

FOOD CULTURE, FOOD HISTORY BEFORE 1900



Andrea Maraschi and Francesca Tasca

Food, Heresies, and Magical Boundaries in the Middle Ages

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Food Culture, Food History before 1900

The history and culture of food has been the object of wide-ranging methodological approaches: literary, cultural, economic, and material, to name just a few. The expanding interest that food has elicited in the past few decades confirms the importance of a field that is still very much in the making, while it continues to elicit contributions from all the major disciplines.

The series *Food Culture, Food History before 1900* publishes monographs in the history and culture of food, and invites contributions from different disciplines, historiographic perspectives and methodological approaches. It is open to a long chronological period running from the Middle Ages to the early 19th century, in order to respect the distinctive time frames of food history. A similar criteria is adopted in determining the extensive geographic parameters of this series: as of the late 15th century, food and cuisine traveled with extreme ease, not only within the European continent but between other parts of the world. The purview of this series thus comprises Europe, the Atlantic world, and exchanges with Asia and the Middle East. To this end, the *Food Culture, Food History before 1900* series welcomes both scholarly monographs and edited/collective volumes in English, by both established and early-career researchers.

Series editor

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Introduction – On Food and Boundaries: New Trends in Food History

“Today, food history inhabits a large house with many rooms, with the occasional remodeling of a new room.”¹ This is how Peter Scholliers depicted our field of study ten years ago: a solid and noisy mansion where some rooms are separated by walls and do not communicate with each other. However, some spaces are wide open and shared by scholars with several different backgrounds. Every now and then, a door is removed, a new room is added, new flatmates venture into areas of the house that they had not yet explored.

With this book we are not building an entirely new room, but we are inviting our housemates to pay attention to thresholds. Thresholds are fundamental elements both inside and outside a house. They are part of our existence, because they can define where and who we are, what group we belong to, and by what ideals we are inspired. In other words, they help us build and describe our identity. It may thus be worth sharing this with other inhabitants of our house, as we sit together at the table to have a meal.

At present, a growing number of rooms in the house of food history are in two-way communication, as numerous scientific articles and conferences promote multidisciplinary approaches and a more fruitful dialogue between fields that were once separated.² The first two decades of the twenty-first century have confirmed the popularity of this field of study so that it would be impossible to summarize all the first-rate scholarly contributions that have cast light on ever new aspects of food history.³ More appropriately, given the

1 Peter Scholliers, “The Many Rooms in the House: Research on Past Foodways in Modern Europe,” in *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective*, ed. Kyri W. Clafin and Peter Scholliers (London: Berg, 2013), 59–71, at 67.

2 Jeffrey M. Pilcher, “The Embodied Imagination in Recent Writings on Food History,” *American Historical Review* 121, no. 3 (2016): 861–87.

3 E.g., Allen Grieco, “Food and Social Classes in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy,” in *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to Present*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari,

topic of the present volume, it makes more sense to draw attention to the fact that medieval historians have become increasingly interested in recent years in the concepts linked to “boundaries,” “frontiers,” “liminality,” “otherness,” “identities” and the like. A few examples may suffice. In October 2016, the CMRS Center for Early Global Studies (UCLA) held a conference in honour of Paul Freedman—one of the leading experts in food history⁴—entitled *Boundaries in the Medieval and Wider World*, which also featured a session devoted to “Food, Medicine, and the Exotic.”⁵ In May of the same year, the Institute for Nordic Philology of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich) held a conference entitled *Border Crossings and Liminal Experiences in the Old Norse Tradition*, where speakers addressed topics such as the

trans. Albert Sonnenfeld (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 302–13; Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Fabio Parasecoli, *Food Culture in Italy* (Westport: Greenwood, 2004); Massimo Montanari and Françoise Sabban, eds., *Atlante dell'alimentazione e della gastronomia* (Turin: UTET, 2004); Ken Albala, *Cooking in Early European History 1250–1650* (Westport: Greenwood, 2006); Alban Gautier, *Le festin dans l'Angleterre anglo-saxonne : V^e-XI^e siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006); Peter Scholliers, *Food Culture in Belgium* (London: Greenwood, 2009); Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Alban Gautier, “Cooking and Cuisine in Late Anglo-Saxon England,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2012): 373–406; Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire. Cooking in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Monique Chastanet, Gérard Chouin, Dora de Lima, and Thomas Guindeuil, eds., *Towards a History of Foodways in Africa Before the 20th Century*, thematic issue, *Afriques. Débats, méthodes et terrains d'histoire* 5 (2014); Massimo Montanari, *Gusti del medioevo. I prodotti, la cucina, la tavola* (Rome: Laterza, 2014); Massimo Montanari, *Mangiare da cristiani. Diete, digiuni, banchetti. Storie di una cultura* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2015); *L'alimentazione nell'alto medioevo: pratiche, simboli, ideologie*, 2 vols. (Spoleto: CISAM, 2016); Joanita Vroom, Yona Waksman, and Roos van Oosten, eds., *Medieval MasterChef: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Eastern Cuisine and Western Foodways* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); Rémi Gounelle, Anne-Laure Zwilling, and Yves Lehmann, eds., *Religions et alimentation. Normes alimentaires, organization sociale et représentations du monde* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019); Allen Grieco, *Food, Social Politics and the Order of Nature in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020); Marianne Brisville, Audrey Renaud, and Núria Rovira, eds., *L'alimentation en Méditerranée occidentale aux époques antique et médiévale : archéologie, bioarchéologie et histoire* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2021); Aurélie Chantran and Clarissa Cagnato, “Boiled, Fried, or Roasted? Determining Culinary Practices in Medieval France through Multidisciplinary Experimental Approaches,” *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 35, 102715 (2021): <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2020.102715>; Béatrice Caseau and Hervé Monchot, eds., *Religions et interdits alimentaires. Archéozoologie et sources littéraires* (Leuven: Peeters, 2022).

4 Paul Freedman, *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (London: Yale University Press, 2008); Paul Freedman, “Eating Out,” in *A Cultural History of Food*, vol 3, *In the Renaissance*, ed. Ken Albala (London: Berg, 2012), 101–15; Paul Freedman, “Food Histories in the Middle Ages,” in *Writing Food History*, 24–37.

5 <https://cmrs.ucla.edu/event/boundaries-medieval-wider-world-conference-honor-paul-freedman/>.



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relationship of humans with the supernatural and religious experiences.⁶ The 51st Congress of the *Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, held in 2020, was centred on the theme *Frontières spatiales, frontières sociales* and concerned more practical definitions of borders. The University of Western Australia Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies and Perth Medieval and Renaissance Group hosted a conference in 2017 on *The Natural and the Supernatural in Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, which focused—among other things—on the boundary between the living and the dead.⁷ In June 2021, the Late Antique and Medieval Postgraduate Society (LAMPS) hosted a conference at the University of Edinburgh with the theme *Liminality: Crossing Borders, Crossing Boundaries*, and featured panels on unstable identities, liminal bodies, and perceptions of boundaries.⁸ The 2022 edition of the International Medieval Congress Leeds's thematic focus was “Borders,” with sessions ranging from the miraculous and the supernatural, to interactions of people across political borders; from gender to the boundary between life and death, etc.⁹ Not to mention the number of recent scholarly publications which have contributed to elevate the concept of “boundary” (and its synonyms) to a proper trend in medieval studies.¹⁰

For these reasons, we felt it was the right time to undertake the present project. Individually, we come from different horizons, but we soon found out that our interests were separated by a thin line (!). We are both food

6 https://www.nordistik.uni-muenchen.de/studium_lehre/prag_muenchen/programme-2016.pdf.

7 https://conference.pmrq.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/The-Natural-and-the-Supernatural_Abstracts.pdf.

8 <https://www.ed.ac.uk/history-classics-archaeology/news-events/events-archive/2020/cfp-liminality-lamps>.

9 <https://www.imc.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/28/2021/01/Programme-22.pdf>.

10 E.g., Patricia A. Baker, Han Nijdam, and Karine van 't Land, eds., *Medicine and Space: Body, Surroundings and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, eds., *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012); Johanna Kramer, *Between Earth and Heaven: Liminality and the Ascension of Christ in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Sara M. Butler and Krista J. Kesselring, eds., *Crossing Borders: Boundaries and Margins in Medieval and Early Modern Britain. Essays in Honour of Cynthia J. Neville* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Jeremy DeAngelo, *Outlawry, Liminality, and Sanctity in the Literature of the Early Medieval North Atlantic* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019); Klára Doležalová and Ivan Folletti, eds., *The Notion of Liminality and the Medieval Sacred Space* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020); Piotr Sypka, *The Liminality of Fairies: Readings in Late Medieval English and Scottish Romance* (New York: Routledge, 2020); Ármann Jakobsson and Miriam Mayburd, eds., *Paranormal Encounters in Iceland 1150–1400* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020). For the sake of space, we omit the numerous articles and papers which explore topics such as “threshold,” “liminality,” “boundaries” and so on.

history scholars, but with different backgrounds: one revolving around Christianity and religious identities, the other more centred on pagan survivals, “magic,” and the non-Christian supernatural sphere. Strangely enough, the core idea behind this book is the result of a fluid border. Thus, this volume consists of two parts which seem to be conceptually separate but are in fact deeply interconnected. They both show that food was integrated into specific systems of beliefs and practices regarding the interaction of natural and supernatural phenomena.

In other words, the book is meant to study medieval heresies and “magic” from an alternative perspective, that of food studies. Such a methodological approach, we believe, represents a novelty and allows us to reconsider the use of several primary sources from a new point of view.

In part I, which is dedicated to religious boundaries, we examine a wide range of written sources such as polemical texts, theological works, travel diaries, hagiographical texts, etc. These cast light on some characteristics of Christian minority groups and a few so-called heretical movements. Description of each source’s historical and cultural context is followed by analysis of the role of food practices as identity markers for the members of such groups and movements. The perspective on early Christianity is based on Walter Bauer’s well-known claim that a doctrinal diversity preceded the establishment of orthodoxy. In the 1930s, this German theologian became the main proponent of the hypothesis that there was religious diversity among early Christians, in contrast to the then more firmly established model of initial unity which later degenerated into plurality.¹¹ According to Bauer, the ideas of “heresy” and of a united Christianity did not exist in the first 150 years of Christian history. The first generations of Christians lived in an age of creativity and fervour, which was characterized by multiple religious currents. Dissenting movements remained in existence for several centuries, more or less covertly. The Roman Church needed to identify and repress them and that is why it developed more and more complex solutions (leading to the late medieval Inquisition). The intention was to brand differences between such currents and orthodoxy by emphasizing, above all else, dangerous discrepancies in behaviours and ritual. Among these were rituals and practices which were based on food.¹² Thus, food

11 Walter Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934).

12 Peter Biller, “‘Deep is the Heart and Inscrutable’: Signs of Heresy in Medieval Languedoc,” in Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchinson, eds., *Texts and Controversy from Wycliff to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 267–80.

and its related practices came to be concerned with the logic of control and power.¹³ Heretical accusations expose dynamics of exclusion, repression, and balance of power, and they also make possible the comparison between labelling processes and the suppression of dissent. Food continued to draw boundaries between different Christian identities throughout the Middle Ages.

This first part consists of four chapters. Chapter 1 is devoted to Augustine's treatise *De haeresibus* ("On Heresies") and examines the food-based habits which the author attributed to different religious groups. The aim is to analyse the role of eating habits and the rejection of specific foods (meat, eggs, milk, etc.) in identifying heretical behaviour. Since orthodoxy and orthopraxis are closely intertwined in Augustine's thinking, we suggest that food plays an important part in defining the identity of the faithful, alongside other elements such as sexual behaviour, rituals, notions of property, particularly uses of icons and clothes, and practising circumcision.

In chapter 2 we focus on Gregory of Tours's *De gloria martyrum*, in which this sixth-century Gallo-Roman historian tells a curious story about a meal arranged by a married couple: the man an Arian, the wife a Catholic. During this convivial moment, religious identities are marked via the priests' blessings, and critical boundaries between them are established by means of such ritual blessings. An analysis of the story and its narrative structure allows us to highlight how a dinner table could become a real battleground for the harsh opposition that existed at the time between orthodoxy and Arianism, even within the same households and shared spaces. Gregory's purpose was to show that the meal functioned much in the same way as an ordeal by which truth could be ultimately determined.

Chapter 3 revolves around a story featured in Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*. After the emergence of Arianism, western Christianity experienced another critical moment in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In those years several movements began to spread proposing religious forms that did not conform to Catholic orthodoxy. In particular, a dualist religious persuasion known as Catharism, probably of Balkan origin, spread in much of southern France. In the face of this expanding threat, it became essential to define and defend the boundaries of religious identity and belonging. We are told of this in the account of a French nobleman contained in *De nugis curialium*. Map, an English churchman, uses the account to describe a heretical practice aimed at recruiting new converts by giving them foods

13 On the Foucauldian notion of *dispositif*, see Michel Foucault, "Le jeu de Michel Foucault," in *Dits et écrits, 1954–1988* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), t. III (1976–1979), text 206 (2001), 298–329.

with a bait which, once eaten, contaminated the eaters and turned them into heretics. In this sense, food became a fundamental identity marker to establish the boundaries between these groups. The story is examined within its historical and cultural context, with particular attention to the use of food as a “conveyor” of heresy and as an “antidote” to heretical baited foods.

The final chapter of this part shifts the attention from western Europe to the East. It is devoted to William of Rubruck’s *Itinerarium*, which describes this Franciscan friar’s voyage through central Asia from 1253 to 1255. A journey that took him all the way to Karakorum and the court of Möngke Khan, where he had the chance to observe Mongolian dietary habits. The source is of great interest because it allows us to highlight a different and fundamental boundary within the distinct forms of Christianity, namely the boundary between Catholic and Byzantine Orthodox Christianity. In particular, we focus on the drinking of *comos* (fermented mare’s milk), which was rejected by the Christians of the Byzantine Church because they compared it to the act of abjuring Christianity itself. The chapter discusses the reasons why *comos* acquired such a strong religious connotation, to the point of making it an identity-marking boundary between non-Christians and Greek Orthodox Christians, but also between Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. Once again, a foodstuff and an eating behaviour assume the role of marking a boundary of religious identity between different forms of Christianity.

In part II, which is dedicated to magical boundaries, we focus on practices which from a modern perspective fall into the category of “magic,” but which were not necessarily defined as such by contemporaries. Among others, we critically analyse primary sources such as works of canon law, handbooks of magic, hagiographical texts, and travel diaries. The notion of “magic”¹⁴ requires careful contextualization, and our main intention is to reject any categorization such as that formulated by James G. Frazer and Edward B. Tylor (their well-known triad: magic-religion-science).¹⁵ In order to understand medieval “magic” and the invocation of the

14 Jan N. Bremmer, “The Birth of the Term ‘Magic,’” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 126 (1999): 1–12; Jesper Sørensen, *A Cognitive Theory of Magic* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2007), 10–11.

15 Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1871); James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 2 vols. (New York: MacMillan, 1890). See also William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, eds., *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*, 4th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 332–62; Marty Roth, “Sir James Frazer’s *The Golden Bough*: A Reading

non-Christian supernatural, we take into account the fundamental contribution of historians such as Richard Kieckhefer and Valerie I. J. Flint, whose debate on these matters began in the 1990s.¹⁶ This part of the volume emphasizes the links between “religion” and “magic,” as well as between Christian and pre-Christian or non-Christian beliefs.¹⁷ It thus approaches the general topic “Food and Boundaries” from an opposite perspective to part I. It focuses on how Christian and non-Christian practices, beliefs, and rituals were interconnected, as well as concentrating on their mutual influences. In so doing, we dismiss old-fashioned etic approaches such as Frazer’s and try to do justice to practices and rituals regardless of anachronistic categories. Instead, we fully endorse the methodology of scholars who have been adopting an emic perspective, for their effort has proved critical in rediscovering the medieval conceptualization of “magic” in relation to medical practice and religious rituals.¹⁸ Among other things, we pay attention to the concept of “sympathy,” and thus to practices based on the principle that “like cures/produces like” (in Greek συμπάθεια, from συν, “with, together,” and πάθος, “suffering, emotion”). This proves to be an important resource, since this concept almost represented an unofficial “theory of everything” in medieval times. “Sympathy” was already addressed in Persia and Egypt, it was indirectly mentioned in the Bible, and it was discussed by pagan and Christian intellectuals including Aristotle, Plato, the Stoics, Pliny, Plotinus, Galen, Augustine, Origen, and Isidore of Seville.¹⁹ Our aim is, when possible, to avoid standard terminology, because—as we suggest—the boundaries between “magic,” “religion,” and “science,” as we understand these categories, were rather porous and fluid. More recent taxonomies—such as the one recently proposed by d’Avray²⁰—between “magic,” “religious magic” and

Lesson,” in *Modernist Anthropology: From Fieldwork to Text*, ed. Marc Manganaro (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 69–79.

16 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

17 On this approach, see also Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

18 Michael D. Bailey, “The Age of Magicians: Periodizations in the History of European Magic,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 3 (2008): 1–28, at 2–3.

19 Meir Bar-Ilan, “Between Magic and Religion: Sympathetic Magic in the World of the Sages of the Mishnah and Talmud,” *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 5, no. 3 (2002): 383–99; Eric Schliesser, ed., *Sympathy: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Andrea Maraschi, *Similia similibus curantur. Cannibalismo, grafofagia, e “magia” simpatetica nel medioevo (500–1500)* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2020), 8–22 and 37–65.

20 David L. d’Avray, “The Concept of Magic,” in *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, ed. Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (New York: Routledge, 2019), 48–56.

“non-magical religion”—seem more appropriate than Frazer’s and may provide the opportunity to take a clearer position in the classic debate between Flint and Kieckhefer concerning the attitude of the medieval Church towards magical practices.

This second half of the book comprises four chapters as well. Chapter 5 examines the ninth-century *Vita* of Saint Brigit. According to her hagiography, the saint was raised by a druid (i.e., a religious figure held in high esteem among the Celts) and was fed on the milk of a red-eared white cow. This specific breed of cattle was associated with supernatural powers and the Otherworld in old Irish myths and legends. The story thus unveils an interesting relationship between a pre-Christian past and the Christian “present” in early medieval Ireland. We focus on Brigit because she is emblematic of this complex transition, insofar as the saint shared fundamental traits with the Celtic goddess Brigantī. Milk plays a central role in the formation of the saint’s identity, as Brigit rejects normal food that the druid gives her because it is “impure” and because she cannot digest it. The story is an intriguing case-study illustrating the function of food as a boundary between faiths.

Chapter 6 investigates the role of food as a means to contact non-human entities in Burchard of Worms’s *Corrector*, well known among scholars as an important text for the study of pagan survivals and the sources Burchard drew upon in eleventh-century Germany. According to him, it would seem that several non-Christian rituals were still based on the offering of food to non-human entities as a sacrifice or to elicit an abundance of food from them. The analysis carried out is focused on the use of food in divinatory rituals, as protection from the dead, as offerings to entities of the Otherworld, and in love recipes based on the laws of sympathy. This chapter is mostly concerned with the boundary between life and death, and between the natural and the supernatural.

In chapter 7, we examine the *Picatrix*, that is, the mid-thirteenth-century Latin translation of a tenth-century Arabic work on talismanic magic. The translation was made at the court of the Catholic king of Castile, Alfonso X, and poses the problem of the circulation of a work on astrology and natural magic in a Christian cultural environment. Notably, the *Picatrix* is based on Arabic magical knowledge and also on classical Greek philosophical thought, as well as on the ancient idea that the macrocosm exerts influence on the microcosm. A syncretic work such as this deserves attention due to its subsequent success in western European esotericism. In particular, we focus on examples of cultural cannibalism (i.e., on recipes based on human body parts) and discuss their purposes, comparing them to instances of cultural cannibalism in contemporary chronicles of the Crusades. This in



order to show continuities and differences between popular and learned approaches to “magical” and “medicinal” anthropology.

The final chapter of this group of four is dedicated to analysis of Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltramare*, in which the Franciscan friar recounts his pilgrimage to the holy places of the Middle East in the mid-fourteenth century. In the passage where he describes the city of Bethlehem, he writes about a tradition associated with the church of the Nativity. On Christmas Eve, the faithful made bread with the water from a well located inside the basilica, believing this bread to be endowed with certain “powers,” especially useful for pregnant women. The aim of the chapter is to analyse the different elements making up the rite in order to decipher its deepest meaning, with particular attention to the bread and the water as a means to contact cosmic forces.

The time span of this volume ranges from late antiquity to the late Middle Ages, but the chapters are linked by a common theme. Our aim is twofold. On the one hand, we want to show that different eating habits mark different Christian identities, often causing internal conflicts between groups. In this sense, food plays a critical role as a marker of faith and any deviation from orthodox norms and habits implied a slide into heterodoxy. Such a role is even more evident in specific cases where food itself comes to represent a boundary between different branches of Christian doctrine and embodies the concept of liminality. On the other hand, we would like to suggest that, alongside this “negative” role of fracture, food can also prove to be an important (though potentially dangerous) means of establishing continuity between Christianity and an older substratum of beliefs and practices: “magic” and the resort to the supernatural. The idea that various powers could be absorbed by means of eating/drinking certain foods/drinks found a fertile reception in Christian Europe. Food also played a key role in establishing a connection between the earth and the Otherworld, with either positive or negative implications in Christian terms (depending on the connotations of such Otherworlds). In some cases, this property of food could foster a positive continuity with pre-Christian beliefs and facilitate conversion, whereas in other cases it echoed dangerous pre-Christian *superstitiones*.

Food can draw and delete boundaries between groups of human beings, and it can also be used to access or establish contact with other worlds, be they the occult sides of nature, or the supernatural. The surveys in this book are meant to guide the reader along such borders and through these worlds, in the hopes that this journey may represent a valuable contribution to the thriving field of food studies.



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