

Introduction

Pecunia non Olet

Although understood during previous centuries through popular and folk traditions that allocated the plagues of the Early Modern Era to possible pestilence from vapors, the foremost English academic treatment of what came to be called miasma theory appeared within Robert Boyle's *Suspensions about the Hidden Realities of the Air* (1674).¹ Although centrally about overturning the idea that air was benign within chemical reactions, Boyle's Royal Society text described how objects that decayed into "effluvium" caused diseases that penetrated the defenses of the human body through the nasal passages. For Boyle and his cohort of early modern scientists, miasma often meant odor, and the detection of pungency signified the existence of disease within the environment. Deriving from humoral traditions of medical diagnosis that linked the nose directly to vulnerable parts of the brain, miasma theory articulated that objects created pungent smells that denoted the menace of infection.²

¹ Robert Boyle, *Tracts Containing I. Suspensions about Some Hidden Qualities of the Air: with an Appendix Touching Celestial Magnets and Some Other Particulars: II. Animadversions upon Mr. Hobbes's Problemata de vacuo: III. A Discourse of the Cause of Attraction by Suction* (London: W. G. for M. Pitt, 1674), 38–48. For an earlier summary, see Thomas Thayer, *Treatise of the Pestilence: Wherein Is Shewed All the Causes Thereof, with Most Assured Preservatives against All Infection; and Lastly Is Taught the True and Perfect Cure of the Pestilence, by Most Excellent and Approved Medicines* (London: Short, 1603), 8–13. See also Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *Air's Appearance: Literary Atmosphere in British Fiction, 1660–1794* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 43–79; Robert Boyle, *Essays of the Strange Subtlety of Effluviiums* (London: W. G. for M. Pitt, 1673).

² For the general application of miasma theory to early modern religious conceptions that "all things that smell evil, are evil," see Piero Camporesi, *The Incorruptible Flesh: Bodily Mutation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

To control overpowering scented objects that caused sickness within early modern bodies, Boyle and the Royal Society consequently engaged the sense of sight to analyze substances of decay at more minute spaces for bodily governance.³

Following fresh understandings of cleanliness, miasma theory, and godliness related to concerns over the invasions of poor airs, the English polymath Thomas Tryon presented extended discourses on the philosophy of the five senses for early modern readers that portrayed the senses as similarly engaged within philosophical combat.⁴ In his *Letters upon Several Occasions* (1700), Tryon submitted various dialogues about the traits of individual senses and their particular roles for protecting English bodies from the increasing threats of the outside world, implicitly affording standards of worth and proper comportment for each individual sense.⁵ To become a proper Englishperson, sensory routinization and

Press, 1988), 80–84. Miasma theory was generally displaced by germ theory within scientific fields during the middle of the nineteenth century through the work of John Snow, Jakob Henle, Louis Pasteur, and Robert Koch. However, miasma remained a popular way to understand the link between disease, breathing, and smell well into the twentieth century. John Farley, “Parasites and the Germ Theory of Disease,” in *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History*, eds. Janet Lynne Golden and Charles Rosenberg (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 33–49; John Pickstone, “Death, Dirt, and Fever Epidemics: Rewriting the History of British Public Health, 1780–1850,” in *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, eds. Terence Ranger and Paul Slack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 125–148.

³ For critical theory, literary dissemination, and ideas of intellectual contagion, see Peta Mitchell, *Contagious Metaphor* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 1–36; Margaret Pelling, “The Meaning of Contagion: Reproduction, Medicine, and Metaphor,” in *Contagion*, eds. Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (London: Routledge, 2014), 15–38.

⁴ Thomas Tryon, *A Treatise of Cleanness in Meats, and Drinks, of the Preparation of Food . . . and the Benefits of Clean Sweet Beds . . . Also of the Generation of Bugs, and Their Cure. To Which Is Added, A Short Discourse of the Pain in the Teeth, Etc.* (London: S. P., 1682), 8–13. For more on discourses of smell and science during later decades, see the initial decline of miasma theory within academic circles in William Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social Sense* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 67–87.

⁵ For Royal Society, sensory skills, and the rise of the eye, see Jessica Riskin, “The Divine Optician,” *American Historical Review* 116, 2 (2011): 352–370; Alan Salter, “Early Modern Empiricism and the Discourse of the Senses,” in *The Body as Object and Instrument of Knowledge: Embodied Empiricism in Early Modern Science*, eds. Charles Wolfe and Ofer Gal (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), 59–74; Todd Borlick, “The Whale Under the Microscope: Technology and Objectivity in Two Renaissance Utopias,” in *Philosophies of Technology: Francis Bacon and His Contemporaries*, ed. Claus Zittel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 231–249; Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 48–59.

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the education of particular sensory skills became necessary as protections from both the invasion of bad airs and the increasingly probing nature of fresh worldly encounters arriving to English ports. For smelling, as within the works of botanist and physician John Floyer during coterminous decades, Tryon taught Englishpersons to cultivate “greater talents” of the sense to avoid the “penetrating” and “stinking Fogs, Scents, and Vapours” that are “extreamly hurtful to the Mind and Body.” Tryon spent more space on smelling than upon the other senses throughout his celebrated letters because, like many early moderns, he understood that the nasal passages remained consistently open to the threats of contaminated, malignant, and lingering airs that affected both the comportment of the body and the functions of the susceptible mind.⁶

Because of these intense fears of invasion from psychological melancholy and physiological disease caused by zymotic miasmas, night airs, and bad vapors, Europeans consistently understood water as corruptive throughout much of the Early Modern Era. This consistent fear provided even greater impetus for a burgeoning perfume industry due to the unswerving fears of bathing that commonly informed various European discourses.⁷ Similarly applying the idea of perfumed cleanliness and miasma theory, Richard Mead, Royal Society member and physician to King George II during the early eighteenth century, believed that the use of positive smells would cure the diseased effects of negative odors, through a battle between supposed contagions, perfumes, and curatives.⁸ The longstanding and persistent eighteenth-

⁶ Thomas Tryon, *Tryon's Letters upon Several Occasions* (London: Conyers and Harris, 1700), 1–7, 85–87, quotes on 117–125. See also the varied use of sensory skills to discover scents to battle disease throughout John Floyer, *Pharmako-Basanos. Or, The Touch-Stone of Medicines. Discovering the Vertues of Vegetables, Minerals, & Animals, by Their Tastes & Smells. In Two Volumes* (London: Michael Johnson, 1687); Mark Jenner, “Tasting Lichfield, Touching China: Sir John Floyers’ Senses,” *The Historical Journal* 53, 3 (2010): 647–670.

⁷ Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 14–45; Kathleen Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 37–38; Mark Jenner, “Quackery and Enthusiasm, or Why Drinking Water Cured the Plague,” in *Religio Medici: Medicine and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (Aldershot: Scolar Publishing, 1996), 313–340.

⁸ Richard Mead, *A Short Discourse Concerning Pestilential Contagion: And the Methods to Be Used to Prevent It* (London: William Bowyer for Buckley and Smith, 1720), 2–4, 50–54; Richard Mead, *The Medical Works of Richard Mead M.D. Physician to His Late Majesty King George II. Fellow of the Royal Colleges of Physicians at London and Edinburgh, and of the Royal Society* (Edinburgh: Donaldson and Elliot, 1775), 257, 539–540, 597.

century understanding of disease and pestilential invasion often focused on these concepts of pungent contamination and deodorization through counteractive and antiseptic smells. Within these considerations, odors essentially indicated disease, usually emanating from rotting animal carcasses and vegetal materials that were deemed to create invasive vapors from decaying objects. These beliefs continued for much of the general population within Europe and North America well into the nineteenth century.⁹

During the Early Modern Era, the senses went to war.¹⁰ Within various discourses, as with the sensory contests fundamental to Thomas Tomkis's *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority* (1607), each of the senses was granted a narrative strength for battling to earn a greater part of the future English and broader Western sensory consciousness.¹¹ Numerous other plays and prose chronicles allocated support for individual senses regarding the importance of each sense for goals of Christian morality, childhood education, and for gaining social prominence in

⁹ For more on miasma theory, see Steven Connor, *The Book of Skin* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 210–214; P. C. Baldwin, “How Night Air Became Good Air, 1776–1930,” *Environmental History* 8, 3 (2003): 412–429; Melanie Kiechle, *Smell Detectives: An Olfactory History of Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 35–37, 174–175; Katherine Arner, “Making Yellow Fever American: The Early American Republic, the British Empire, and the Geopolitics of Disease in the Atlantic World,” *Atlantic Studies* 7, 4 (2010): 447–471.

¹⁰ For texts with senses at battle, see John Davies, *Nosce Tiepsum* (London: Richard Field, 1599); Richard Brathwayt, *Essays Upon the Five Senses* (London: Anne Griffin, 1635 [1620]), 70–74. See also the summaries of sensory battles within Elizabeth Robertson, “Afterword: From Gateways to Channels. Reaching towards an Understanding of the Transformative Plasticity of the Senses in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods,” in *The Five Senses in Medieval and Early Modern England*, eds. Annette Kern-Stähler, Beatrix Busse, and Wietse de Boer (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 286–296; C. M. Peterson, “The Five Senses in Willem II Van Haecht’s Cabinet of Cornelis Van Der Geest,” *Intellectual History Review* 20, 1 (2010): 103–121; Jo Wheeler, “Stench in Sixteenth-Century Venice,” in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture Since 1500*, eds. Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 25–38.

¹¹ Thomas Tomkis, *Lingua: or, The Combat of the Tongue, and the Five Senses for Superiority* (London: Okes for Waterson, 1622 [1607]). For embodied sensory experience and historical methodology, see Joy Monice Malnar and Frank Vodvarka, *Sensory Design* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 37–39; Pamela Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 12–13; Kate Lacey, *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013), 6–8; Bruce Smith, *The Key of Green: Passion and Perception in Renaissance Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 6–10.

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the sycophantic salons and courts of high society.¹² The affective power of these narratives led to later bodily alterations in the function of the five-sense hierarchy, which moved smell to a much lower space of importance within Western culture, in part because miasma theory defined that nearly all odors were inherently a threatening signifier of malady, emanating smell signified a lack of morality, and overpowering scents presented a deficiency of social graces.¹³

Numerous scholars have traced this important decline of smell as a marker of a modernity that applied smelling to partly justify ideas of the progressive centralized state, concepts of shame, and social ordering.¹⁴ Within this debate about the need of Western states to remove nearly all smells as a marker of disease to the singular body and the wider body politic, *The Smell of Slavery* argues that ideas of race became important to define both a lack of civilization within black populations and for more aggressively coding African bodies as the very cause of infection, as

¹² For more on senses debated during the Early Modern Era, see Hristomir Stanev, *Sensory Experience and the Metropolis on the Jacobean Stage (1603–1625)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 18–20; Laura Giannetti, “Of Eels and Pears: A Sixteenth-Century Debate on Taste, Temperance, and the Pleasures of the Senses,” in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 289–305; Elizabeth Harvey, *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Carla Mazzio, “Introduction: Individual Parts,” in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, eds. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1997), xi–xxix; Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1–11; Viktoria von Hoffmann, *From Gluttony to Enlightenment: The World of Taste in Early Modern Europe* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016).

¹³ Immanuel Kant summarized the Enlightenment understanding of the sense of smell, stating that it “does not pay us to cultivate it or to refine it in order to gain enjoyment; this sense can pick up more objects of aversion than of pleasure (especially in crowded places) and, besides, the pleasure coming from the sense of smell cannot be other than fleeting and transitory.” Constance Classen, “Other Ways to Wisdom: Learning through the Senses across Cultures,” *International Review of Education* 45, 3–4 (1999): 269–280, quote on 272. For more on the anti-olfactory ideals of Kant, see Hannah Arendt and Ronald Beiner, *Lectures on Kant’s Political Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 65–66, and Immanuel Kant, *Analytic of the Beautiful, from the Critique of Judgment* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963 [1790]), 28–36. See also Ann-Sophie Barwich, “Up the Nose of the Beholder? Aesthetic Perception in Olfaction as a Decision-Making Process,” *New Ideas in Psychology* 47 (2017): 157–165.

¹⁴ For inspirational work for the field of sensory studies, see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000 [1939]); Sigmund Freud and Joan Riviere, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (London: Hogarth, 1929 [1903]). See also social construction of sensation within Kelvin Low, “The Social Life of the Senses: Charting Directions,” *Sociology Compass* 6, 3 (2012): 271–282.

specifically commodified objects that produced the very miasmas that brought contagion upon creation.¹⁵

DISENCHANTING AROMA

For the Western racist, historically and structurally, the mental understanding regarding the material reality of the racially marginalized matters little when the body can be educated to feel and sense racial disgust through forms of false sensory consciousness inscribed upon the organs of perception.¹⁶ *The Smell of Slavery* explores articulations of the African

¹⁵ For an introduction to medicine and the black body during the Early Modern Era, see Suman Seth, *Difference and Disease: Medicine, Race, and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Emily Senior, *The Caribbean and the Medical Imagination, 1764–1834: Slavery, Disease and Colonial Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Andrew Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science & Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Rana Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Differences in the Atlantic World, 1780–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Ikuko Asaka, *Tropical Freedom: Climate, Settler Colonialism, and Black Exclusion in the Age of Emancipation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 139–166; Sharon Block, *Colonial Complexions: Race and Bodies in Eighteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 10–34.

¹⁶ For debates on Cartesianism and phenomenology in sensory studies, see Antonio Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain* (London: Random House, 2008), 223–244; E. A. Grosz, *The Incorporeal: Ontology, Ethics, and the Limits of Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 1–14; Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge, 2014 [1945]); Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Sense and Non-Sense* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991 [1948]); Jean-François Lyotard, *Phenomenology* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 48–55; Hans Jonas, *The Phenomenon of Life: Toward a Philosophical Biology* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2001 [1966]). During the 1980s, the anthropology of the senses emerged from the work of Constance Classen and David Howes to question the Cartesian focus on standard sensory hierarchies and the universalizing body of phenomenological analysis. Paul Rodaway, *Sensuous Geographies: Body, Sense, and Place* (London: Routledge, 2011), 3–40; David Howes, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 29–60; Paul Stoller, *Sensuous Scholarship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 4–23; Sarah Pink, “The Future of Sensory Anthropology/the Anthropology of the Senses,” *Social Anthropology* 18, 3 (2010): 331–333. In recent decades, a new field of carnal hermeneutics has emerged to reassert phenomenology of the body through non-universalizing languages that frequently were believed to displace non-Western sensory traditions. Christopher Watkin, *Phenomenology or Deconstruction?: The Question of Ontology in Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Paul Ricoeur, and Jean-Luc Nancy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology and the Sciences of Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2010), 253–260. In the most recent change to the field of sensory studies, scholars following the work of Brian Massumi highlight the

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body through the changing functions of the European nose, as part of a nasal social construction that was both informally contoured and an important part of formal community developments during the Atlantic Slave Trade. The civilizing process that led to a significant decline of olfactory sensations with the rise of Western modernity emerged through changes within fields of racial embodiment. The foundational reason that the eye became the arbiter of truth within scientific study was because subjective odors threatened many burgeoning English and Western concepts of race, identity, and cultural superiority.¹⁷

At its broadest, *The Smell of Slavery* therefore adds to a growing field of study that focuses on the importance of discourse for the construction of embodied historical experience.¹⁸ Scholars of historical bodies frequently argue that the perceptions of the five senses are culturally constructed.¹⁹ The other, through this understanding of embodiment, enculturation, and

importance of the event and affect upon sensory perception. Brian Massumi, *Semblance and Event: Activist Philosophy and the Occurrent Arts* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 39–86; Ruth Leys, *The Ascent of Affect: Genealogy and Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018); John Protevi, *Political Affect: Connecting the Social and the Somatic* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 3–32.

¹⁷ For broader histories of odor, see James Knox Millen, *Your Nose Knows: A Study of the Sense of Smell* (San Jose, CA: Authors Choice, 2001); Roy Bedichek, *The Sense of Smell* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), 147–174; Avery Gilbert, *What the Nose Knows: The Science of Scent in Everyday Life* (New York: Crown, 2008); Kelvin Low, *Scents and Scent-Sibilities: Smell and Everyday Life Experiences* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009); Gabrielle Dorland, *Scents Appeal: The Silent Persuasion of Aromatic Encounters* (Mendham, NJ: Wayne Dorland, 1993), 45–62; Ruth Winter, *The Smell Book: Scents, Sex, and Society* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1976), 87–104; Nathalie Wourn, “The Smell of God: Scent Trails from Ficino to Baudelaire,” in *Sense and Scent: An Exploration of Olfactory Meaning*, eds. Bronwen Martin and Felizitas Ringham (Dublin: Philomel, 2003), 79–100; Annick Le Guérer, *Scent, the Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (New York: Turtle Bay, 1992); Gabrielle Glaser, *The Nose: A Profile of Sex, Beauty, and Survival* (New York: Atria, 2002); Mandy Aftel, *Essence and Alchemy: A Book of Perfume* (New York: North Point, 2001), 11–47.

¹⁸ C. Y. Chiang, “The Nose Knows: The Sense of Smell in American History,” *Journal of American History* 95, 2 (2008): 405–416; Mark Smith, “The Senses in American History: A Round Table Still Coming to ‘Our’ Senses: An Introduction,” *Journal of American History* 95, 2 (2008): 378–381; Mark Smith, “Making Sense of Social History,” *Journal of Social History* 37, 1 (2003): 165–186; David Howes, “Charting the Sensorial Revolution,” *Senses and Society* 1, 1 (2006): 113–128; George Roeder, “Coming to Our Senses,” *Journal of American History* 81 (December, 1994): 1113–1122.

¹⁹ David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World* (New York: Pantheon, 1996); Mark Johnson, *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 89–91, 279–280; Mark Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 133–138.

education, is commonly assembled within an ontological space rather than experienced as an objective material reality. Within discourse, these sensory experiences of the body are frequently constructed through language that alters the biological function of the five senses. As well, as a part of certain forms of social conditioning, the odors, tastes, and sounds of the other are perceived not only through the linguistic episteme through which they take meaning but also in traces imprinted upon the body before language articulated those perceptions into words.²⁰

Out of these historiographical fields of body knowledge and discursive analysis emerged the history of the senses, which asserts as a primary marker of the field's historiography that the ontological breaches caused by the discovery of the New World, the invention of the printing press, changes in religious practice during the Reformation, and the taxonomic desires of the Enlightenment produced an increased separation, streamlining, and reordering of the senses during the Early Modern Era.²¹ This monograph accesses these discourses on the making of modernity to

²⁰ For embodied racial knowledge, see Helen Ngo, *The Habits of Racism: A Phenomenology of Racism and Racialized Embodiment* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), 135–174; Alexis Shotwell, *Knowing Otherwise: Race, Gender, and Implicit Understanding* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 14–15, 34–36; Constance Classen, “The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories,” *Ethos* 20, 2 (1992): 133–166; Mark Smith, *How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1–10; Will Jackson and Emily Manktelow, “Introduction: Thinking With Deviance,” in *Subverting Empire: Deviance and Disorder in the British Colonial World*, eds. Will Jackson and Emily Manktelow (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1–21; Jonathan Reinartz, *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 85–112; Yadira Perez Hazel, “Sensing Difference: Whiteness, National Identity, and Belonging in the Dominican Republic,” *Transforming Anthropology* 22, 2 (2014): 78–91; Mark Smith, “Transcending, Othering, Detecting: Smell, Premodernity, Modernity,” *Postmedieval* 3, 4 (2012): 380–390.

²¹ For classic works on sensory changes and modernity, see Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy; The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); Dominique Laporte, *History of Shit* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000 [1978]); Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958). Important in the introduction of the olfactory into these academic and popular deliberations was historian Alain Corbin's work on French discourses of deodorization in eighteenth-century Paris, *The Foul and the Fragrant* (1983), and Patrick Süskind's widely read novel, *Perfume: the Story of a Murderer* (1986). Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986 [1983]), 65–70; Patrick Süskind, *Perfume: the Story of a Murderer* (New York: Pocket Books, 1986). See also Rodolphe El-Khoury, “Polish and Deodorize; Paving the City in Late Eighteenth Century France,” in *The Smell Culture Reader*, ed. Jim Drobnick (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 18–28; Peter Burke, “Urban Sensations: Attractive and Repulsive,”

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discover significant differences between premodern and modern sensory consciousness through proclaiming that odor was decreasingly perceived within European metropolises from the era of Johannes Gutenberg until the twentieth century.²² As Western Europe deodorized conceptually and materially, the Atlantic World afforded a space for European consciousness to emplace odors upon new bodies in an ostentatious game of sensory imperialism that combined ecological scents with new forms of literary, medical, and scientific race-making.²³

Premodern European sensory worlds are best exemplified through the Catholic mass, which combined sensations to elicit reverence for the material representations of the trinity. In these sensory engagements, the tones of choirs mixed with the aroma of incense to create an immersive sensory experience whereby sounds, smells, tastes, sights, and tactile experiences frequently combined to create a common sensory wonderment that inherently trusted olfaction for greater social application.²⁴

in Volume III of *A Cultural History of the Senses*, ed. Constance Classen (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 43–60.

²² For more debates on general olfactory decline, see Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994); Constance Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1993); Chris Sladen, “Past Scents: The Importance of a Sense of Smell to the Historian,” in *Sense and Scent: An Exploration of Olfactory Meaning*, eds. Bronwen Martin and Felizitas Ringham (Dublin: Philomel, 2003), 149–168; Mark Jenner, “Follow Your Nose? Smell, Smelling, and their Histories,” *American Historical Review* 116, 2 (2011): 335–351.

²³ Holly Dugan exposed that those in power during the Early Modern Era often used aroma to display olfactory spectacles to amuse the subdued masses. Dugan’s work also emboldens a significant aspect of Atlantic history that focuses on material culture and the experience of encountering and expanding new mercantile commodities through the senses. Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011). See also Sally Barnes, “Olfactory Performances,” *TDR* 45, 1 (Spring 2001): 68–76.

²⁴ Katelynn Robinson, *The Sense of Smell in the Middle Ages: A Source of Certainty* (London: Routledge, 2019); Michel Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words: Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 263–265; Suzanne Evans, “The Scent of a Martyr,” *Numen* 49, 2 (2002): 193–211; Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Bissera Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); Eric Palazzo, “Art and the Senses: Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages,” in Volume II of *A Cultural History of the Senses*, eds. Constance Classen and Richard Newhauser (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 175–194; Catherine Saucier, “The Sweet Sound of Sanctity: Sensing St. Lambert,” *Senses and Society* 5, 1 (2010): 10–27; David Chidester, “Symbolism and the Senses in Saint Augustine,” *Religion* 14, 1 (1984): 31–51; Constance Classen, *The Color of Angels*:

Because of the propensity of incense and sulfuric hell to understandings of both religion and medicine within premodern worlds, the sense of smell was often seen above the ground as clouds of aroma that portended fragrant spiritual experience and possible malevolent contamination. Consequently, premodern European sensory worlds prized the sense of smell for various medical, environmental, and spiritual procedures, ranging from the use of scented herbs in medicine to the ideal of the odor of sanctity that arose from specifically religious persons.²⁵

Indulgent olfactory life was common prior to the Early Modern Era, and the mixing of spiritual worlds with the material environment often came through the beauty of collaborating ecological fragrances with otherworldly admiration.²⁶ For example, the poetry of botanist Nicholas Breton's *Smale Handfull of Fragrant Flowers* (1575) proclaimed: "Whom we may see in hande to haue/ this litle branche of Flowres greene./ Which sents and sauours passing well,/ the redyest way to heauen to smell."²⁷ European doctors prior to the Enlightenment, who generally followed the olfactory traditions of Galen that the nose was directly connected to the brain through a hollow tube and thus more

Cosmology, Gender, and the Aesthetic Imagination (London: Routledge, 1998); Piero Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses: Natural Symbols in Medieval and Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994); Mary Thurlkill, *Sacred Scents in Early Christianity and Islam* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2016); Katherine Rinne, "Urban Ablutions: Cleansing Counter-Reformation Rome," in *Rome, Pollution, and Propriety: Dirt, Disease, and Hygiene in the Eternal City from Antiquity to Modernity*, eds. Mark Bradley and Kenneth Stow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 182–201.

²⁵ Le Guérer, *Scent*, 39–50, 70–77; Dugan, *Ephemeral History*, 23–25; Classen, *Color of Angels*, 16–56; Ian Maclean, *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 77–80, 153–161, 198–199; Gerhard Jaritz and Verene Winiwarter, "On the Perception of Nature in Renaissance Society," in *Nature and Society in Historical Context*, eds. Mikuláš Teich, Roy Porter, and Bo Gustafsson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 91–111; François Quiviger, *The Sensory World of Italian Renaissance Art* (London: Reaktion, 2010), 125–136.

²⁶ Laszlo Bartosiewicz, "There's Something Rotten in the State . . . ': Bad Smells in Antiquity," *European Journal of Archaeology* 6, 2 (2013): 175–195; Victor Rodriguez-Pereira, "Sabrosa olor: The Role of Olfaction and Smells in Berceo's Milagros de Nuestra Senora," in *Beyond Sight: Engaging the Sense in Iberian Literatures and Cultures, 1200–1750*, eds. Ryan Giles and Steven Wagschal (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 31–46.

²⁷ Nicholas Breton, *A Smale Handfull of Fragrant Fowers Selected and Gathered out of the Louely Garden of Sacred Scriptures, Fit for any Honorable or Woorshipfull Gentlewoman to Smell Unto* (London: Richard Jones, 1575), quotes on 7–8.