they were both chefs eager to dedicate a collection of recipes. The editions of Apicius are from the third century AD but are obviously based on earlier origins. It is interesting how similar Apicius recipes are to modern versions of the same dishes (Johnson, 1992).

The tales of gluttony, the feasts of Trimalchio, the vomitoriums and the excesses of a Nero or a Heliogabalus are symptoms of a declining civilization. The readers of Apicius were those who were making use of quite commonplace ingredients to create delicious, well balanced, and healthy food. The vegetables are plentiful and used in a wide variety of ways and dishes; seafood from the Mediterranean was popular; poultry, game, and pork were available, but there was relatively little beef or lamb. Wine was used extensively both in the cooking and to accompany the meals; oil was the main cooking fat, honey the main sweetener; pepper, fresh coriander, thyme, rue, savory, fennel, and oregano were used constantly, as was vinegar. Puddings were seldom made, and fresh or dried fruits formed the dessert of course of nearly every meal. Romans ate from low tables, lying on cushions and leaning on their elbows (Johnson, 1992).

## Ancient & Classical Menu

Mushrooms Stewed in Wine with Coriander

Flat Wholemeal Breads *pittabread*

Baian Fish Stew

Figpeckers or Poussin with Asparagus Sauce

Salads

A Compote of Unripe Fruit

### MUSHROOMS STEWED WITH CORIANDER & RED WINE

Serve the mushrooms in ramikin dishes as a starter with brown bread. Alternatively you could use it as a summer salad or even as a cocktail snack. The fresh coriander is very typical of ancient Roman cooking; if you cannot obtain the herb fresh, the dish is still worth making with dried.

600 ml \* 1 pint \* 2 ½ cups red wine

500 g \* 1 ¼ lbs button mushrooms

3 tablespoons chopped fresh coriander or

2 tablespoons of dried

Put the wine in a pan, bring it to the boil and boil briskly till it is reduced to 450 ml \* 15 oz \* 2 cups. Wipe the mushrooms and remove their stalks. Add them to the wine with a pinch of salt and a generous grind of black pepper. Bring the wine back to the boil and simmer gently for 5 minutes. Remove the pan from the heat. If you are using dried coriander, add it to the mushrooms till just before you want to

serve them. They are equally good warm or cold.

### BAIAN FISH STEW

Baiae was a popular seaside resort near Naples which is presumably where Apicius tasted this delicious fish soup/stew. The original suggests 'sea nettles' which is interpreted as a seaweed.

2 tablespoons of olive oil

1 stick celery, chopped small

6 grinds of fresh black pepper

½ teaspoon ground cumin

1 tablespoon chopped coriander

10g \* ½ oz dried kombu (seaweed)

1 small sprig fresh rue

300 ml \* 10 fl oz \* 1 ¼ cups medium white wine

1 kg \* 2 lbs well washed fresh mussels in their shells

900 ml \* 1 ½ pints \* 3 ¾ cups water

3-4 fresh scallops

25g \* 1 oz pine nuts, lightly browned in oven or grilled

Heat the oil and gently cook the celery, pepper, cumin, and coriander. Add the seaweed, rue and white wine, bring to boil and simmer for several minutes. Bring up to a fast boil, add the fresh mussels, put on a lid and cook them for 3-5 minutes over a high heat till the shells have all opened.

Add the water, bring back to boil and simmer for 10 minutes. Remove the sprig of rue then remove mussels from their shells and return them to the soup pot. Add the chopped scallop and the pine nuts and continue to cook for a couple minutes to cook scallops. Season to taste.

#### COLD BREAST OF POUSSIN WITH ASPARAGUS SAUCE

In the original of this recipe, Apicius used whole 'figpeckers', small birds who still peck at the fruit on the fig trees of southern Italy. Since the idea of eating song birds whole is not one that appeals in the twentieth century, small poussin or guinea fowl have been substituted.

1 kg \* 2 lb trimmed asparagus

6 poussins or guinea fowl

300 ml \* 10 fl oz \* 2 ¼ cups of white wine

6 shallots, peeled and sliced  
2 bay leaves

1-2 teaspoons honey

6 egg yolks

salt and pepper

Put the trimmed asparagus in a deep pot with 1.2 litres, 2 pints, 5 cups of water. Cover with a lid which does not touch the tips, bring to the boil and simmer for approx. 20 minutes or till the asparagus is tender. Remove 6-8 tips with care and reserve for decoration; remove the rest of asparagus and set aside. Pour the cooking water into one or two pans large enough to hold the poussins or guinea fowl. Add the birds, then the wine, chopped shallots and bay leaves. Cover the pans, bring them to the boil and simmer for 45 minutes or till the birds are cooked. Remove birds and cool till able to handle. Skin and remove the breasts and lay them out on a dish; the rest of the birds can be used for another dish, soup, etc.

Puree the asparagus with cooking juices; heat gradually with egg yolks. Stir till sauce thickens slightly, then add honey, salt, pepper to taste. Spoon over the poussin breasts and garnish the dish with the asparagus tips. Serve with rice or small potatoes.

#### A COMPOTE OF EARLY FRUIT

Apicius recommends 'hard skinned early fruits' for his compote. The Romans had access to wonderful soft fruits for much of the year and rightly judged them too good *au naturel* to wish to eat them any other way.

## Renaissance Dinner Party

### DRIED PLUMS WITH WINE AND GINGER-ZEST CROSTINI

1 Cup red wine

2 tablespoons sugar

6 ounces pitted dried plums

1 2 inch cinnamon stick

1 loaf French baguette bread

2 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil

Salt

2 tablespoons finely julienned fresh ginger

Zest of ½ lemon

Place the wine, sugar, dried plums, and cinnamon stick in a nonreactive saucepan. Simmer over medium heat for 30 minutes, or until thickened. Remove the cinnamon stick and mash the dried plums with a fork.

Preheat the broiler. Cut the baguette into ¼-inch thick slices and place on a baking sheet. Brush the slices with the olive oil and sprinkle lightly with salt. Toast the broiler for 3 to 5 minutes, or until light golden brown.

Spread 1 tablespoon of the warm plum mixture on each toasted bread slice and sprinkle with the ginger and lemon zest.

### PEARS IN BROTH

### RENAISSANCE GARDEN

¼ Cup verjuice

¼ cup grapeseed oil

2 teasppons light brown sugar

Salt and freshly milled black pepper

6 cups assorted fresh herbs and baby lettuces

¼ cup capers, rinsed and drained

¼ cup golden raisins

½ cup blanched, slivered almonds

¼ cup currants

8 pitted dates, quartered lengthwise

6 dried figs, thinly sliced

4 long, sturdy fresh rosemary branches

2 large lemons, halved

12 fresh or candied whole cherries

¼ cup candied citrus peel

Whisk together the verjuice, grapeseed oil, and brown sugar in a small bowl. Season to taste with salt and pepper.

Combine the herbs and lettuces, capers, raisins, almonds, currants, dates, and figs in a large bowl. Add the vinaigrette and toss until well coated.

Press 1 rosemary branch into the rounded end of each lemon half. Using the stem, a wire, or ribbon, attach 3 cherries to each rosemary branch.

For an even more elaborate traditional Elizabethan garnish, alternate lemon slices topped with capers with quartered

hard-boiled eggs, candied orange peel, and egg “porcupines” made by inserting almond and date slivers into hard-boiled egg halves.

#### RED SNAPPER WITH CAVIAR

4 small red snapper or trout

¼ cup extra-virgin olive oil

Salt and freshly milled black pepper

12 dates, minced

¼ cup finely grated fresh ginger

8 ounces caviar

8 ounces fresh red currants or barberries

1 tablespoon sugar

2 tablespoons freshly squeezed lemon juice

Preheat the broiler or grill. Brush the snapper inside and out with the olive oil and season with salt and pepper. Broil or grill the fish for 4 to 5 minutes on each side, or until the flesh is firm and opaque.

Place the currants, sugar, and lemon juice in a small saucepan and simmer for 10 minutes, or until slightly thickened. Puree until smooth.

Place a snapper in the center of each plate and serve the sauce in a small dish or hollow lemon half.

#### SWEET PEA PUREE WITH CAPERS

1 pound peas

½ cup coarsely chopped nuts

3 tablespoons coarsely chopped flat-leaf parsley

2 tablespoons butter

¼ cup capers, rinsed and drained

Salt and freshly milled ground pepper

2 sprigs of mint

Place the peas in boiling water and cook for 5 minutes, or until done. Drain the peas and place in a food mill with the mint, parsley, and butter. Puree until smooth. Add the capers and mill. Season to taste with salt and pepper.

Spoon the pea mixture into a serving bowl and top with the mint sprigs.

#### SWEET BEETS IN PUFF PASTRY WITH CRÈME FRAICHE AND GINGER

6 small golden or red beets, peeled and finely grated

2 tablespoons honey

2 tablespoons butter, melted

¼ teaspoon ground cinnamon

1 package frozen puff-pastry shells

½ cup crème fraiche

2 tablespoons minced crystallized ginger

preheat the oven to 425 degrees.  
Combine the beets, honey, butter, and cinnamon in an oven-safe container. Mix well and let stand for 5 minutes. Bake, covered for 15 minutes. Remove from the oven and drain any excess liquid from the pan.

Bake the puff-pastry shells according to package directions.

Spoon the beef mixture into the puff-pastry shells and top with a dollop of crème fraîche. Sprinkle the crystallized ginger over the beets and crème fraîche and serve immediately.

#### BAKED APPLES WITH CINNAMON STEMS

24 whole cloves

12 very small, sweet apples, peeled and cored

12 dates, pitted and quartered

¼ cup candied citrus peel, minced

2 tablespoons orange liqueur

½ cup brown sugar

¼ cup butter

Twelve 2-inch long cinnamon sticks

Zest of 1 orange

Preheat the oven to 350 and place in 8-9 inch round baking pan. Press 2 whole cloves into the outside of each apple and place the apples upright in the baking pan.

Combine into the center of each apple. Place a thin pat of butter on the top of each apple and press a cinnamon stick into the center, leaving a ½ inch stem exposed. Cover the pan with a cover and bake for 20 minutes. Remove the aluminum foil and bake for 30 minutes, or until the apples are tender. Top with long strips of orange zest before serving.

## American Regional Cuisine

Sample menus from Mid-Atlantic Cuisine

### SPLIT PEA SOUP

2 ounces butter

2 ounces onions

4 ounces celery

4 ounces carrots

16 ounces split peas

1 ham bone with some meat attached

48 fluid ounces white chicken stock

salt & pepper, to taste

8 ounces croutons

Heat the butter in saucepot over medium-high heat. Sweat the onions, celery, and carrots in the butter for approximately 4 minutes or until the onions become translucent.

Add the split peas, ham bone, and chicken stock to vegetables and bring to a boil.

Reduce the heat and simmer for 30-40 minutes or until the split peas are tender. Add water for additional stock as needed. Do not allow the simmering soup to fall below 140 degrees.

Remove the ham bone and remove any meat that is still attached. Dice the meat and place it back into the soup.

Serve with croutons on top.

### CORN CREPES WITH SMOKED SHRIMP AND ASPARAGUS

#### CREPES

3 large eggs

6 fluid ounces milk

1 1/2 teaspoons vegetable oil

3 ounces corn kernels, steamed, finely chopped

salt and white pepper to taste.

#### CORN SALAD

3 fluid ounces olive oil

1 fluid ounce white wine vinegar

1 teaspoon parsley, chopped

9 ounces corn kernels, steamed

1 ounce red bell peppers, cut into small dice

1 ounce yellow bell peppers, cut into small dice

1 ounce green pepper, cut into small dice

salt & pepper to taste

#### GARNISH

24 ounces or 36 asparagus tips

10 ounces or 36 shrimp, peeled

1/2 cup apple-wood chips, soaked

8 fluid ounces hollandaise sauce

Crepes: Heat a steel or non stick pan over medium-high heat. Carefully ladle approximately 1 ounce of the batter into the center of the hot pan and spread the batter out by moving the pan in the air.

Cook the crepe until it is lightly browned on one side. Turn the crepe over and lightly brown the other side. Stack the crepes as they are cooked, loosely wrap them in plastic wrap, and reserve under refrigeration. The batter should make at least 12 crepes.

Mix the olive oil, vinegar, and parsley together in a bowl and add the steamed corn kernels and red and green bell peppers. Mix until the vegetables are thoroughly coated with the dressing.

Season the salad to taste with salt and black pepper and reserve and refrigerate.

Blanch the asparagus spears, shock in an ice bath, drain, and refrigerate.

Lightly pan smoke the shrimp with the soaked apple-wood chips for approximately 3-4 minutes or until the shrimp are fully cooked and reach a minimum internal temperature of 145 degrees for at least 15 seconds.

Cool the shrimp from 140 to 70 degrees. Cool from 70 to 41 degrees within an additional 4 hours.

Fill each of the crepes with 2 asparagus spears and 3 smoked rock shrimp. Roll the crepes into cylinders.

Place 2 crepes on each plate with hollandaise sauce.

Garnish each portion with 2 ounces of the reserved corn and pepper salad.

Lightly brown the sauce under a salamander or broiler.

Garnish each portion with approximately 2 ounces of the reserved corn and pepper salad.

Hold the shrimp, crepes, and corn and pepper salad under refrigeration.

### SHAKER-STYLE TURKEY CUTLETS

2 ¼ pounds turkey breast, cut into cutlets

salt & pepper to taste

all purpose flour

2 ounces clarified butter

¼ ounce shallots, finely diced

6 fluid ounces dry white wine

15 fluid ounces brown stock

6 ounces tomato concassee

½ ounce butter

1 ½ tablespoons parsley, chopped

Prepare the turkey cutlets by pounding them evenly to approximately ¼ inch. Pat dry.

Season the cutlets with salt and pepper and dredge in flour.

Discard excess fat, add the shallots for one minute.

Deglaze the pan with white wine and add the veal jus lie. Reduce the liquid to a nappe consistency.

Add the tomatoes and cook until all of the ingredients are thoroughly incorporated and hot.

Remove from heat, stir in butter, and season to taste with salt and pepper.

Serve each cutlet on a plate and garnish with chopped parsley.

### GLAZED CARROT STICKS

3 fluid ounces clarified butter

10 fluid ounces white chicken stock

24 ounces carrots, cut into sticks

salt and pepper to taste

Melt the butter over medium heat, add chicken stock.

Add the carrots and cover.

Sweat the carrots for 4-5 minutes.

Bring the carrots to a boil, reduce the heat, cover, and simmer for 5-6 minutes.

Remove the cover and increase the heat to medium-high.

Reduce the liquid, return the carrots to the pan and toss until hot and thoroughly coated.

Salt and pepper to taste.

### BUTTERY HOMEMADE NOODLES

8 large eggs

2 teaspoons salt

24 ounces all-purpose flour

32 fluid ounces white chicken stock

4 tablespoons butter

5 tablespoons parsley, chopped

salt and pepper to taste

Combine the eggs and 2 teaspoons of salt in a bowl.

Using a fork, stir in the flour.

Form the dough into a ball and knead for 2-3 minutes until it becomes smooth.

Cover the dough and let rest for 10 minutes under refrigeration.

Roll the dough into a large rectangle approximately 1/8 inch thick. Let the dough rest for an additional 5 minutes.

Dust the top of the dough with a little flour and roll it up like a jelly roll.

Slice the dough crosswise into noodles 1/4 inch thick.

Bring the white chicken stock to a boil.

Simmer the noodles for approximately 2-3 minutes or until tender.

Heat the butter over medium heat.

Add the noodles and toss with fresh parsley.

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