



Historical Perspectives on Smell

JONATHAN REINARZ

Past Scents

STUDIES IN SENSORY HISTORY

SERIES EDITOR

Mark M. Smith, University of South Carolina

SERIES EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin A. Berger, University of California at Santa Cruz

Constance Classen, Concordia University

William A. Cohen, University of Maryland

Gabriella M. Petrick, New York University

Richard Cullen Rath, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

A list of books in the series appears at the end of this book.

Past Scents

Historical Perspectives on Smell

JONATHAN REINARZ

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield

© 2014 by the Board of Trustees
of the University of Illinois
All rights reserved
Manufactured in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 5 C P 5 4 3 2 1

∞ This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Reinarz, Jonathan.

Past scents : historical perspectives on smell / Jonathan Reinarz.
pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-252-03494-7 (hardcover : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-
0-252-07979-5 (pbk. : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-252-09602-0
(e-book)

1. Odors—History. 2. Odors—Social aspects. 3. Smell—History. 4.
Perfume—History. I. Title.

QP458.R45 2014

612.8'6—dc23 2013023556

For Theo and Audrey

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction: Picking up the Scent 1

1. Heavenly Scents: Religion and Smell 25
 2. Fragrant Lucre: The Perfume Trade 53
 3. Odorous Others: Race and Smell 85
 4. Seduction and Subversion: Gender and Smell 113
 5. Uncommon Scents: Class and Smell 145
 6. Mapping the Smellscape: Smell and the City 177
- Conclusion: Beyond the Foul and Fragrant 209

Notes 219

Index 267

Acknowledgments

Like many other authors who have grappled with the subject of smell previously, I have found my time engaged in the field of sense studies to be among the most collegial of professional experiences. Not only did colleagues regularly offer to read drafts of the chapters presented here, but from this project's outset I have received regular unsolicited emails from colleagues who have drawn my attention to useful texts and those that were otherwise difficult to locate, as well as a steady stream of fascinating smell references from their own readings and research. No other research I have undertaken to date has resulted in such a rich harvest of disparate sources. I wish to thank numerous friends, acquaintances, and academic colleagues from diverse disciplines for their generosity. These include Irene Alonso-Pérez, Warwick Anderson, Nina Attwood, Jeremy Boulton, Christina Bradstreet, Michael Bresalier, Steven Bunker, Connie Chiang, Richard Clay, Harry Cocks, Virginia Crossman, Angus Dawson, Mary Dobson, Holly Dugan, Margot Finn, Elaine Fulton, Nancy Graham, Matthew Grenby, Susan Harvey, Marsha Henry, Victoria Henshaw, Clare Hickman, Matthew Hilton, June Jones, Matthew Newson Kerr, Julia Lajus, the late Joan Lane, Tracey Lauriault, George Lukowski, Cathy McClive, Michael McVaugh, Samuel Martland, Catherine Maxwell, Brian Moeran, Graham Mooney, Jean-François Mouhot, Sabina Rashid, Bill Regier, Guenter Risse, Corey Ross, Katja Schönherr, Leonard Schwarz, Kevin Siena, Tom Slater, Leonard Smith, Lisa Smith, Mark Smith, Carolyn Steedman, Ingrid Sykes, Anthony Synnott, Marion Thain, Shelley Trower, Rosemary Wall, Stuart Wildman, Andrew Williams, Ben Wurgaft,

and Rebecca Wynter. Many others spoke up at seminars when I presented some of my findings at the universities of Birmingham, Warwick, Liverpool, and London. Although these people were not always properly introduced, their input has also greatly influenced the way my ideas ultimately came together here.

I am particularly grateful to those who have taken the time to read chapters and suggest changes, most of which I have followed. In the first instance, I wish to thank Susan Harvey for offering a lengthy and painful criticism of chapter 1. That there should have been so many issues to work through is no surprise, given that a medical historian of Victorian England was attempting to write about the early history of religion. Despite many inevitable shortcomings, I found each diversion from my regular academic reading utterly fascinating, and it often required great strength to put down additional volumes and stop myself from conducting further literature searches; this is work that others will no doubt undertake. Rebecca Wynter was similarly thorough in her reading of the book's introduction and first two chapters; her careful reading on this and many other occasions once again greatly improved the text and forced me to consider the sensitivity of the book's contents even more. Sabina Rashid introduced me to some new and intoxicating fragrances and happily read through chapters 3 and 4, confirming some of my findings along the way with many enjoyable personal anecdotes. Marsha Henry tried, as in her daily life, to set me straight on the subject of gender; should this element still appear less than satisfactory to some, it is the result of my own hardheadedness, not her attempts to introduce me to more sophisticated gender theorizing. She has also suggested and forwarded many interesting and helpful readings, seminars, newspaper articles, blogs, and so on, over the past four to five years. Virginia Smith was kind enough to read through chapter 5, which initially lacked pre-Victorian content, and to suggest further readings. Matthew Newson Kerr, Jon Herington, and Mary Dobson looked at the final chapter on "Smell and the City" and provided many helpful suggestions and clarifications. Two anonymous readers also provided a wealth of useful and detailed feedback and confirmed many of my thoughts on future research in this area. Mark Smith, editor of the senses series at University of Illinois Press, also read each chapter in early draft stages and provided feedback that was both helpful and encouraging, with his regular thoughtful emails and sage advice preventing me on many occasions from throwing in the towel and abandoning this project altogether. I wish to thank the British Academy for modest funding that facilitated the organization of a conference on "The Senses and the Enlightenment," which has since been published as a special

issue of the *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* (2012), and encouraged early scent discussions both with colleagues at Birmingham and a broader academic community. The event also unexpectedly stimulated this project by initially bringing Mark, our keynote speaker, and me into contact.

I am also grateful to the team at University of Illinois Press for their support and positive response to the work from the outset. Thanks go to Kendra Boileau, Tad Ringo, Mary Wolfe, and especially the press's director, Bill Regier, who was always extremely responsive and helpful in his regular correspondence, which also on occasion included new sources and smell references. I was especially pleased to have the assistance of Jill R. Hughes at the editing stage.

Although this project was not supported by additional external funding, I am grateful to the College of Medical and Dental Sciences and the School of Health and Population Sciences at the University of Birmingham for supporting research that is perhaps atypical for a medical school. Perhaps such support will help change such preconceptions, for in this case jokes and quips from colleagues invariably and rapidly transformed into expressions of interest and encouraging words. Staff at the Barnes Library, who provided many publications, even began to look forward to my interlibrary loan requests rather than gaze in puzzlement at my requests for biographies of Coco Chanel, Coty, and Guerlain, for example.

As always, I wish to thank my family for their support and encouragement. Like Marsha Henry, who has been a sounding board for many of my projects, my father, Frederik Reinartz, proved more interested in my research than I expected and regularly sent me odor citations when he stumbled across them, as did my mother, Monika, who rewarded me before the completion of the project with a signed copy of Patrick Süskind's *Perfume*. Marijke Reinartz helped locate a Dutch publication that ultimately proved helpful in concluding chapter 2. My children, Theo and Audrey, asked me all sorts of difficult questions and loved talking about stinks and smells, whether at the dinner table, while walking to school, or at bedtime, usually just before I would resume an evening of writing. This book is dedicated to them.

Introduction

Picking up the Scent

Smell is a cultural phenomenon. Members of past societies relied on smell to understand and engage with both their immediate environment and a wider world of meanings. Thus, “The study of the cultural history of smell” has been described by leading sensory studies scholars Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott as “an investigation into the *essence* of human culture.”¹ Other writers have similarly declared the evolution of the olfactory imagination and the other four sensory realms to be a grand story. According to German political economist Karl Marx, who was no stranger to such sweeping subjects, it is “a labour of the entire history of the world down to the present.”² For similar reasons, Eugene Rimmel (1820–1887), the nineteenth-century perfumer, declared that “the history of perfume is, in some manner, that of civilization.”³ The senses are saturated with meaning and history. So, too, are its individual chapters. The history of perfume, along with its floral constituents, has been described by the *Annales* historian Alain Corbin to be “as informative as the history of coal,”⁴ if not always occurring in equally rich seams.

This volume is an attempt to mine notable seams and outcrops and present them as a comprehensive and coherent introduction to the history of smell. It is ambitious in the sense that it takes a very broad perspective, touching the ancient, medieval, early modern, and modern periods, in six themed chapters, with as much sensitivity to peculiarities of each time period as a historian of nineteenth-century England is capable. While the first chapters concentrate predominantly on the earliest chronological periods, successive sections focus on the modern period, essentially concluding with a discussion of smell in the modern city. Although there is some reiteration between

sections, such as those on religion and gender, the individual themes were chosen to best represent the existing literature in this particular field of sensory history. Where there is potential overlap, efforts have been made to minimize duplication and direct readers to other relevant sections. The majority of the book's composite chapters have attempted to integrate findings from the most influential historical studies of olfaction, while others comprise a patchwork of research representing disparate theoretical perspectives, not all of which can be developed to their full extent. At times I have drawn in new material in order to more effectively span existing lacunae in an emerging research agenda. Inevitably, discontinuities remain, but hopefully these will only stimulate further studies by indicating as clearly as possible where further research is needed.

Although this is a historical text, it does not focus on the work of historians alone. The most influential literature on the senses in recent years has emanated from the keyboards of anthropologists. Often studies of smell in various Global South societies commence by noting a devaluation of olfactory experience as peculiar to the Global North and its intellectual traditions.⁵ Lack of attention to olfaction as a cultural experience is not apparent in every society. In the West, however, its decline is said to have impoverished our ability to understand the heavily textured vocabulary through which other cultures express the nature and meaning of order and relations in their communities, as well as their wider place in the cosmos. Our “impressions of the external world,” the German sexologist Iwan Bloch opined in the early twentieth century, “no longer reach us through the nose but through the eye and ear.”⁶ The field of history, therefore, appears decidedly devoid of scent—that is, until fairly recently, when a number of inspiring works have managed to fix some attention on this particular sense and ensure its presence in the historical literature.

The early to mid-1980s are now regarded as a “watershed moment for smell.”⁷ Two key publications appeared within a few years of each other and served to inspire a wave of scent-related research. The first and perhaps most influential was the renowned Annales School historian Alain Corbin's *Le miasma et le jonquille*, which broke the “olfactory silence” of historians when it was originally published in 1982.⁸ This now classic study demonstrated the profound influence of odors upon everyday life in France during a significant period of social, political, and cultural change. Although wide ranging in its themes, Corbin's work emphasized the way in which the accumulation of urban waste, for instance, appeared to threaten the social order of postrevolutionary France. A prioritization and subsequent victory of the

hygienic and fragrant, on the other hand, promised to buttress the stability of society. Interest in smell among modern audiences was further reinforced with the appearance of German novelist and former history student Patrick Süskind's international best seller, *Perfume: The Story of a Murder*, in 1986, the year Corbin's work was translated into English as *The Foul and the Fragrant*. The "evocativeness" of Süskind's novel and the world that its principal character inhabits—namely, one "suffused and oriented around odors—stirred literary and critical analyses within and beyond its own context."⁹ These two publication events on their own arguably "crystalized an agenda of sorts on smell, one that sought out the recovery, expression and explanation of smell on its own terms."¹⁰ Reflecting on three decades since the appearance of these works, one can now speak of not only an olfactory turn but also a "sensual turn" in recent academic writing on the past.¹¹

Naturally, other groundbreaking studies preceded and followed these works, which are frequently noted in the introductions of the most recent inquiries into scent. For those delving into ancient or religious themes, these include Belgian historian Marcel Detienne's *The Gardens of Adonis* (1977) and the late-antique scholar Susan Harvey's *Scenting Salvation* (2006).¹² Addressing the role of aroma in Greek mythology and fifth-century Christianity respectively, the subjects of these works are separated from those of Corbin's and Süskind's studies by many centuries; their authors also followed very different scent trails. Subsequent studies of scent have only gradually begun to fill a wide chronological gap spanning much of the period between the ancient and modern periods. Although the senses have recently been explored in the context of medieval Europe—most notably in Chris Woolgar's *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (2006)—additional research on the early modern period and for countries outside Western Europe has been slower to appear.¹³

While this patchiness of the literature partially accounts for the uneven terrain of this particular volume, the existing historiography sufficiently demonstrates that different people at different times thought differently about the senses and therefore understood their world in different ways. For example, recent research on emotions, embodiment, and embodied activity has demonstrated a marked interest in expanding our understanding of the role of the senses in this respect.¹⁴ If we are to understand how people in past societies understood and responded to the whole body or just its parts, common bodies as well as royal ones, we must begin to explore the so called lesser senses, such as smell, more comprehensively. The study of sense perception allows consideration of the corporal realm, its cultural and social locations,

experiences, roles, and functions from various novel perspectives. This difference in vantage points also facilitates fresh encounters with an endless array of other subjects. While there is much to admire in a recent tendency to discuss the senses collectively, largely because they function collectively, focusing on smell alone in this volume literally brings the subject “under our noses”;¹⁵ it is equally intended to correct an imbalance that continues to exist in the literature. A further reason for studying the senses individually is that there is still so much to discover, depths that scholars who pioneered this field never imagined; relations between senses remain important to study, but also important are the multiple levels of meaning. That said, by exploring the history of the senses, either singularly or collectively, scholars can change the way the past is conceptualized.

The history of the senses has inspired scholars to revisit topics, some of which have been the subjects of considerable research previously yet emerge with fresh insights, or, as Classen has stated, generate “inscent” into old and seemingly familiar issues.¹⁶ As indicated by the seventh-century theologian John of Damascus (c. 676–749 A.D.) in his work *On the Divine Images*, the study of the bodily senses “adds to the treasury of knowledge something that was not there before.”¹⁷ In most cases such sensory knowledge has not been taken into account by earlier historians, largely because olfaction is such a difficult area to research. Smells are indeed ephemeral. Nevertheless, however difficult they are to recover, the smells of ancient Egypt or nineteenth-century Paris were essential to their inhabitants, their habits of activity, their interactions, and the way they understood their worlds. If we are to understand these historical periods and their respective societies properly, historians must make concerted efforts to rediscover the very divergent taste, touch, and, of course, olfactory cultures of the past. Equally, such voyages of rediscovery will further aid efforts to correct existing imbalances in the scholarship, whereby smell is frequently sidelined in favor of other senses, particularly sight and sound.

Reconfiguring the way we conceptualize the past is no easy task. Engaging with sense history has been known to disorient scholars from the outset, often challenging some fundamental assumptions that researchers initially bring to their specialist fields. This was recognized by Susan Harvey, for instance, when she commenced her study of scent and religious ceremony in the fifth-century Christian world. Harvey was led to confess early in her study that the ideas she first held about incense were secondary to the subject and even occasionally “wrong.”¹⁸ In other research projects, greater attention to previously neglected senses has led historians to think about the subjects and eras they study in very different or more complex ways.¹⁹ This volume

is an attempt to present just some of the most important scent scholarship that has shaped and challenged the way we consider fundamental aspects of society historically, including religion, race, gender, class, and urban space. If it assists other scholars in conceptualizing these subjects in different ways, it will have succeeded in one of its key aims.

(De)valuing Scent

The sense of smell remains at the bottom of the sense hierarchy, where it has lingered for centuries. Traditionally, the senses of taste and smell, which were frequently said to cooperate, were regarded as inferior to sight and hearing in both medical and lay texts. This “view” of the senses has been traced to Plato, who already declared sight to be the worthiest and most important sense. Smell, he argued, was not delicate enough, as the nasal channels were simply not suited to perceive the particles of earth and water with which people came into daily contact, a view supported by other ancient thinkers, including Aristotle.²⁰ Likewise, the “half-formed nature” of smell, regarded to be “an intermediary state” created by a change in the environment and the nature of an object, made its perception difficult.²¹ Consequently, even into the eighteenth century, writers on the senses, such as the Scottish physician William Buchan, continued to relegate taste and smell to the lower echelons in their personal sense hierarchies, stating matter-of-factly that “these senses are not of so great importance to man in a state of society.”²²

One of the reasons for smell’s consistent lower ranking compared to other senses is related to the difficulties faced when attempting to characterize scents. To Aristotle, smells had no individual identity, forcing those who tried to describe them to turn to emotional classifications, distinguishing, for example, those that invoked particular pleasures or yearnings, or, more regularly, those that generated feelings of disgust.²³ As has been iterated repeatedly by those studying scent, the language of smell has always been underdeveloped. In general, odors smell like something else—a rose, freshly cut grass, or sewage, for example. The same point was made in 1755 with respect to such descriptions in the French language by the Verdun-born ecclesiastic Polycarpe Poncelet.²⁴ Echoing the English translation of Corbin’s book, Poncelet, who promoted a musically inspired classification of smell, seems to have been able to conceive of only a two-scent harmony that comprised sweet and foul odors.²⁵ Despite these obstacles to describing smells, historians often regularly uncover sensory references from different eras for which the meanings are unclear. Though it is unlikely that the actual anatomical structures

that enable humans to smell has changed much over the centuries, an odor of sanctity, to take just one example, was surely interpreted very distinctively in medieval Europe. The task of reconstructing the senses therefore calls into being “a complex system of representations and an intricate network of personal and cultural associations” that have varied with time and place.²⁶ Nor can odors be stored over time, like most other artifacts unearthed in archives.²⁷ The close association between words for taste and smell have also been the subject of comment. It has been argued that words denoting taste often move into the arena of smell, but not vice versa.²⁸ Not only are these relevant sense organs in close proximity, but they also frequently cooperate. So, too, does smell often work together with other senses to establish knowledge or reinforce existing prejudices. The regular way in which the senses work together has encouraged many sensory scholars more recently to discuss the senses jointly rather than in isolation.²⁹ For that reason, this volume, though concentrating on a single sense, will also periodically, and very consciously, refer to images and sounds associated with smell, for example, and the interaction of the senses when determining sense categories.

As noted, smell is a fleeting sense, said by some to leave no traces.³⁰ It is almost always discussed in the past tense; identified smells dissipate and quickly become past scents, as the title of this book suggests. They are usually sensed only after an object has been burned or after an individual whose silage has become obvious to other members of the public has left a room or scene. In this respect the fleeting nature of scents makes them particularly suited to historical study. Interestingly, this transitory aspect of an actual aroma contrasts with the enduring nature of most sense perceptions, as the French novelist Marcel Proust and other writers have reminded us.³¹ Writers of fiction in past centuries have most famously referred to the ability of odors to strengthen the memory or encourage almost complete recollection of past events. Those who experience these spontaneous recollections have usually done so when smelling food, opening a cupboard or drawer, or exploring objects in an attic. Throughout the nineteenth century, such notions were frequently recounted by writers, including the French poet Charles Baudelaire and the American author and physician Oliver Wendell Holmes, the latter of whom left us with perhaps the most precise and definite allusion to this mnemonic power: “Memory, imagination, old sentiments and associations, are more readily reached through the sense of smell than by almost any other channel.”³² Even when not in the foreground of perception, smells made a special emotional or psychological impact that ensured a lasting impression. They have allowed numerous authors, many lesser known

than Proust or Holmes, to recapture moments from childhood but are also invoked in nostalgic attempts to retrieve lost scents, whether the result of public health campaigns or less concerted, incremental changes in the urban environment.³³ As expressed most poetically by Proust, “When from a long-distant past nothing subsists, taste and smell alone . . . remain poised a long time, like souls, remembering, waiting, hoping, amid the ruins of all the rest, and bear unflinchingly, . . . the vast structure of recollection.”³⁴ For these reasons, smells have been used more recently, and effectively, to aid memory among those interviewed by researchers, or, more problematically, to “accurately” evoke a particular time or place in museums.³⁵ Since the nineteenth century, literary odors have proliferated, and one suspects that the scents collected in the works of Charles Dickens, for example, as well as those of other aromatic authors, such as Émile Zola, were similarly tied to memories of actual streets, buildings, and individuals. As a result, works of fiction have often been incorporated into historical studies of smell, as they have inspired nearly everyone who has worked on the subject.

Ways of Smelling

The physiological processes involved in sense perception have vexed all those who have discussed scent since ancient times. Unusually, the biological and chemical nature of this denigrated sense remains to be worked out entirely. As a result, this aspect of the smell question should continue to generate a considerable amount of writing in the coming years. Nevertheless, historical theories that have attempted to explain the sense of smell have rarely been discussed collectively, most usefully by Annick Le Guérer, who investigated “the philosophical nose” from Aristotle to Freud.³⁶ Studies for specific periods have regularly outlined prevailing theories of smell.³⁷ The development of these ideas and odor languages has also been addressed by perfume scholars for later eras.³⁸ More recently, Christina Bradstreet has augmented Le Guérer’s survey by considering in greater detail the views of the medical profession in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³⁹ Although both the conceptualization and categorization of smell have changed significantly with time, its champions have been limited in number, while “the philosophical reasons for denigrating smell are numerous,”⁴⁰ or so we are told. A survey of these main trajectories and changes over the period covered by this book was deemed especially relevant given the nature of this study.

In the musings of the pre-Socratic and Hippocratic authors, the senses bridged the gap between the body and the soul. First and foremost, they

were the main faculty that linked people to the physical world and the wider cosmos. Smells were generally understood to be tactile in orientation, their detection involving some form of direct contact between the thing being sensed and the subject. Particles were thought to emanate from objects continually, whether the rays of the sun or perfumes, and literally struck an individual's sense organs, be that the eye, skin, or nose, sometimes with the intensity of a fist, other times more subtly. As such, smell, like taste, touch, or sight, was clearly identified as a physical encounter with the potential to yield genuine knowledge of the world and came with associated hazards. Although subjective, and prone to error and illusion, smell was distinct, with every object possessing its own specific smell signature. This latter feature made smell, like the other four senses, an essential and trustworthy guide with which to examine and comprehend the world. Dissatisfaction with the senses, however, was ever present and continued into the Hellenistic era, when sense perception became a subject of heightened concern. While the senses potentially opened the doors to reliable knowledge, discussions began to address the issue of illusions and the assumed disparities that existed between individuals' sense experiences.

In *Timaeus* (c. 360 B.C.), Plato's speculation on the nature of the physical world, the ancient Greek philosopher discusses smell in terms that others, including his student Theophrastus (c. 371-c. 287 B.C.), would find so unhelpful. According to Plato, smell lacked any definite pattern, most smells being half-formed entities, which made them good or bad but otherwise cryptic or difficult to classify.⁴¹ His written work continually indicates that smells occurred when substances were in the process of changing their state through processes of liquefaction, decomposition, dissolution, or evaporation; the particular source of each odor was the condition of instability. They also had the power to affect the body to an extreme degree, most often threatening it with destruction or promising to restore it to its natural healthy state. Depending on circumstances, smells could be both the cause and cure of disease; though indistinct, they were recognized as powerful agents.

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) reiterated Plato, stressing the difficulty of analyzing smell because of the inability of humans to discriminate accurately between odors.⁴² Nevertheless, like many others after him, Aristotle classified smells—in this case, into five categories according to analogies with other senses. Inquiring into the physiological process of smell in both humans and animals, he referred to taste and identified sweet, harsh, astringent, pungent, and rich smells. His intellectual successor, Theophrastus, was equally interested in the question of olfactory categories. Less concerned with the act of

smelling, his writings address smells, their types, and the conditions in which they are generated. According to later writers, including Galen, the second-century Roman physician, the ideas proposed by Aristotle and Theophrastus survived for many generations and continued to be taken as definitive. Unlike many of his contemporaries, however, Galen viewed smell as a superior sense, because he regarded the nostrils to be directly linked with the brain, allowing unmediated information, or vapors, to reach the brain's ventricles and be processed without the need of an intervening sensory nerve.⁴³ Proof of his theory was the way smells appeared to have a direct and discernible impact on the brain.⁴⁴

Cicero, the great Roman orator, philosopher, and statesman, regarded the elevated place of the nose to exemplify the ordered cosmos, allowing for optimum function. It was strategically positioned high on the head because smells were borne upward. Lucretius, another Roman philosopher to expound broadly on the nature of the world, attempted to explain the slower transmission of smells compared with sounds, claiming that scents were “made of larger elements than voice.”⁴⁵ The actual aromas were seen to result from the shape of smell molecules, smooth atoms “gently penetrating into the nostrils,” while sharper ones abraded “the olfactory tissue.”⁴⁶ Slow to travel and dying away quickly, smell was dismissed by the philosopher-poet as physically and morally “inefficient, inconsequential and inept.”⁴⁷ The materialist model he proposed, however, underlined the potentially important role of smell in the accumulation of knowledge. As a result, Lucretius is regarded to have rehabilitated the sense of smell, despite being critical of the sense.

Compared with the ancient philosophers, Christian intellectuals' understanding of the “physiological process” of smell has been described as unsophisticated.⁴⁸ This is not to say that early Christians did not share a rich and multivalent appreciation of scents. Smell, like the other senses, was regarded to exist so that the devout could experience the goodness and beauty of divine creations. Like sounds, scents could be perceived from all directions and from a distance. Although one might have expected there to be four senses to correspond with the four elements—earth, air, fire, and water—smells did not readily conform to this influential model, leading Christian thinkers to propose the creation of a fifth sense—smell—to perceive intermediate substances, such as vapors. Besides noting the admirable construction of the nose, its ideal placement, and role in breathing, smelling, and expelling mucus, Christians, rather than add to the medical knowledge of the day, utilized existing conventions to extol on the wonders of God's work. Nevertheless,

they encouraged further condemnation of the sense of smell and called for vigilance in detecting certain smells in everyday life. When regarded as a costly luxury or given off by the impure heart of a sinner, scents could incite divine wrath as well as condemnation from the wider religious community.⁴⁹ As Classen and others have emphasized, “Denial of the senses was to be the rule in all things Christian.”⁵⁰ Although other religious traditions appear to have been less wary of the threats posed by smells, descriptions suggest similar vigilance in protecting oneself from particularly sinister scents. Early Buddhist authors, for example, divided aromatics into three general classes, or *gana*: ally, neutral, and enemy.⁵¹

In the Middle Ages the senses were less restricted compared with the modern era and were understood as an amalgam of classical philosophy with elements of Christian and pagan tradition. Sensory perception was an open process, not just a system used to transmit information about objects. The senses enabled tangible qualities as well as intangible spiritual knowledge to be passed from one party to another. It was also a two-way process: the senses disseminated information or affected others directly while also receiving information or serving as a conduit that might ultimately change an individual.⁵² The ability to smell clearly developed through the stages of one’s life: infants were born with five fixed powers at full strength, and throughout life these gradually diminished as the internal powers of the aging body reputedly increased in strength. As people left childhood behind, they also dwelled less on smells than on visual stimuli; adults who fixated on the olfactory were regarded to be arrested in their development.⁵³ Max Nordau (1849–1923), the Zionist physician and author of the notorious eugenics text *Degeneration* (1892), similarly condemned sensitivity to scent, suggesting that “smellers” were degenerates, representing “an atavism going back, not only to the primeval period of man, but infinitely more remote still, to an epoch anterior to man.”⁵⁴ These “backward” individuals were regularly said to smell unpleasant, in contrast to those who were merely infantile or childish; the sweet scent of healthy children was generally commented upon as particularly pleasing.⁵⁵ Deterioration with age also registered as the stink that was emitted by human bodies in old age. As well as transmitting the state of an organic substance sensed, smell could heal or herald disease, kill or cure, and reveal one’s age and even moral character.

Throughout the Middle Ages, intellectual and popular ideas about the senses were closely intertwined and were, as argued by Woolgar, a source of mutual inspiration.⁵⁶ There were, however, important distinctions between high and low culture. The higher culture of cognition as laid out in ency-

clopedias or theological works and natural philosophy would have been comprehensible to few ordinary members of society, though these ideas underpinned notions that were crucial to the daily operation of the Church. These concepts were subsequently translated into forms that were readily intelligible to the average parishioner who attended sermons or confession in ways that mirrored common beliefs or assimilated those practices into Christianity.

Like Aristotle, Bartholomew the Englishman, a thirteenth-century encyclopedist, worked through the senses starting with those located highest in the body and proceeding downward. His writings are particularly detailed and shed considerable light, so to speak, on smell in this under-researched period. Although previous texts ranked taste before smell,⁵⁷ Bartholomew situated smell between sight and hearing, two elevated senses, and taste and touch, traditional lower senses. Smells, according to Bartholomew, were received and interpreted in the front ventricle of the brain by what was known as “the common sense.”⁵⁸ Drawing on an earlier Galenic tradition, Bartholomew suggested the effects of smells were based on their composition and similarity to the complexion of the perceiver.⁵⁹ Those scents that corresponded with one’s own makeup in terms of the four bodily humors—namely, blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile—were likely to be found pleasing, while dissimilar aromas were found to be displeasing or even noxious. So, for example, an individual possessing a melancholic or evil complexion, including lepers, avoided fragrant smells and associated primarily with foul odors.⁶⁰ As this suggests, there were also scents that cooled the body, such as roses, while asphalt, myrrh, frankincense, and other fragrances that resulted from burning were perceived as hot and dry and possessed corresponding therapeutic uses. Although humoral theory has been largely forgotten, most people still distinguish between sweet (hot and dry) and stinking smells (cold and wet); not surprisingly, spices and aromatics tended to come from the hot and dry climate of Arabia.⁶¹ As this implies, the sun became associated with fragrance across cultures, while the moon was linked to foulness, notions that underline how these beliefs were part and parcel of a wider cosmic, or, perhaps more appropriately, osmic, world order.⁶²

Smell was also linked to temperament and intelligence in the medieval period. While those individuals who were wrathful and rowdy, rash and ignorant were said to be “without a nose,” sagacious types were expected to possess a keen sense of smell.⁶³ Drawing on ancient texts, Bartholomew referred to the action of smelling as “knowing with your nose.”⁶⁴ He also explored the physiology of smell, focusing primarily on the work of Constantine of Africa,

an eleventh-century monk and translator of Arabian medical texts. Accordingly, Constantine held that air was drawn into the brain through the nose, with one nostril channeling incoming air to the brain, the other reserved for exhalation. Bartholomew challenged this notion, suggesting instead that the instruments of smell resembled two teats hanging inside the nostrils, which both drew in air, imagery that reappeared in medical texts into the early modern period.⁶⁵ Sinuous tissue, or “gutters,”⁶⁶ connected these sensitive instruments to the brain and gave them the spirit of feeling. Walter Burley, an important early fourteenth-century commentator on Aristotle, similarly located smell in the front of the brain in a web of nerves.⁶⁷ Although said to be material, the senses rarely appeared in works of art of the period.⁶⁸ More often, animals were used to represent the senses in medieval art and moralizing literature. The vulture, with its reputed excellent sense of smell, most often denoted the sense of smell in visual and textual representations,⁶⁹ while the panther supposedly gave off a marvelous odor and frequently symbolized Christ’s heavenly scent.⁷⁰

The Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment fundamentally altered the way people thought about the senses. Since the earliest manifestations of the Enlightenment, the operation of the senses has commonly been regarded in Western culture to be “a narrow and analytical process of physiology, biology and electrochemistry, with an ever increasing precision of definition of what we might reasonably expect a sense to do.”⁷¹ The senses were described as receptors, which played their part in freeing the human mind from its pre-Enlightenment, dogmatic ignorance by providing people with the necessary information to rationalize, discuss, and respond to very specific situations and circumstances of common interest and concern. In the opinion of Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), one of the most influential writers of the French Renaissance, the senses were the beginning and end of human knowledge. Montaigne is also known for having paid special attention to olfaction, suggesting that scents operated “to make us more fit for contemplation.”⁷² He is also remembered for his hypersensitivity to smells and was often driven to distraction by their presence. While openly enjoying good smells, he particularly detested foul odors, which he allegedly detected from greater distances than his contemporaries.⁷³ In the hierarchy of the senses, the Cartesian philosophers of the seventeenth century situated smell in a middling position, for it lacked the precision and reliability of hearing and sight, even as it was regarded as more sensitive than taste; the two nerves that comprised the olfactory organ resembled those of taste but were “narrower, more sensitive, and activated by more tenuous stimuli.”⁷⁴ Olfactory

nerves, according to the French philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650), were stimulated when small “bodies” of matter were inhaled into the nose and penetrated the narrow pores of the ethmoid bone, separating the nasal cavity from the brain, which filtered odiferous matter and allowed only the finest to pass.⁷⁵ The most rarefied particles were capable of activating the nerves and mechanically inspiring “various odorous feelings” in the soul.⁷⁶ Being nothing more than feelings, with no existence outside the mind, the senses could be enjoyed or detested but were otherwise regarded by philosophers, such as the French rationalist philosopher Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), whose writings focused on the causes of human error, as “false witnesses” to the truth.⁷⁷

This denigration of the senses was partially reversed in the eighteenth century, with many more intellectuals stressing the importance of the senses in the acquisition of knowledge. According to Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709–1751), the French physician and philosopher who rejected Descartes’s mind-body dualism and instead popularized the metaphor of man as machine, the senses alone could enlighten the mind and were regarded as the surest guides of human inquiry. Others reduced all mental processes to feeling, the philosopher Claude Helvétius (1715–1771) having declared that “to think is to feel.”⁷⁸ The old hierarchy of the senses again appeared to shift, with many intellectuals, including the encyclopedist Denis Diderot (1713–1784), actually doubting the power of sight, prizing, instead, touch and elevating the status of smell, which was heralded as the most “voluptuous” of the senses.⁷⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) also held the senses in high regard, for they played an important role in the formation of reason, the mind developing only when it worked in unison with the body. The Genevan philosopher viewed the nose as one of man’s “earliest teachers of philosophy,” and the naturalist George Louis Leclerc, *Compte de Buffon* (1707–1788), regarded it higher still. In animals the sense of smell was thought to be capable of replacing all others, functioning simultaneously as sight, touch, and taste, and alerting creatures to present dangers more effectively than sound. In humans, however, it remained less developed, even “feeble” and “atrophied,”⁸⁰ and frequently continued to occupy the lowest position in sense hierarchies. This outlook was reinforced by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), for example, who declared smell to be the least productive sense. According to the German philosopher, the last of a long line of Enlightenment-inspired thinkers, smell revealed very little about the true nature of external objects. Although smell was useful in distinguishing those items humans might wish to avoid, in Kant’s opinion this list of unpleasant effluvia only increased in the period he

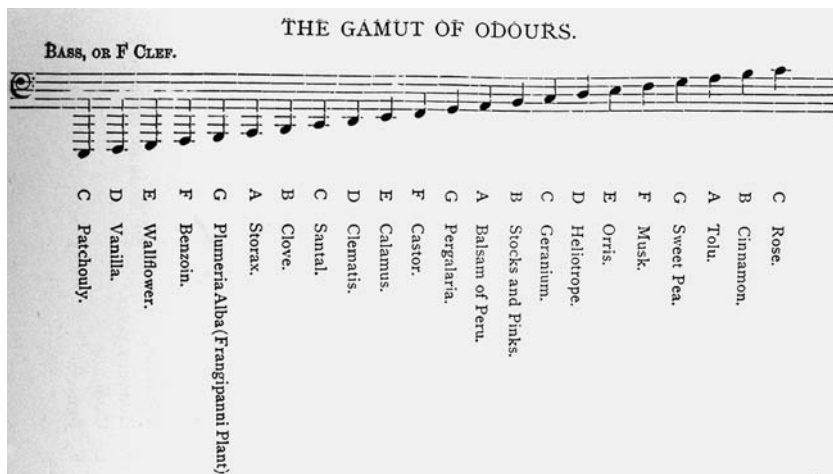
was alive, and all remaining pleasures were “fleeting and transitory.”⁸¹ Deemed insignificant in the acquisition of knowledge, smell was relegated by Kant, and by those who expanded on his system, “to the dustheap of the senses.”⁸² The sense similarly played very little role in the German philosopher Georg Hegel’s (1770–1831) aesthetics, leaving it as little more than a “vassal at the service” of its more important sensory neighbors, most notably the eye.⁸³

This negative view was challenged by the materialist philosopher and anthropologist Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872), who differentiated himself from philosophers like Kant who he claimed had blinded themselves in order to think better. Unlike his mentor, Hegel, who appeared to lack a nose, Feuerbach relied on his senses to think, claiming the lower senses, including smell and taste, “elevate themselves in man to intellectual and scientific activities.”⁸⁴ His materialist ideas would inspire both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, while his critique of religion would be taken further by his compatriot Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), who did not share Feuerbach’s view that man was distinct from animals. If mankind had become disconnected from its “fleshy envelope,”⁸⁵ Nietzsche argued, this was because religion taught Christians to be ignorant of the body and to restrain instinct. The tendency of humans to distance themselves from their animal instincts was equally inspired by scientific thought, which tended to deprecate smell.⁸⁶ The “sense of science” was sight, while smell, “so hard to measure, name or recreate,” was hardly suited to the rigors of scientific method.⁸⁷ Nietzsche’s condemnation of Christian tendencies to repress the body was simultaneously a veiled attack on Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), who deemed the carnal senses, to which smell belonged, as inferior. The suppression of the basic instincts, Nietzsche suggested, would ultimately lead to the end of animal nature and the destruction of the human being. Despite having such staunch defenders, smell was considerably devalued by European elites in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it progressively became associated with animals, savages, and even degenerates. Not surprisingly, some modern scholars have connected the tendency to “silence” smell with mounting criticism of the sense in this period.⁸⁸

According to Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the depreciation or repression of the senses was part of the evolutionary process and a defining feature of civilized man.⁸⁹ In 1930 Freud advanced a theory claiming that the sense of smell had declined in its perceptive powers; he connected this transformation in humans to the rise of modern civilization. Argued by Freud to be of little use to *Homo sapiens*, who walked upright with their noses in the air, smell inevitably commenced its decline in status. For example, it was said to be less

important to subsistence in modern society than it had been among hunting and gathering societies; it was also regarded as less central to sexual excitation, which was continuous in upright man and discontinuous in animals that walked on four legs. However, neither Freud nor any others disseminating such arguments corroborated their theories by referencing scientific research. For example, in the early 1800s Ludwig Jacobson determined that the vomeronasal organ, located in adult humans in the eighteenth century and said to detect pheromones, was common to mammals. Some argued that its vestigial state in humans—it stops developing after the first months of fetal life—was linked to the evolutionary passage from animality to humanity, as indicated by an upright posture. Smell was consequently abandoned to the animal kingdom and has been treated dismissively by many other psychologists since Freud, its cognitive potential overlooked by scholars in other disciplines.⁹⁰

Although there have been few attempts to rehabilitate the sense of smell in the twentieth century, many others before and after Freud continued attempts to classify smell and explain its function. The eighteenth-century French chemist Antoine-François de Fourcroy (1755–1809), for example, denounced the ancient writers and philosophers who engaged with smell, as their work largely comprised hypotheses and even “figments of their imagination.”⁹¹ Closer observation of nature was more likely to provide some answers to olfactory questions. The Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) proposed a system of smell classification in 1752, grouping smells into seven broad groups based on their appeal. Unlike subsequent attempts to understand olfaction, Linnaeus’s scheme was largely concerned with the categorization of flora, and he clearly recognized that, despite being an important property, “scent never clearly distinguishes a species.”⁹² Criticism of the resulting system derived from the limited differentiation between Linnaeus’s chosen categories of “aromatic,” “fragrant,” and “ambrosiac,” and the same could be said for those scents he deemed “fetid” and “nauseous.”⁹³ The rise of oosphresiology, or the modern physiological study of smell, somewhat rectified this by adding more groups to this model but essentially failed to disrupt the binary model at the heart of these and subsequent classifications. The perfumer Eugene Rimmel, for example, proposed a classification comprising eighteen groups, which has provided some practical theoretical guidance to modern perfumery, including as it does balsamic scents and differentiating citrus from other fruity odors.⁹⁴ A very different and original system was proposed by the British chemist and optician George William Septimus Piesse (1820–1882), who translated music into smell and back again



G. W. Septimus Piesse's odophone. Piesse conceptualized scents as olfactory "notes," or an octave of odors from which harmonies might be assembled. Source: G.W.S. Piesse, *Art of Perfumery*, 1886.

in his seminal work, *The Art of Perfumery* (1857). His odophone, or smell organ, consisted of perfume atomizers activated by piano keys, with heavy odors corresponding to low notes and sharp odors to the highest notes; a mixture of scents was referred to as a "bouquet," and a good perfume was one that was not out of "tune." Although his musical instrument may have been largely forgotten, his ideas have endured in modern perfumery with distinctive odors being referred to as "notes" and perfumers' workbenches called "organs."⁹⁵

The Dutch physiologist Hendrik Zwaardemaker's (1857–1930) system of classifying smells, published in 1895, was equally subjective but influential in the early twentieth century.⁹⁶ Less concerned with actual smells than the chemical composition of objects, it included nine classificatory headings from fruity scents to those he described as "disgusting" and "nauseating";⁹⁷ predictably, his short list of primary odors also included "foul" and "fragrant." The main odor groups were also linked to accompanying substructures such as "flowery," "lily type," and "vanilla," which, in this instance, further modified his "fragrant" classifications. Zwaardemaker's system survives in computerized odor programs used in perfumery to this day.⁹⁸ Building on the emerging field of organic chemistry, it also drew on

defined aroma chemicals such as phenyl, allowing for laboratory reproduction, something that was less likely in arrangements that employed descriptive terms such as “goat-like.”⁹⁹ Rather than draw on music analogies, Zwaardemaker emphasized the analogy between color and odor, supposing that both the molecular structure of scents and their associated vibrations affected smells and their duration.¹⁰⁰ This was one of few attempts to visualize what was otherwise an invisible sense.

In the second decade of the twentieth century, the German psychologist Hans Henning (1885–1946) subjected Zwaardemaker’s system to severe criticism and proposed instead a reduced list of six fundamental classes of scent. Specifically differentiating smells from colors, Henning nevertheless employed the model of a prism to explain scents and, in particular, the way they blended.¹⁰¹ Comparisons with taste, which he attempted to classify using a pyramid structure, were deemed more appropriate than color analogies. His ideas drew on organic chemistry, suggesting that the quality of an odor depended on the pattern of a scent molecule. Although this concept did not become incorporated into modern odor classifications, it did stimulate the study of the still contested issue of odor and its relationship to structure.¹⁰² Scent molecules, according to Henning, penetrated the epithelium and became odorless after undergoing a process of chemical decomposition. He also contested ideas of smell exhaustion, believing that smell was no more subject to fatigue than the eye or ear. Ultimately, Henning regarded the sense of smell as a dead end, noting that “olfactory abstraction is impossible.”¹⁰³ Although he was unable to provide a lasting model from which to work, Henning encouraged others to challenge older notions of smell and launched further ruthless challenges on his colleagues in following years.

In 1923 John H. Lovell proposed another smell classification dividing scents into eight groups based on their sources, preferring the categories of “flowers,” “fruits,” “spices,” “musk,” and “onions,” while retaining the less specific negative classifications of “rank,” “foul,” and “nauseous.” E. C. Crocker and L. F. Henderson introduced a numerical scheme of odor classification that allowed each item to be assigned a four-digit code comprising a scale from one to eight. Drawing on Zwaardemaker’s system, they reduced their descriptive list to just four categories in as many years—“fragrant,” “burnt,” “acid,” and “caprylic”—which also marked the return of “goat-like” scents to smell classifications. Although Crocker and Henderson’s system did not aid the communication between people who wished to compare scents, it added a valuable quantitative element to the study of odors, even if the olfactory

mechanism was not completely understood. As a result, their work was influential into the post–Second World War period.

In the 1950s two noteworthy approaches to smell to emerge were proposed by René Gerbelaud and Paul Jellinek. The former was based on biological classification and is characterized by references to chemical substances, reflecting the increasing weight of analytical knowledge of essential oils. Jellinek, a perfumer, proposed a scheme of classifying odors according to their purported psychological effects. He regarded the odor pairs sweet and bitter and sour and alkaline as opposites. These corresponded respectively to the opposing pairs of psychological effects: narcotic/stimulating and anti-erogenic/erogenic. His ideas have had their greatest influence on perfume advertising, which has highlighted the ability of fragrances to alter moods and states of mind.¹⁰⁴

In more recent decades, olfaction has been described as one of the most delicate chemical tests we possess.¹⁰⁵ According to Nietzsche, the nose was the most subtle of scientific instruments, more sensitive than the spectroscope.¹⁰⁶ It is also believed that a scent is detected when “the odour molecule acts as a chemical reagent upon the olfactory hairs,” at the ends of millions of sensory nerve cells lining the nasal cavity. Other researchers are willing to admit that they were still in the dark when it came to explaining the transmutation of a physical quality into a sensation, although the most influential theory, proposed by neuroscientists and 2004 Nobel laureates Linda Buck (1947-) and Richard Axel (1946-), suggests that molecules bind with receptors in the nasal passages.¹⁰⁷ The identification of odor molecules is thus largely described as a chemical process. Nevertheless, the way the brain’s olfactory bulbs receive messages from the nasal receptors remains imperfectly understood.¹⁰⁸

Contours of the Study

Although to some extent smell remains a mystery, scents have always been an integral part of peoples’ lives, possessing distinctive and often shared meanings. For example, odor has been intimately associated with notions of identity. Although denigrated and regarded with suspicion, smell was relied upon by members of European society whenever other forms of knowledge were less forthcoming; it was relied upon to differentiate Christian from the heathen, Christian ceremony from demonic activity, blacks from whites, women from men, virgins from harlots, artisans from aristocracy, and pollution from perfume. For great numbers of the population, in both the Global North and

South, scents signified individual and group identity in a morally constructed universe, where the good smelled pleasant and their opposites reeked. Although recognized as fallible, smell has been relied upon throughout history to provide essential knowledge to which there seemed no other means of access.

Although Corbin omitted religion from his influential study of odor in nineteenth-century French society, the importance of smell to religious experience is evident and has attracted some considerable study since his influential book first appeared. Chapter 1 of this volume therefore focuses exclusively on sacred scents and traces smell's role in the realm of religion, particularly the Christian tradition. The chapter concentrates on the fourth century, when scent began to play an increasingly important role in early Christian practices. Initially, smells were present in ancient Christian texts, often as undercurrents within the text's larger purpose. Ancient Christians found numerous biblical models for experiencing a domain that lay beyond the physical senses but to which the senses provided access. Through sense encounters, people in the ancient world expected and experienced interaction with their gods, even when this implied communication with realms beyond the physically finite world. Along with the melodies of a song or a sweet taste, sumptuous scents and fragrances, some of which survive into the present day, appeared to mark interaction between humans and the divine. Fragrance announced phenomena that could not be seen, heard, or touched but that were still tangibly sensed. Compared with the other senses, smell also possessed a unique mobility, crossing boundaries that were otherwise difficult to breach, including that between heaven and earth. Fragrant odors were attached not only to celestial figures and saints but also to ordinary individuals, shifting according to the moral choices people made throughout their lives. Born sweet, mortals acquired scents during life as the result of sin or sanctity. The stench of death was pungent although not always permanent. When the misdirected soul again found its way, the perfume of salvation often reappeared and imparted strength and beauty to the redeemed soul, or even, in non-Christian traditions, to the reincarnated being.¹⁰⁹ The fragrance of the resurrected state, in contrast to the smell of mortality, was believed to endure in the afterlife.¹¹⁰ Just as enduring for some, however, was the stench of hell.

Although perfumes were increasingly condemned by Christian writers, they were equally central to nonreligious life in the past. Their liberal application had the potential to raise suspicions even as they continued to be used by individuals to advertise wealth and demonstrate refined taste. Rising

demand for scent products inspired trade between nations and even allowed perfumers to amass considerable fortunes as the market for fragrances grew and production and distribution of commercial scents became industrialized. Chapter 2 surveys the wealth of literature that has explored this particular aspect of the history of smell given its centrality to studies of scent. Not only were some of the first histories of smell histories of perfume, but histories of perfume, including those that focus on industry-leading figures and firms, also outnumber all other studies of smell in society. A survey of this literature provides a greater understanding of the commercialization of scents, as well as the commodities that are at the heart of many discussions of smell.¹¹¹ It addresses the earliest production of fragrances, whether intended for the temple or the home, and charts the geographical shifts in both the centers of the incense trade and scent manufacture. It focuses on certain products that were at the heart of health-care practices and religious ceremonies, such as frankincense and myrrh, and also those that have been studied in greater depth more recently, including camphor, the legendary dragon's brain perfume.¹¹² It concludes with an exploration of the emergence of the modern perfume industry and its related products, packaging, and practices and closes by highlighting the recent reemergence of scent in health care—namely, the rise of aromatherapy—which, in some ways, brings this chapter full circle.

Chapter 3 turns from the manufacture of scents to the identities conferred by smell. Each community or commodity possesses its own peculiar scent, and it is through these that they are often distinguished. Due to the meanings associated with smells, one can also speak of osmologies, what cultural anthropologists have termed the systems that utilize smells to classify people and objects in ways that define their relations to one another and their relative values within a particular culture.¹¹³ Face-to-face encounters throughout history have been an integral part of perceptual politics, which witnesses cultural values enacted through the senses, including smell. Such meetings, whether situated within the home, workplace, or abroad, encourage participants to judge themselves in relation to others and invariably involve social valuations at their most personal. "Human odours," as has been noted by Classen, Howes, and Synott, "were enthusiastically classified by sex, race, age, diet, and even hair colour."¹¹⁴ Rarely are such encounters solely about two individuals who recognized or judged each other, but historically they have had a tendency to transform into collective notions or fixed ideas of group identity. Smell is consequently regarded as an essential ingredient in the emergence of larger dichotomies between peoples, such as that "between Western and

non-Western, coloniser and colonised, exploiter and exploited.”¹¹⁵ The nose is often relied upon by individuals to make essential judgments, despite all of its perceived weaknesses. As a result, individuals, countries, and objects all end up as smells, as was perceptively noted by the French writer and physician Louis-Ferdinand Céline.¹¹⁶ Everything goes through the nose and is categorized accordingly; therefore, smell has been described as “the sense of difference.”¹¹⁷ In *The Physiology of Common Life* the Victorian philosopher and critic George Henry Lewes claims that “in few things do human beings differ more widely than in their sense of smell.”¹¹⁸ Peruvians, according to the German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, were able to distinguish in the dark, and by smell alone, the difference between “Europeans, American-Indian, or Negro.”¹¹⁹ In the eyes of his Victorian contemporaries, those individuals who were able to detect subtle variations in smell were by definition closer to animals and savages than were those who were unable to perceive odors well. However, despite their more sensitive noses, nonwhite races were simultaneously regarded to be dirtier and therefore less civilized than white Europeans. This now well-known convention that the inodorate, or odorless, perceiver of smells is superior to the one who gives off a smell explains, for instance, how scents enter a wide variety of documents and literature from the ancient period to modern parliamentary debates in the ways that they do. This chapter charts how the “other” has been defined as smelling different and, almost invariably, unpleasant. In an attempt to balance these crude accounts, it includes more recent work by historians and anthropologists who have charted the rich olfactory cultures beyond the Global North.

The power of bodily emanations was also extended to the difference between the sexes. Throughout history, documents have referred to the smell of the virgin, the marriageable woman, as well as the whore. The smell of the adulterous woman was also readily distinguished by the ecclesiastic nose in the nineteenth century.¹²⁰ In countless narratives, scent identified exactly the sort of person a woman was, and it was easy to be misidentified even if a female tried to disguise her “natural” scent. Too much or the wrong perfume, for example, invariably raised suspicions. Many people across cultures and ages would have agreed with Montaigne’s suggestion that “the most perfect smell for a woman is to smell of nothing.” Many also understood the links between “perfuming practices and sexual practices,”¹²¹ smell being intimately tied to the subjects of erotic attraction, desire, and loss. Scents have traditionally been sold and worn to attract the attention of the opposite sex and may remind one eternally of a lost love. Encounters with particular smells also provoke aggression, as is so frequently seen when certain smells become

associated with a particular group, whether racial, social, or gendered. There were male scents and female scents, but this has not been a historical constant; neither has it prevented the reappearance of unisex fragrances in more recent times. Attention has also recently turned to “queer smells,” which, like unisex fragrances, have the potential to confuse categories and challenge boundaries.¹²² Although perfumes are often advertised using language that is remarkable for its lack of precision, employing terms such as “mysterious” and “enigmatic,” people appear to desire less ambiguous gender categories when it comes to smell.

As the work of philosophers and physiologists so clearly indicates, smells are categorized and identified according to their source. Therefore, they frequently become the sensory manifestation of one’s social class. If the poor lived and worked in clearly demarcated unsanitary districts and employed specific products in dusty workshops, it is not surprising that one regularly encounters references to a particular smell associated with the poor, especially since the beginning of industrialization and rapid urbanization. References to smell are intended to put people in their proper social place. Karl Marx’s archetypal worker in *Capital*, for example, instinctively responds to the “odor of sanctity” detected in a face-to-face encounter with his employer.¹²³ Soap, perfumes, and cosmetics were historically luxury products; their regular use was initially associated with royalty and only really began to disseminate more widely in the Victorian period. As noted by the English scholar Janice Carlisle, in Dickens’s *Great Expectations* the character Pip is a working-class version of a Peruvian Indian, able to smell out his European betters, including the subtle scent of soap on the solicitor Jaggers’s hand when he is given a lecture on the stairway in Miss Havisham’s house.¹²⁴ However, members of the middle classes, like Jaggers, as regularly distinguished themselves from laborers by their ability to smell or by their supposed lack of any of the scents traditionally associated with work, be that a particularly pungent product, such as soot or sewage, or simply perspiration. The sense of smell, however, was important to a variety of occupations, both trades and professions, and chapter 4 explores these aspects of smell perception and emission in some detail.

Rather than concentrate on individual smells, this volume’s final chapter focuses on the smells of the city, where odors have tended historically to concentrate and subsequently escalated into issues of public concern. While the subtle scents detected in some occupations may have been regarded as skills or trade secrets, the different odors associated with localities, commercial production, and markets created what has been described as an “olfactory map” and encouraged city inhabitants and visitors to conceptualize the ur-

ban environment by way of smell. This was often done subconsciously, with some scents first being recognized only after they disappeared, while others were specifically targeted during campaigns to rid cities of nuisances and create more hygienic living environments. Perhaps the most famous of such sanitary offensives was that undertaken by Edwin Chadwick in 1840s Britain, but this chapter travels far beyond England's Victorian slums in an effort to demonstrate how such hygienic exercises were repeated in a variety of other urban settings and occasionally evolved into obsessive efforts to deodorize urban space entirely. Not only is the sanitarian project an important episode in the history of smell, but it also appears to be an appropriate place to end this study, as it will invariably encourage readers to consider where this deodorization project leaves us today: not just in the cleansed neighborhoods and nonsmoking communities that we inhabit but also in the academic disciplines in which many of this book's readers toil. Clearly history, like our towns and cities, has not been entirely deodorized, but we must work much harder than the average nineteenth-century sanitarian if we are to pick up these scents.

1

Heavenly Scents

Religion and Smell

Smells are thought to reveal things about the objects, people, and places from which they emanate. In their sweeping survey of aroma, Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott remind us that smells are drenched with meaning, often viewed as “intrinsic ‘essences’” with the potential to reveal inner truths.¹ Throughout history, such ideas have had a profound resonance, especially in the realm of religious practice. The very existence or absence of scent at particular moments significantly shaped the experiences of the devout and the meaning of religious practices, at both the individual and collective levels. In addition, the act of smelling reveals a great deal about the perceiver of an aroma. Fragrance carried power for good and evil and literally “order[ed] life within the cosmos.”² Pleasant odors might, on a very basic level, have indicated good foods and health, but they were also associated with virtuous people, tied to ideas of immortality, and even announced divine presence. In contrast, bad smells regularly carried negative connotations, signaling illness, disorder, decay, divine disapproval, destruction, and, ultimately, death. As part of ritual and ceremony in diverse religious traditions, odors could cleanse, purify, heal, ward off, or initiate communion with the Almighty;³ they could also contaminate, pollute, and endanger; at the very least, they could serve as warnings of potential hazards and evil inclinations. Smells have suffused religious practices and are central to decoding their various meanings.

From the ancient period, odors, both fair and foul, were used to order and classify human relations in both the social and political spheres. A particular scent could also provide immediate insight on human-divine interactions.

The work of Lise Manniche, for example, has documented the earliest associations between perfume and religious practice in Egyptian culture. In this tradition many fragrant plants were known as “fruits of the eye of Re” (or Ra), said to have sprung from the sun god’s eye; others were believed to have originated from deities’ bones.⁴ In the Buddhist tradition, some of these plants were “described as beloved of a particular god.”⁵ Although the senses were not embedded in early Christianity, by the fourth century even Christian practices had become deeply sensual and the meanings and uses of smell in particular increased dramatically. Professor of religious studies Susan Harvey has charted the emergence of “a lavishly olfactory piety” by the fifth century in Christian expressions, rituals, and associated devotional experiences.⁶ Incense, previously condemned for its association with pagan rituals, rapidly became a part of every private and public Christian ceremony. Scented oils also progressively gained sacramental usage, being applied to individuals in paraliturgical rites as well as baptismal and other rituals, both to set a chosen group apart and to simultaneously link them to a single god.⁷ The hagiographical literature of the period also began to emphasize smell. Scents and odors were increasingly mentioned in hymns, homilies, and other texts and manuals. Christianity then spread its aromatic message throughout the Roman Empire and beyond. When the Germanic tribes invaded the empire, its highly perfumed rituals were thoroughly dismantled and, as significantly, corrupted by the foul-smelling hordes.

As noted in a number of studies of religion, “Christianity emerged in a world where smells mattered.”⁸ Jean-Pierre Albert’s *Odeurs de Sainteté: La mythologie chrétienne des aromates* (1990) has applied the sensual approach of the French Annales historian Alain Corbin, among others, to the Christian imagination of medieval Europe. Unfortunately, much of his work has yet to be translated into English, unlike that of his compatriot Béatrice Caseau. In particular, Caseau has examined religious activity in late antiquity and charted the broad spectrum of odors, their uses and meanings that confronted early Christians, and the ways in which these became appropriated in religious and profane contexts.⁹ Her work is rich in material evidence, devoting considerable attention to the spice routes, the production of incense and perfumes, recipes for various fragrant concoctions, and, above all, the medical and hygienic uses of smells.¹⁰ Together the work of French scholars yet again provided an inspiring foundation for subsequent studies of smell in that period.

Perhaps the most comprehensive work on the subject of religion and smell is Susan Harvey’s impressive study *Scenting Salvation* (2006). Commencing

with the period preceding the rule of Constantine, who legalized Christianity in 312, Harvey focuses on the uses of and attitudes toward smells in ancient Christianity, which previously had been characterized by what she describes as “sensory austerity.”¹¹ Rituals and practices were defined by their simplicity and minimal sensory engagement, primarily to distinguish them from heathen ceremonies, particularly those of the Romans. When encountering pagan sacrifice, Christian texts encouraged adherents to “spit upon the fumes, blow and spit upon the evil powers [and] exorcise [themselves].”¹² Eventually, however, throughout the centuries following Constantine’s rule, smell became a key component in the formulation of Christian knowledge, primarily because of what it could reveal about God, including his relationship with humans. By the eighth century, prayers, then the liturgy itself and every religious occasion, became “drenched in the fragrance of incense.”¹³ Aromatics enveloped every Christian home, shrine, tomb, church, pilgrimage site, and monastic cell and transformed these terrestrial spaces into ceremonial places.¹⁴ Archaeological, documentary, and literary evidence support this dramatic increase in incense and holy oils during late antiquity, which all but obliterated any memory of former opposition by the first Christians. Although no more important than the other senses, smell became embedded in the religious life of this period. This is equally true of the aromatic metaphors employed in rabbinic interpretations of biblical stories, which evoke a variety of fragrances and meanings when reflecting on issues such as love, death, and the divine.¹⁵ While an appreciation of the senses in histories of Judaism has “lag[ged] behind that of Christianity,”¹⁶ a focus on perfume has come to prove equally useful for those engaging with Jewish religious narratives. Lately, others have followed Harvey’s lead and begun to explore other religious traditions, including those of South Asia.¹⁷ This chapter demonstrates how historians of religion have recently redressed the balance of previous works, which have often centered on the roles played by the sights and sounds of salvation, by returning attention to aroma.¹⁸

Sacrificial Scents

Although inextricably linked with ideas of cruelty and brutality in contemporary discourse,¹⁹ sacrificial practices have been revealed as profound religious events characterized by smell. In the ancient Mediterranean world, religious sacrifice established and maintained the relationships that bound communal order and identity and simultaneously connected communities of believers to a divine presence. There are traces of the practice in the

ancient Mesopotamian heroic myth of Gilgamesh, when Utanapishtim describes the scented sacrifices he offered to the gods in return for delivering him from the Great Flood.²⁰ This tradition reappears in cultures across the globe: archaeological digs have uncovered aromatics in pre-Hispanic South America, where perfumes were also offered to deities for the protection of cities and dynasties.²¹ Within the Christian and Judaic traditions, a properly performed sacrifice soothed God's anger, removed collective guilt and sin, and ensured divine deliverance. In all cases, incense was burned along a processional route and at the actual site of sacrifice. Odors, as the historian ethnographer Lucienne Roubin asserts, were "a constant messenger of the festive event."²² Flowers, wreaths, and perfumes adorned altars, statues, garments, participants, priests, and sacrificial victims.²³ At events involving animal sacrifice, the smell of blood and roasting meat enriched other palpable aromas, including the cooking fire, the smoke, or the sacrificial fumes intended for the gods—or God in a monotheistic religion—which could be seen literally to pass from the mortal realm to heaven. Ideally, these offerings would sooth an angry deity or draw "the Divine downward toward earth to save the human."²⁴

Sacrificial smells could be complex. But they could also be very simple, comprising, for example, the scent of a sole ingredient, such as myrrh—a step up from the simplest early offerings, such as stone or grass. According to some commentators, it was not the expense of a sacrifice that mattered to the gods but the sentiment with which it was offered. Accordingly, Porphyry, the third-century Neoplatonist, suggested "the sacrifice which is attended with a small expense is pleasing to the gods."²⁵ Nevertheless, fragrant offerings usually necessitated a scent worthy of a deity. Given the innate symbolism of perfume, it was only natural that more complex fragrances came to be considered appropriate in such circumstances, with offerings ideally reflecting an accumulation of personal or communal wealth. Those who mocked the Greek custom of burnt sacrifices therefore commented on the negligible value of the inedible or fatty portions of animals while noting that worshippers often feasted upon the edible meat. Only when supplicants denied themselves any immediate gain from the sacrifice did their offering truly become meaningful. As a consequence, the Israelites were accused of irregular sacrifice, or even "bringing and preparing sick and lame animals for God's table."²⁶ In Buddhist tradition, which is fragrant in the extreme, the opportunist who followed the smell of sacrificial offerings to its source would reap Karma; one satirical attack suggested that such selfish individuals would be reborn "as animals who follow the odor of dung to find their meals."²⁷ Alternatively, should flowers have been offered, they were to be fragrant but free of thorns.²⁸

Incense altars, not surprisingly, were often described as intensely fragrant. Made of acacia wood, for example, these objects themselves would have scented sacred spaces beyond the moment of sacrifice and created environments suitable to the liberation of consciousness.²⁹ Holy oils also comprised carefully chosen bouquets; those of the early Christians included liquid myrrh, cinnamon, aromatic cane, cassia, and olive oil.³⁰ Holy incense was composed of sweet spices in equal parts, including stacte, onycha, galbanum, frankincense, and salt, while in the Jewish literature the scents of balsam and myrrh were deemed “chief of all spices.”³¹ In Roman tradition, fragrant offerings were accompanied by garlands and floral crowns, which were distinctly suited to the gods and goddesses of love, who not only were sweetly scented but also took particular delight in floral essences.³² Equally, human stench, such as the reek of wounds or illness, promptly invalidated such religious offerings. For this reason, there are ancient references to religious grooming, including washing, shaving, and even circumcision, to accompany such moments.³³ The adherence of Egyptians to such purification rituals impressed witnesses of such personal cleanliness that only intensified in rigor with proximity to the gods—namely, when undertaken by a priest or in preparation for the afterlife.³⁴ Given that olfactory sensitivity is subjective, however, the reception of smells in the religious context was not always straightforward. To the believer, sacred smells ranked among the most desirable and divine; alternatively, to those of different faiths, the “aroma of Christ” could be interpreted as foul and was avoided.³⁵ Either way, these distinct scent codes varied with culture and time and must therefore be interpreted carefully when engaging with the relevant religious literature.

So entwined were sacrifice and incense that the two were often synonymous. Leaving no usable product, as with communally shared animal sacrifices, incense became the quintessential whole burnt offering and eventually gained exalted status. It even transformed the place of sacrifice; for example, a home fragranced with incense became “a holy temple.” Fragrant plant resins and gums could also be burned more regularly than other objects and therefore enabled the ritual of sacrifice to be gradually incorporated into the routine of daily life; Plutarch spoke admiringly of the Egyptian practice of offering incense three times a day to the sun. In the morning, resin was burned; at noon, myrrh; and in the evening, a compound of sixteen spices was offered.³⁶ The composition of the latter was carefully prepared by unguent makers who had sacred recipes read to them, such recipes often adorning the engraved walls of Egyptian temples.³⁷ Incense was similarly proffered by Aztec priests but was as frequently burned as part of nonreligious rites, including trials, to honor the gods and seek their protection.³⁸

The burning of incense, though destructive, was understood to be a metamorphic process.³⁹ Such scents were “facilitating agents” that transformed spaces “from the ordinary to the ceremonial.”⁴⁰ Altered by burning, substances traveled heavenward with worshippers’ prayers. The sacrifice also had the capacity to commute the devout into a pious figure and prolonged the divine moment. Lingering aromas attuned the mind to devotion and adoration both before and after the performance of a religious rite. Even when departing the place of sacrifice, the perfume of devotion did not depart, but was retained by the person’s hair and clothes and was then carried into other contexts, reminding other believers and individuals they encountered of a recently completed religious act, for better or for worse.

In the Jewish tradition, sacrifices filled air that was already pungent with scent. The paradigm formulated during the Second Temple restricted burnt offerings, including incense, to the Jerusalem site. This was the “holy space par excellence,” located on the “navel of the Earth,” and thus regarded as closer to God than any other place.⁴¹ The vapors would ascend upward from this strategically located temple directly into heaven through an open portal. An improper sacrifice in this space, marked by its “ritual purity,” was to offer no sacrifice at all and “risk[ed] divine wrath.”⁴² The Jerusalem Temple could not operate without aromatics; incense was used to demarcate the space as clean and sacred, belonging to God through a distinct scent, and to protect its priests. A variety of offerings were mandated in the Torah, including incense, libations, grains, birds, and animals, in order to expiate sins, propitiate blessings, and offer thanks as well as praise. Overall, animal sacrifice held a certain primacy and centered on the shedding of blood.⁴³ The most potent form of sacrifice was the holocaust, or whole burnt offering, through which the entire object was offered to God rather than being partially shared and consumed by the priests and their community.

Early Christians did not initially participate in sacrifice. The order to participate in such rituals was therefore the usual test to “smoke out” Christians from the wider population. The refusal to offer incense to the Roman gods thereby became a criterion for condemnation in that society. Accordingly, apostates who succumbed to threats and torture became known as “incense-burners.”⁴⁴ Only after the legalization of such practices in the fourth century did Christians begin to burn incense at their liturgical gatherings and private devotional practices. Even though the language used by Christians had always employed the rhetoric of sacrifice, its aroma would only increase as the centuries passed.

The Use of Incense and Holy Oils

Holy oil was used by Christianity from its beginnings. Although evidence is scanty, the Gospels record the anointment of the feet of Jesus by Mary, his head by Mary of Bethany, and his body for burial. In general, early Christian writers saw the first anointing as an honorific act, following the ancient custom of using perfumed ointment to show reverence for a notable person.⁴⁵ The anointing of Christ's head also served as a premonition of his death, as did the Magi's initial gift of myrrh, given its traditional associations with sacrifice. The burial followed the traditional preparations of a dead body for the tomb. Anointing was also often referred to in the context of baptism, though this is not clearly indicated in the New Testament. In any case, attention in these early sources centers on ritual and rarely refers to the olfactory aspects of anointing or to individual fragrances.

The ritual of baptism is rich in olfactory meaning, and examining this particular Christian ceremony offers a way of reading smell in wider religious practice. Although there was a gradual standardization of the baptismal rite, the timing, location, and frequency of anointing varied. Occasionally preceding or following the immersion in water, the practice of anointing was influenced by ancient hygienic and medical customs. The existence of ointments for the medicinal treatment of skin diseases, wounds, and headaches, for example, contributed to the imagery of holy oil as a healing balm, as well as baptism as a healing of the wounded human nature. The significance of such oil within the baptismal ceremony was intended literally to remake the body and its senses, yet the practice of anointment continually preserved the notion that sin was something that could be washed away.⁴⁶ By anointing the forehead, ears, and nostrils with baptismal oil, or chrism, the individual being baptized was granted new senses, which were opened and attuned toward the divine. The scent of oil also signified initiation into the congregation and conveyed the convert's new identity within the group and to the wider community; the use of incense similarly provides for the senses "a symbolic representation of the invisible action, or communion that is taking place."⁴⁷ To the newly baptized, the smells of the ceremony represented the fragrances of Paradise and the Holy Spirit.⁴⁸ The pre-baptismal oil was therefore generally plain olive oil, while that used afterward involved perfumed myron.⁴⁹ As this practice spread, the sensual aspect of the ritual was accentuated; therefore, just as the burning of incense was a visual phenomenon as well as an olfactory one,⁵⁰ so, too, was baptism multisensory, dependent as

it is on touch. The myron's fragrance granted a perceptible yet invisible element to the transformation, or rebirth, and an encounter with the divine that could not be seen but nevertheless clearly sensed.

In contrast to the sweet Christian future heralded by baptism, the convert's past was regarded as sordid and licentious and, as such, associated with foul and odorous memories. Unconverted pagans were therefore described as wretched and ugly and characterized by the smell of their disreputable practices. Reeking of burning fat, they were tarnished by the filth of blood and the stench of their sacrifices.⁵¹ Like heretics, they emitted the "foul breath of blasphemy" and would be punished by suffering "putrid deaths."⁵² Most famously, the Alexandrian heretic Arius drowned in his own excrement in a "disgusting" latrine.⁵³ Although not perceptible to everyone, the fetid odors of a perverted pre-conversion lifestyle were often recalled by religious figures.⁵⁴ Those suspected of heresy were periodically subjected to "forced fumigations," sometimes with brimstone and sulfur, other times with more pleasing scents, such as rose or rosemary.⁵⁵ Before the divine scents of God could fill one's soul, the filth, refuse, and decay that characterized the past had to be cleansed. Like a building being prepared for an important visit, the body had to be made fit for divine visitation.

The post-Constantinian era of the fourth and fifth centuries initially witnessed the lavish proliferation of incense usage in Christian tradition that slowly began to characterize liturgical and devotional development. Additionally, the interest in holy oils of late-antique Christianity coincided with the actual appearance of more elaborately scented oils. Together, this encouraged a much different and more fragrant "Christian sensorium" to emerge.⁵⁶ Christian scholars, for example, took interest in spices named in scripture, especially those associated with anointing ceremonies involving either priests or the dead, healing the sick, or perfuming the betrothed. In the Byzantine era as many as fifty-two spices were used in the balm consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople.⁵⁷ Unlike incense, holy oil represented divine initiative toward the corporeal. As a substance rubbed into the skin, its tactility was sometimes emphasized. Its aroma was enhanced by touch to add dimensions of quantity, texture, and transferability.⁵⁸ The perfume marked divine presence, but the oil further allowed that presence to penetrate the anointed.

Incense was also identified with sacrifice. It served as a medium for earthly initiative toward the divine, and its fragrance marked the process of human-divine encounter. By the sixth century B.C., it occasionally comprised the whole of the sacrificial offering, largely due to the prevailing views of the Pythagoreans, who opposed killing soul-possessing animals and promoted,

instead, bloodless offerings.⁵⁹ In this respect the “refinement of perfume” was used to distinguish advanced society from a more degraded one associated with the sickening odor of burnt flesh.⁶⁰ Incense thus became entwined in the increasing Christian emphasis on public and magisterial ceremony: burial processions, the transfer of holy relics between sites, memorials at shrines, and events attended by ecclesiastical leaders. It was symbolic of prayer ascending to heaven and smelled as sweet. Sermons on the Epiphany conveyed that it was one of the offerings presented by the three kings because the perfume might cover the stench of the stable;⁶¹ according to the Venerable Bede (673–735), it also purged the infant’s weakened body of worms.⁶² The basic intention, however, was profoundly honorific. Nevertheless, even into the fourth century the use of incense could be misunderstood and confused for pagan devotions rather than Christian ceremony; thousands had died across the Roman Empire under Diocletian and Galerius (c. 290–313) for refusing to offer incense to imperial rulers.⁶³

Although the presence of incense in churches is relatively established from this period onward, archaeologists have struggled to identify the actual objects that were used to burn incense. Nevertheless, censers have been found that significantly predate these years.⁶⁴ Béatrice Caseau has focused on incense burners from a later period in an article that might be considered a case study of the challenges in understanding early church inventories. Difficulties in identifying incense burners stem from both the words used to describe them and determining which items were actually used; the term “censer” was rarely cited in inventories.⁶⁵ More common in the first century was a *phiale*, a round hollow dish. Equally, the presence of carbonized matter on bowls and plates has been used to distinguish these improvised burners from other similarly shaped items. Mention of a *thymiaterion* offers more conclusive proof of an incense burner’s existence, since the word *thymiama* translates as “incense.” In general, the scale of the incense burner indicates where it was used; major basilicas, for example, required standing incense burners to fill the space with scent. Honorific movable censers—*thymiatéria*—that were swung ritualistically by deacons became more common at the end of antiquity and serve as direct evidence of the increasing wealth of churches. The gradual disappearance of less elaborate burners suggests they became regarded as insufficiently worthy of God. Even so, the poorest Roman families might have possessed burning censers in order to protect the home from “malignant emanations” from the outside world.⁶⁶ The swinging censer, on the other hand, became a familiar sight in churches; by the early seventh century they were also used in mosques, though they were often less ornate.⁶⁷ The pattern was repeated in the pre-Hispanic Americas, with small

pots and burners used in domestic settings and the finest decorated censers found in temples and royal dwellings in the chief Mayan and Zapotec cities and towns.⁶⁸ Interestingly, the revisions of Martin Luther—German priest, theologian, and instigator of the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Europe—did not extend to incense, the Lutheran mass remaining close to Roman tradition.⁶⁹ The earliest Protestant reforms in England were similarly “silent on the practice of censuring.”⁷⁰ The Protestant condemnation of incense appears to have been established by John Calvin and was equally manifest in seventeenth-century Puritan writings.⁷¹ Thereafter, the “stripping of Catholic altars” decisively aimed to “counteract sensory ways of knowing God.”⁷² Given that such traditions had evolved over more than twelve hundred years of religious practice, it should come as no surprise that the symbolic meanings of incense “were hardly emptied in the seventeenth century.”⁷³

With the rise of Constantine I to power and the legalization of Christianity in A.D. 313, Christian ceremonies progressively laid claim to urban geography. The smells in particular would remind residents of religious spectacles long after they had ended or passed neighborhoods.⁷⁴ As processions wound through cities, streets were marked with the sights, sounds, and smells of Christianity where once they had “been filled by pagan rituals.”⁷⁵ The exact period during which incense became a part of the Christian sacrament, however, remains to be fully researched. Since public spaces were regularly cleaned and scented by fumigations using incense, it is difficult to see how such ambiguities would not exist. Moreover, the functions of incense have been generalized as mimetic, fumigatory, honorific, or even penitential, depending on the circumstances in which it was burned.⁷⁶ In the early modern period its functions might have been to delight, arouse, or even to “make men more fit for contemplation.”⁷⁷ Nevertheless, by the late fifth century incense was the most consistent accompaniment of Christian religious experience and had thus become the “messenger of the festive event.”⁷⁸

In the process a Christian consensus emerged that the body of the believer “in its received experiences and enacted responses yielded distinct knowledge of God.”⁷⁹ The instructive capacity of smell was crucial to this understanding, due to the distinctive qualities of olfactory experience. “Invisible, silent, yet tangibly felt, smells,” Harvey writes, “were acutely effective in conveying divine presence or absence, demonic activity, or moral condition.”⁸⁰ Uncontainable, smells were transgressive in their movement, crossing human and divine domains and opening up communication between the living and the deceased, as well as with the deities.⁸¹ Smells provided real encounters that otherwise appeared to “defy articulation or form, yet necessitated a physically informed mode of understanding.”⁸² Christian intellectuals understood

olfaction as a bodily sensation “that was intrinsically revelatory of identity, moral condition, and divine revelation.”⁸³ Subsequently, preachers employed olfactory imagery in the instruction of their congregations.

In the Presence of the Divine

Most Christians knew of the “Sweet fragrance of God,”⁸⁴ and the Christian olfactory cosmology rested on a much older Mediterranean tradition. In the ancient myth of the phoenix, for example, the sacred bird prepared for its death by building its own funeral bier out of cinnamon, balsam, cassia, frankincense, and myrrh. Regenerated from its ashes, the phoenix also became a paradigm for the crucifixion and the resurrection of Christ.⁸⁵ In ancient Egyptian culture it was understood that scents had divine origins, having sprung from deities’ bones, or even their eyes, in the case of Re.⁸⁶ The Greek gods were also associated with fragrant scents, which enveloped individual gods such as Zeus or the deities of love, as well as Mount Olympus, the home of the gods.⁸⁷ Not surprisingly, the most appropriate material for the scent representing Buddha has always been a fragrant block of sandalwood.⁸⁸

Regardless of culture, smell also characterized the relationship between humans and God and blurred the distinctions between the earthly and spiritual realms. When incense was offered, God supposedly responded by exuding the powerful omnipresent aroma of divinity, known to Christians as the “Fragrance of Life,” signifying holy presence and blessing upon the faithful. Moreover, odors such as ambrosia and nectar were not just associated with divinity, but since ancient times they had also possessed life-giving powers; in one example, Venus revived the slain Trojan hero Aeneas with these essences.⁸⁹ For Christians, true worship smelled sweet because Jesus offered it eternally as the High Priest performing the perfect sacrifice. Christ was therefore himself the odor scenting the fragrance of worship, the true sacrificial incense offering. Ambrose of Milan, one of the most influential fourth-century ecclesiastical figures, used the analogy of extracting floral fragrance to represent the story of Christ’s life and death: a flower’s scent can only be extracted by its complete destruction. The sacred perfume of Jesus began to spread with the Incarnation and was pooled and intensified by the Passion and his death.⁹⁰ In an olfactory image of the Resurrection, what should have been the smell of destruction in fact became the scent of new life. Death itself was said to have feared the blood of Christ, because in it was hidden the Fragrance of Life. According to Harvey, Paulinus of Nola encapsulated “the olfactory piety of late-antique Christians” when he bestowed Jesus with the title “Flower of God,”⁹¹ his fine bleeding wounds reinterpreted as rose petals.⁹² Paulinus also revoked an earlier

ban on roses and encouraged the faithful to so decorate churches.⁹³ Christ's scent, according to Paulinus, "cleans the enfeebling foulness from our sluggish bodies and renews the disposition of our minds."⁹⁴ He therefore urged his congregation to hasten to Christ's fragrant perfume so that the "smell of death may flee far from us."⁹⁵ By consuming the Eucharist, Christ's body and blood, they, too, became intolerable to death.

Heaven was reputed to be a place of beautiful sights and distinctive scents. These smells contrasted with the stench encountered on earth, which daily reminded people of their sinful condition.⁹⁶ The reek of sin or mortality when noted in religious writings was often counterposed to the delicious sweetness of the divine garden, with its rivers of myrrh.⁹⁷ In Eve's narrative, when God appeared in Eden, the garden miraculously bloomed in rich abundance. So pungent were fragrances in this Arcadia that mortals born of Adam could not endure them undiluted and became drowsy after inhaling them.⁹⁸ Others recounted that the inhabitants of Paradise lived entirely from the smells consumed.⁹⁹ So, too, were those who merely captured a whiff of these fragrances lulled by them. Oils from Edenic plants were thus capable of soothing illness. After the Fall, God granted spices to the earth, which therefore attained part of the unattainable beauty and comfort of Paradise.¹⁰⁰ The sweet smell of mankind was lost after Adam's transgression but was offered back through Christ's advent. The transitory nature of the flesh was indicated by the odor of decay that naturally followed death. As this suggests, Harvey writes, whatever was truly beautiful in the sensations of this world came from beyond.¹⁰¹ Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians all shared this belief in an idyllic time when human existence was characterized by closer consort with the divine. "Thus," as Classen has noted, "humans and deities were united in an olfactory cycle, whereby sweet scents travelled from earth to the gods" and down again.¹⁰² From the Common Era, however, mortals also recognized the imperfection of the earthly order—sometimes associated with falsity, decay, and corruption¹⁰³—and discerned that another perfect world awaited them after death. In any case, according to Harvey, the sensory intensity and especially the olfactory richness of the texts that describe Paradise have no counterpart in pre-Constantine Christian literature.¹⁰⁴

Smells varied in intensity in the world of religion, but they served effectively to demarcate space, objects, and actions. Specific anecdotes in Christian texts demonstrate exactly how this trio was conceptually joined through the ever multiplying olfactory imagery. For example, when the Gallo-Roman historian Gregory of Tours (c. 538–594) reported the miraculous rescue of a ship caught in a terrible storm, the people on board reputedly prayed fervently. In response to their appeal, divine perfume calmed the storm, the boat being blanketed

EXODUS CHAP. XL.

The glory of GOD appears.



EXODUS 40. Verse 34.

Then a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the LORD filled the tabernacle.

God appears radiantly behind a black cloud as Moses swings an incense burner; four people are washing their feet and hands in preparation for the divine visit. Etching from Wellcome Library, London, 18275i.

by the overpowering scent of sweet balsam incense, much as if someone had circulated a censer.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, such earthly knowledge of celestial scent enabled ordinary believers to distinguish God's revelations from their own daydreaming.¹⁰⁶

Christian writers also used smell to identify distinguished or divine characters in stories. For example, the more sensitive nostrils of the select often quickly identified the first sign of an angel's arrival in the terrestrial realm by the heavenly scent that accompanied its descent from the sky; similarly, the departure of a celestial being was signaled by its disappearance. Those who had been visited by angels were also easily identified by their peers, for they took on these divine scents. At times such aromas were reputedly so powerful that witnesses claimed they could even taste heavenly fragrances.¹⁰⁷ Monks visiting the shrine at Mount Sinai, marking the place where Moses had received the Law, lent authority to biblical accounts by describing the site to be redolent with celestial perfume.¹⁰⁸

Hagiography and Martyrs

The odor of sanctity, as Classen and her colleagues have suggested, was among the most "potent" of scents associated with the early Christian world.¹⁰⁹ Like deities, who announced their presence with obvious olfactory clues, holy mortals were often clearly marked by scent. Priests, for example, were associated with fragrance, linked with the smell of church incense and the rose garlands they wore on feast days.¹¹⁰ Profoundly holy figures were often said to exude a distinct "odor of sanctity," suggesting that they resided "in the anterooms of Paradise."¹¹¹ Although sometimes noticed in life, these heavenly markers appeared most commonly after death. Within Islam the death of a martyr was tied to fragrant narratives. On the day of their resurrection, the dust on the feet of martyrs reputedly transformed into musk, and in Paradise they enjoyed the scent of the *houris*—beautiful maidens—as part of their reward.¹¹² The sweet smells that mark the martyr's grave and body are also said to contrast with the foul stench of infidel bodies.¹¹³ The exact composition of such sacred odors appears to vary in complexity, some comprising a fusion of floral scents, others the simple smell of a rose, lily, or violet.¹¹⁴

The smell of a saint often contrasts with the gruesome ways that martyrs were executed. For example, Bishop Polycarp was martyred in Smyrna around A.D. 155 for refusing the sacrifice to Caesar and the Roman gods. Dispatched by a dagger, his body was to be publically burned, but it resisted the flames.¹¹⁵ Unusually, it did not fill the air with the stench of burning flesh, but with the

far more nourishing scent of freshly baked bread. While initially carrying a smell that ordinarily promised “daily sustenance,”¹¹⁶ the burning corpse then exuded a fragrance resembling costly perfume. Instead of consuming the bishop’s flesh, the fire is said to have purified his body like smelted ore.¹¹⁷ Polycarp was essentially transformed into a precious sacrifice worthy of God. Olfactory experience distinctly marked the scene as in so many previous martyrdoms. Moreover, sensory clues transformed a traumatic event, or even defeat, into a meaningful death that was incorporated into theological teachings that underpinned emerging Christian identity. In subsequent martyrdoms the smell of execution was similarly rendered “sweet” by virtue of its meaning as Christian sacrifice to God.¹¹⁸ It was also suggestive of the beauty of the Promised Land the martyrs had entered. Equally, the greater a saint’s perceived holiness, the greater the flood of fragrant odors from the corpse, since this implied closer proximity to the divine source. Significantly, incense, like so many martyrs, was cast into fire during religious ceremonies.

More commonly, less dramatic signs of spiritual grace were recognized after death but were unlike the usual putrid smell of decomposition. In effect, fragrant corpses “demonstrated the power of God to place mortals outside the seemingly universal decay of death.”¹¹⁹ For example, in no insignificant number of cases, the storage place of the dead body of a saintly monk suddenly, or within a few days, filled with an unusually pleasant fragrance. By the sixth century, Byzantine monastic sources and hagiography began to report miracles surrounding myrrh-scented relics and icons. More specifically, Harvey claims that Byzantine monasticism started to actively cultivate a sustained contemplative culture steeped in olfactory practices and miracles, which suggests that “eastern ascetic traditions genuinely included a profoundly embodied and sensorily aware orientation.”¹²⁰

The Greek *Life of Simeon the Stylites* (c. 390–459) contains more references to smell than most published hagiographies. Harvey found that the text documents the emergence of incense piety in the Christian east and the role of incense in intercessory prayer.¹²¹ In a description written by Simeon’s beloved disciple Antonios, she identifies references to three key olfactory episodes. The first involves the rotting of Simeon’s flesh around the rope he wore for over a year. People consequently avoided Simeon because of his stench. This, along with his other foulness, is to have revealed the monk’s “ocean of sins.”¹²² Standing on a pillar, which earned him the name Stylites, Simeon developed a gangrenous sore on his leg. Putrid and worm-infested, his body had come to represent the “fallen human condition.”¹²³ Conversely, his labors represented the willing endurance of humanity’s utter sickness

and offered the promise of redemption. However, when Antonios climbs the ladder to find Simeon three days dead, it is not the stench of rotting flesh that strikes him but a sweet perfume that reputedly made his heart merry. Tales of martyrs repeat this particular trope endlessly. For instance, when the clothing of Saint Irene, the ninth-century Abbess of Chrysobalanton, caught fire during her prayers, the smell of burning flesh alerted the other nuns of the tragedy. However, on removing the burning cloth from her skin, the abbess's body, against expectation, emitted a beautiful aroma. In the case of Simeon, this scent was enhanced by incense that surrounded his funeral procession and was burned at his burial in the cathedral of Antioch. Those present were spared the reek of a dead body and instead breathed in the fragrance of life or the smell of sanctity, thereby witnessing what redemption would hold. Antonios's account drew added force by invoking the ancient Mediterranean traditions linking all foul odors with evil and corruption and pleasant aromas with everything divine and good.¹²⁴ The monastery at the pillar of Simeon outside Antioch remained an active pilgrimage site long after the saint's death. Veneration involved incense, which connected the suppliant's own intercession with Simeon and simultaneously provided a prayer channel to God.¹²⁵ In this way, incense offerings facilitated access to the saint's holy powers to heal or to rescue and even offered salvation.

The life story of Simeon Stylites the Younger (521–597) also embodied the incense offering. Grandson to perfumers, Simeon's birth was foretold by John the Baptist, who commanded his mother to fill her church with perfume. Climbing his first pillar at seven years old, Simeon had a vision of anointment with a sweet-smelling perfume that would defeat Satan's minions. Throughout his life, aromatics defined his spiritual works. His prayers were so intense that they reputedly burned incense without fire. Scents poured down on him from heaven in his visions, and he dispersed these into the earthly world. A cloud of perfume reputedly hid him from Persians invading Antioch, his tunic remaining permanently infused by the cloak of scent.¹²⁶ Pilgrims who came to him with their illnesses were both healed and carried away by his odor of sanctity. Those who were too infirm to travel burned incense in his name instead.

Despite such examples of aromatic lives, scents were generally said to have appeared at the death or martyrdom of a saint—namely, after miracles and the opening of tombs. The death of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, for example, was likened to “the breaking of a perfume box,” as Christ Church filled with a precious fragrance after his assassination in 1170.¹²⁷ When opened in the twelfth century, the tomb of Saint Wulfstan, Bishop of Worces-

ter, was similarly described and drew upon descriptions of Mary Magdalene anointing Christ's feet (for which she was to become the patron saint of perfumers).¹²⁸ In Christian literature there are endless descriptions of such scents evoking honey, flowers, or a less specific "sweet" or "fragrant" smell. Other less ambiguous references to lilies, spring flowers, herbs, and spices were commonplace in medieval texts.¹²⁹ By this time, however, the olfactory markers of divinity no longer underpinned moral quality in such narratives. For example, the two papal commissioners who visited England in 1307 to inquire into the 624 miracles and sanctity of prelate and Lord Chancellor of England Thomas de Cantilupe, as in previous inquiries, asked 115 witnesses to explain how the miracles, most often cures, occurred. Although such descriptions contain references to smell, there are no instances of a "divine" smell accompanying the presence of a saint. More likely in this era were references to such individuals having lived "in the odour of good repute," as well as a supply of wax images of afflicted bodies and body parts and numerous walking sticks left presumably by healed cripples.¹³⁰ When divine scents were noted, as they were upon the execution of the English Lollard and heretic Richard Wyche, such descriptions were often suspected of being fabrications, not least, in Wyche's case, due to the greater availability of scents and spices in London's markets in the fifteenth century. On this particular occasion, London's church authorities nevertheless felt impelled to respond to what appeared to be a manufactured olfactory marker by raising a dunghill near Tower Hill on the site of Wyche's execution in order to counter his supposed holy scent.¹³¹ Although the mysticism of sensory devotion—as practiced by the religious translator and medieval Yorkshire hermit Richard Rolle and his use of the language of the senses—may have grown increasingly rare, the link between the divine and sweet fragrances was maintained in the public imagination. Equally, on the Continent the sense of smell was more regularly used to establish the character of saintly individuals.

On the other hand, the scent of sanctity, where previously identified, endured long after the death of a saint. Paulinus of Nola wrote of pilgrims to the tomb of Saint Felix seeking cures from their illnesses and emphasized scent in order to underline the saint's *pietas*.¹³² Recalling the sacrificial imagery of martyr accounts, Paulinus stated that relics shed perfumes that are pleasing to Christ. Pilgrims would also add their own fragrances to those already evident at the tombs of martyrs. For example, at the tomb of Saint Felix, visitors poured aromatic ointment through the top of the reliquary that contained the saint's bones, retrieving it as it flowed from an opening at the bottom, now blessed by the martyr's touch and as potent as effective medicine.¹³³ The

fragrant corpse of the sixteenth-century saint Teresa of Avila reportedly cured people who suffered from anosmia, or an inability to smell,¹³⁴ the scents of other saints supposedly calmed storms.¹³⁵ Importantly, the saint's healing and scented breath was exuded by the bones, not fragrant unguents with which the bones had come into contact. Even so, some have suggested a link between the odor of sanctity and blood.¹³⁶ In the case of Buddhists, sweet scents might also carry over into the next life, and smells had the potential to reveal "one's karmic past."¹³⁷ Like the heavenly smells emitted by saints, this was the reward for devotees, often following continual prayer and contemplation. Fumigations and incense burning were held close to the temporal residences of holy figures in the hopes of a cure or wish fulfillment.¹³⁸

Amid the variety of significations granted olfactory experience, the most important resided in its capacity to reveal personal identity, and not just that of the saint. Certain religious figures, including Hilarion, the anchorite who spent two months in the Egyptian desert with Saint Anthony, claimed the ability to diagnose an individual's inner disposition or moral condition through body odor alone.¹³⁹ As important, one's disposition could not be cloaked: true identity would always be discernible to such a sensitive nose. These claims would have caused worry among religious converts, who believed their former vices could potentially be revealed by smell. Such abilities generated concerns surrounding personal hygiene and therefore encouraged a demand for early treatises on cosmetics.¹⁴⁰ Cosmetics and bathing, however, also potentially endangered one's moral status, as they sometimes could be interpreted as signs of decadence. Dirt and other real-world smells, though often the opposites of cleanliness, therefore often continued to be regarded as "an insignia of holiness."¹⁴¹

Although the odor of sanctity was no longer as influential a concept from the Enlightenment onward,¹⁴² the idea continued to have a wide currency. With its "nuances of sin and sanctity," scent offered rich imagery for authors to explore the subjects of decadence and transcendence and make profound moral statements in fiction.¹⁴³ It is perhaps used to greatest effect by Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky in *The Brothers Karamazov* (1880). Deemed by many to be a candidate for sainthood, Father Zosima is ultimately mocked after his death when his body decays with surprising rapidity and, instead of the expected smell of sanctity, a foul stench emanates from his coffin. By the twentieth century, the odor of sanctity was still discussed, but often from a scientific perspective in efforts to explain such fragrant accounts. British psychologist Henry Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), who wrote on the psychology of smell, did not doubt the material existence of aromas, but explained them

very differently from how they had been addressed in the first millennium. According to Ellis, bodily scents were the result of abnormal nervous conditions such as hysteria.¹⁴⁴ They were also potentially confused with the *odor mortis*,¹⁴⁵ or simply a slowing of the metabolism.¹⁴⁶ The olfactory sensitivity of saints, such as Saint Anthony, was equally explained away as “smell and taste hallucinations,” part of some form of “religious insanity.”¹⁴⁷ Nietzsche preferred to reduce such odors to “the symptoms of an impoverished, enervated and incurably damaged body.”¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the smell of sanctity would continue to be defended and associated with saints into the modern period, though members of the general public often received such cases with considerable skepticism.¹⁴⁹

The Stench of Hell

In contrast to the “good odor of Christ,” sin was “a foul affair,”¹⁵⁰ and the correspondence between bad smells and evil was widespread in religious literature.¹⁵¹ In Mesopotamian mythology the descent of Ishtar into the underworld noted “the absence of pleasant odours in the realm of the dead.”¹⁵² Sinners, Harvey writes, were often described as the human equivalents of pigs, wallowing in sins as in dung.¹⁵³ They clearly took on an unpleasant stench associated with their offensive activities and, as suggested by the fourteenth-century theologian John Wycliffe, became “stinking to God.”¹⁵⁴ The lecherous and the heretic reputedly smelled of boars or pigs and carried their stink wherever they went.¹⁵⁵ The physical consequences of immorality, including sickness, bodily decay, and disintegration, were also regularly interpreted as the direct results of sin. These and the presence of smell announced the presence of sin. That said, to be mortal was to reek of sin; in other words, life on earth stinks, while heavenly scents only come after death, or as Harvey writes, “Rottenness and putrefaction were mortality’s nature, revolting stink its unmistakable mark.”¹⁵⁶ The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 introduced the practice of annual confession in Christianity, as part of which the priest examined the penitent on the principal elements of faith and sin. Interestingly, one way of examining the confessor and how he or she might have sinned was through the medium of the senses. Consequently, from the early 1200s treatises with schemas mapping the sins to the senses became common,¹⁵⁷ although the literature on the temptations of the senses was well established.

Stench was not occasioned by God, whether marking punishment or disfavor. Its source, as Harvey argues, was always the work of Satan. It was “the result of human sin and the condition that sin effected.”¹⁵⁸ Wherever such

smells were encountered, whether sulfurous or fecal, they announced Satan's continuing presence and its threat to the community. Moreover, those aspiring to sainthood were occasionally warned against "sweet scents of diabolical origins."¹⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, accounts of hell were more frequently associated with "much ill odor and hateful vapour."¹⁶⁰ In the twelfth century, German writer and Benedictine abbess Saint Hildegard von Bingen described hell as "a long and wide marsh filled with filth and vermin of many types and emitting the worst stink."¹⁶¹ Exorcised demons usually made their departures from the corporeal world wreathed in stench, while heretics were revealed as such by the pungent smell they emitted.¹⁶² There was an additional strong association between anal imagery and evil, with visions of demons breaking wind and emitting putrid smells, and not restricted to the Christian tradition.¹⁶³ The *jinn* in Muslim culture also inflict harm through evil odors and were believed to inhabit dung heaps, while Buddhist flesh-eating demons were equally described as foul-smelling.¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, evil spirits in contemporary non-Western cultures, such as the Bororo of Brazil and Shipibo-Conibo of Peru, are classified as those giving off "a strong putrid odor," which, for the latter tribe, attempt to pervert the "good-smelling" healing songs of the shaman.¹⁶⁵ According to Martin Luther, by poisoning the air or through their stinking breath, evil spirits were equally capable of bringing plague to the people.¹⁶⁶ The diabolical stench of the sickness, as argued by Le Gu  rer, left no doubt about its origins.¹⁶⁷ The wretched condition of the sufferer was "the reek of sin made manifest."¹⁶⁸ So keen was this association between the devil and anal symbolism in some religious texts, that the father of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, identified Satan to be the symbol of repressed anal eroticism.¹⁶⁹

The cultural discomfort and fear of offensive smells ran deep. Christians had incorporated age-old olfactory codes into many of their customs and expressions. Since ancient Mesopotamia, social disorder has been associated with disgusting smells and demonic forces.¹⁷⁰ Stench also resulted in alienation; feculent odor estranged people from the physical body and from each other, heralded decay, and suggested a wounded community. Mortality, Harvey explains, was "occasioned by Adam and Eve's sin";¹⁷¹ it was therefore further interpreted as a moral condition, not just a corporeal trait. Ancient embalming practices were directly rooted in efforts to control the smell of a putrid corpse. Lasting between forty and seventy days,¹⁷² the Egyptian process of embalming literally replaced the reek of decay with the scent of immortality;¹⁷³ it turned a mortal into a god, or "Perfumed One."¹⁷⁴ Incense sweetened dead bodies, but its ascending plumes of smoke, resembling an ethereal stairway or rope ladder, literally assisted the deceased on their journey into

the heavens. Once perfumed and smelling like the gods, deceased mortals were also able to enter into dialogue with deities. In the Christian tradition, avoiding sin was compared to avoiding the stench of a rotting corpse. Avoiding disease, however, was equally possible through “purifying one’s soul.” A seventeenth-century plague tract identified by Classen, Howes, and Synnott advised believers to confront the stink of vice with “the spoone of faithfull Prayers.” Repentance would allow one to “sweate out all the poison of covetousness, pride, whoredom, idolatrie, usury, swearing, lying, and such like.”¹⁷⁵ Actions were equally determined by smell. Elias, a medieval English monk from Reading, for example, sought a cure for his leprosy in Canterbury, rather than Bath, where the water’s sulfurous odor tainted it with undesirable characteristics more suited to the underworld.¹⁷⁶ To most monks, sulfur and other revolting stinks were associated with Satan’s pits of damnation.

The Use of Foul Odors

Religious writers presupposed that believers understood how smells carried religious meanings according to the pragmatic odors of sacred rites. Holy oils and incense were incorporated into rituals that themselves became a didactic medium through which to learn sensory meanings. Rotten whiffs were equally useful as pedagogical tools, as they were often unavoidable and unmistakable markers. Noisome smells, however, were also subject to personal interpretation. Although similar to those used in Christian ceremony, the incense of pagan worship, as already noted above, was regularly referred to disparagingly. As such, these practices were regarded as fundamentally false and were by nature “foul,” “gloomy,” or “loathsome” in their aroma.¹⁷⁷ Sweet scents were possible only where Christ was present; only genuine faith and honest worship smelled sweet.¹⁷⁸

The use of stench in Christian writing and practice indicated a range of meanings, including sin and mortality. More confusingly, good practices could also yield bad smells. For example, ancient authors repeatedly asserted that fasting often resulted in halitosis,¹⁷⁹ and that the prolonged wearing of course sackcloth alongside the skin caused malodorousness. According to the hagiographical literature, when the resultant wounds or irritations became infected, they reeked terribly. Frequently cited in the stories of saints, these aromas are usually muted in the hagiographical retellings, which often focus on the physical trials endured by a saint.¹⁸⁰ Absence of bathing is often mentioned as well, but the precipitating odors are seldom articulated. For Buddhists, one spiritual practice encourages those seeking enlightenment

to meditate on objects of disgust, including feces and corpses, in order to “cultivate dispassion.”¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, such repugnant odors are generally overshadowed by references to heavenly scents and the ultimate fragrant smell of asceticism achieved in sainthood.

Foul smells were also used to denigrate previously acceptable religious practices; so, too, were objects or customs associated with a funk in order to mark displeasure with a ruler or a set of beliefs. For example, in the Roman period, disapproval could be registered by smearing a portrait with a rancid item or even excrement.¹⁸² During the iconoclastic crisis of the Byzantine Empire, for example, dissidents desecrated holy images by rubbing them with dung, grease, or other nauseating stench in order to obliterate the suffusion of incense.¹⁸³ More recent studies of iconoclasm after the French Revolution have similarly highlighted the gains made by emphasizing some of the nonvisual aspects associated with regime change;¹⁸⁴ disgust is conveyed by hijacking attention with pungent smell. At certain moments of crisis, daubing a bust or portrait actualized the condition of moral degradation the sitter was perceived to represent.¹⁸⁵ For this reason, references to smells in language, as has been argued by the eighteenth-century historian Mark Jenner, is not always sure indication that a particular stench existed in reality.¹⁸⁶ By covering a ruler’s image in excrement, subjects merely articulated the unpopular nature of the regime and its views.

Nevertheless, often enough foul smells did exist and are known to have been employed by the virtuous as part of ascetic devotion. For example, saints might choose to subject themselves to aromas avoided by others as part of their penitential practices, or they might tolerate the rankness of the sick or needy for disciplinary purposes.¹⁸⁷ Ascetics also tested their resolve by ingesting moldy or putrid provisions or tainted water. These festering smells were intended to blunt bodily appetites and extinguish pleasures brought by foods or lifestyle, or to generally curb temptations. Stomaching stench was also a way of exercising the virtue of humility.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, monks were expected to confess the pleasures of smell, whether secreted away in their cell or randomly encountered, each potentially invoking the desire for a more luxurious lifestyle.¹⁸⁹ They were simultaneously expected to tolerate the malodorousness of disease or that of their penitent colleagues. An extreme exercise in humility was the voluntary devotion to cleaning privies, eating rotten food, or, as so often recounted of saints, washing the feet of the poor or diseased. The latter was considered to be a lesson in compassion. Although many expressed repugnance at the sight of monks washing the poor, cleaning wounds, and kissing lepers, the pedagogical functions of such narratives were understood.

As foul as the stench of sin was, the Christian faithful were often reminded that even the most rank and putrid of odors could be shed by turning to Christ and God. Alternatively, the aromas attributed to Jews and other non-Christians were said to be eradicated through the act of religious conversion.¹⁹⁰ However, often such significant transformations involved an act with perfume, such as when Mary Magdalene anointed the feet of Christ. Expressing her devotion through fragrance, it was her condition, not his, that was altered through the act. By reaching out to him, he in turn touched her soul and thereby perfumed it. The repentance exuded by her virtuous thoughts was subsequently sweeter than the finest fragrances. Her changed character, but her altered smell especially, Harvey declares, revealed to all “her transformed condition, her cleansed spirit, and now chaste bodily expressions of love.”¹⁹¹

The Decadence of Perfume

Though often used to identify holy status, perfumes have also been regarded as the most superfluous forms of luxury. Pearls and jewels might at least be passed to an heir, but perfumes are ephemeral. Fragrances have also been frequently denigrated within Christianity.¹⁹² Early resistance to scents was expressed by believers upon encountering perfumes employed by other religions, especially when fragrances were used for the sake of personal enjoyment. The denouncement of sensory experience and of perfume as moral decadence was a theme often articulated in early Christian literature. “Men of our way of life should be redolent, not of perfume, but of perfection,” said the theologian Clement of Alexandria (c. 151–211). Moreover, he felt, “women should be fragrant with the odor of Christ, the royal chrism, not that of powders and perfumes.”¹⁹³ Interestingly, such clear denunciations of perfumes were absent from Islamic texts, which more often stressed that the Prophet’s chief pleasures were women and perfumes.¹⁹⁴ This admiration also appears to have been reciprocal; the rose, according to the thirteenth-century Turkish mystic Yunus Emre, was said to sigh, “Allah, Allah!” each time an admirer smelled it.¹⁹⁵ It has also been argued that many mosques had rose water incorporated into their mortar, which was intended to preserve a floral scent for the duration of their existence.¹⁹⁶ However, some restrictions on perfume use exist in the Islamic tradition, most notably during hajj, although the male faithful are still permitted to use perfume on their body and attire while on the pilgrimage.¹⁹⁷ More controversial is perfume that contains alcohol, permissible in some Muslim countries (such as Kuwait, Libya, and Saudi Arabia) but not all.¹⁹⁸ When employed, it is usually removed before prayer, which requires ritual purity.

Christian religions generally inherited an ancient discourse familiar throughout the Mediterranean world in which the senses were deplored as sources of moral danger. Neither was this a simple distinction between foul odors and more pleasing heavenly scents. Classen, Howes, and Synnott make this point by drawing on a sixteenth-century allegory of an angel who does not object to “the smell of an honest dung-collector’s laden cart,” but holds his nose when confronted by the perfumed courtesan.¹⁹⁹ The Greeks and Romans had also long “deprecated the extensive use of perfumes by the Egyptians and Persians,” among other cultures, “as sensualist foppery.”²⁰⁰ Eventually, however, its use was imitated and the Greeks similarly became the targets for criticism, their culture being associated with sexual licentiousness, as in the feast of Adonis and described by ancient historian Marcel Detienne.²⁰¹ Early Christian writers adopted and employed this tradition of moral psychology in their work. The epistles of the apostle Paul, for example, expressed strong suspicions of perfume, given its potential to stimulate impure desires.²⁰² Indeed, rejection of debauchery and the carnal body involved personal adornments, whether visual or fragrant. Smell in particular was often regarded as the most dangerous of the senses. Increasingly shrill negative discourse about the body, Harvey reminds us, coincided with the prominence of deliberate engagement in sensory experience by Christian worship. She suggests that the timing was no accident. Neither was it the last time that scents would be condemned as “part of the trappings of idolatry.”²⁰³

While there were thirteenth-century Christian thinkers, like English statesman and bishop Robert Grosseteste, who drew upon the monastic work of the Venerable Bede and concluded that the senses were positive, God-given channels through which both good and decent conduct could be attained, others regarded them with suspicion.²⁰⁴ By the first millennium, delights arising from the senses were rarely interpreted as good by Christian theologians, who usually condemned such displays. Scents might be used for good, but they were also snares that led to temptation and sin. They distracted monks and nuns from truly contemplating God’s sweetness, and depriving a man of his senses could be a punishment from God. The Church was particularly harsh in its criticisms of women “who not only diverted aromatic substances from the pious use for which it was intended, but also turned their heads into altars onto which they poured perfumes to honor a foul spirit.”²⁰⁵ Such views were revived periodically by certain critics of perfume, including Protestant reformers, especially Puritans.²⁰⁶ Cleanliness might be next to godliness and fitting for a chosen people, but scent bred a skepticism that only increased with the proliferation of manufactured scents. Although often interpreted today as a sign of cleanliness, the perfumed clothes and body in the Chris-



Perfume bottle in the shape of a cross. Ruby glass with silver gilt fittings. Wellcome Library, London, Museum No R10475.

tian past suggested an unclean soul; already before the mid-1200s it was interpreted as a sign of inner filthiness and worthy of confession.²⁰⁷ Satan was capable of smearing not only sulfurous stench on the corrupt body but also perfumes. In addition, sweet scents were denounced when used as aphrodisiacs. Christian writers further suggested that nothing great should be expected from those who reeked of perfumes, only from those who breathed a spiritual fragrance.²⁰⁸ The only acceptable odors were those “offered up by fervent souls.”²⁰⁹

Conclusion

Religion and smell have been entwined since the ancient period. So infused was Christian thinking and practice that Classen has described premodern Christianity as “olfactory theology.”²¹⁰ Historically, other religious communities also used smells to demarcate the places, activities, and members of their bodies, granting order and purpose to the whole. The prominence of sensory experience in Christian literature also suggests its importance as an epistemological and pedagogical tool. It marked the chosen from the damned but not always in a straightforward manner. Tending filthy feet or enduring pestiferous wounds in one life might equally translate into a fragrant afterlife for the faithful. It was the end result that mattered, for at the end of life people either ended in hell, where they stank, or if they were saved by their deity, they would be able to stop and smell the flowers in Paradise. Whether in the stench of hell or the perfumed sweetness of heaven, Harvey astutely observes, “the Christian faced an olfactory future.”²¹¹ Moreover, whatever beauties or horrors might be experienced in this world, it was only the barest glimpse, or whiff, of what awaited the redeemed or damned.

It was precisely the discernible yet elusive character of smell that was “held up as analogous to human knowledge of God.”²¹² Holy scents were evidence of divine presence, even existence, but the exact nature of the substance often remained a mystery. While the divine odor at once reveals something, it also conceals that very object. Like the fragrance of a perfume, “proximate yet unseen,” human knowledge of deities was necessarily incomplete.²¹³ But smells could convey something very concrete, such as the ultimate resting place of a saint or virtuous individual. The odor of sanctity that emanated from saints’ bodies and relics validated their identities by breathing forth the air of their heavenly hereafter. The reappearance of such descriptions across religions further testifies to a pan-religious belief in a scented afterlife.

In the course of late-antique Christianity, there was a proliferation of perfumes in religious practices. So noticeable were these changes that Susan Harvey, echoing Classen, has described this emerging Christian tradition as “a piety of fragrance.”²¹⁴ This olfactory sensibility was displayed in Christian practice, teaching, and perceived experience. It was primarily seen in the ritual uses of incense and oils in domestic, civic, monastic, and ecclesiastical activities. It was observed in the sensed fragrance of divine presence or approval as well as in the fragrance of virtue or the scent of sanctity, in the putrid emanations of hell or the perfumed delights of heaven. The salient traits of smells, including their “invisibility and uncontainability,” made them especially effective “messengers” across the boundary lines separating the worldly from the heavenly.²¹⁵

This transformation of ancient Christianity from scentless practice to fragrant faith has been summed up effectively in Susan Harvey's recent work, *Scenting Salvation*. The scale of these changes, Harvey reminds us, is equally evident in a single Christian legend—namely, the *Transitus Mariae*, apocryphal accounts of the Virgin Mary's assumption into heaven.²¹⁶ Its three recensions span the fifth and sixth centuries and effectively chart the changing role of olfactory experience in late-antique Christianity. The earliest of the three texts, *Dormition*, compiled in the late 400s, contains seven references to holy fragrance, comprising primarily references to incense offerings and the corresponding perfumed divine response. The second, *History in Six Books*, has fifteen instances of holy fragrance, including a geography of the cosmos that clearly demarcates the sacred from the profane. The final, *History in Five Books*, contains forty-two references that collectively comprise a rich olfactory symbolization. Over approximately two centuries, fragrance increasingly became the focus of religious experience and, to the sense scholar, demonstrates the potency of olfactory experience to carry and clarify religious meanings.

There was, however, a fine distinction between contemplating the sweet fragrances of divine origin and the dangers of erotic desire that heavy scents were thought to incite. Fragrant oils could offer a relief from the harsh labor of human lives. The pleasure as well as the physical benefit was to be valued and appreciated, although it was "pleasure for pragmatic purposes."²¹⁷ The physical and sensual beauty of flowers and fragrant plants was an effective reminder of the goodness of God's creation; however, it could also lead people astray. Early Christian authors reminded their contemporaries "of the frivolity of wreaths when considering the crown of thorns by which Christ had won their salvation,"²¹⁸ and Christians were exhorted from wearing perfumed clothes and hair specifically to seek recognition by the noses of passersby. Often these opposing views were articulated in the works of individual writers. Gregory of Nyssa, one of the three Cappadocian Fathers, for example, praised the senses in his writings for revealing God's handiwork. He also indicated the transitory nature of exotic foods and tastes as well as their potential to deceive. He reminded readers that the serpent tempted Eve through sweet foods and that such small sensory indulgences had the potential to open "the floodgates of decadence."²¹⁹ Even so, the history of perfumes often has been about people taking control over how they choose to express themselves; rather than waiting for divine judgment, people regularly chose to wear specific scents to reveal something particular about themselves. The next chapter explores the increasing use of nonreligious scents, a practice that early Christian authors vehemently denounced, and charts the transformation of the perfume trade into a global scent industry.

2

Fragrant Lucre *The Perfume Trade*

While historical research on the role of scent in religion is relatively limited, the history of perfume is well documented and has been central to histories of aroma since studies on the subject first began to appear. Histories of the senses frequently contain considerable commentary on perfume and fragrance, and most histories of smell contain at least a chapter on the scent industry from ancient to modern times. Histories of perfume abound and are organized similarly. The fashion for such narratives appears to have been set relatively early by London perfumer Eugene Rimmel with the appearance of his *Book of Perfumes* (1865), which, besides being printed on scented paper, begins with the ancient world and appropriately ends with the “modern” industry, in which he played a key role. An even earlier, lesser known history was compiled in 1822 by Strand perfumer Charles Lillie, whose firm’s premises were later occupied by Rimmel.¹ Subsequent studies of fragrance to the present day have adopted a similar organization to that of Rimmel, generally charting the history of scent from Babylon to Revlon.² Individual perfume companies, like many other businesses, also commissioned their own commemorative histories, and although these contain much information on the history of scent, they are considered here primarily as economic histories and for what little they can tell us about how the industry developed in Europe and North America over approximately two centuries. Individual scented products, including clove, camphor, frankincense, and myrrh, to name but a few, have also attracted their own histories.³ For the sake of brevity, this chapter discusses the latter three in detail, as they have been the subjects of either recent academic research or particularly influential studies. Rather than

trace the entire prehistory of perfume, the chapter focuses on scent in early Egyptian civilization, because this has been the subject of recent research, while the role of scent in Greek and Roman civilization has been efficiently summarized elsewhere.⁴ The chapter then addresses the European context and the development of the scent trade into a global perfume industry, drawing on some recent scholarship in the field of business history. It concludes by returning to an age-old debate concerning the health hazards and benefits attributed to smells. Rather than discuss the dangers posed by miasmas, it considers the glowing endorsement of perfume's health benefits as reflected in the twentieth-century consumers' eager uptake of medical scents, most notably aromatherapy. However, the simultaneous rise of a global scent industry has also provoked considerable opposition to even clean scents by groups whose members have campaigned vigorously for restrictions on their use in public spaces. As a result, tolerance for fragrances has not increased with a decline in religiously inspired critiques of perfume. Opponents to manufactured scents continue to exist, even in the increasingly secularized societies of the present day.

Egyptians and Perfumery of the Ancient World

According to the Roman author and naturalist Pliny the Elder (23–79), perfume was “among the most elegant and almost most honourable enjoyments in life.”⁵ Although not everyone could afford to employ scents equally in ancient societies (see chapter 5), encounters with fragrances were common, as perfumes figured centrally in the home, religious houses, public events, and funerals, and were, of course, employed for purposes of personal attraction. Many histories of scent note perfume's presence at “the birth of urban life in the ancient Near East.”⁶ While the ancient Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484–425 B.C.) described the Babylonians as “perfum[ing] themselves all over,”⁷ most texts addressing scent in Mesopotamia have rooted fragrances in religious practices. The Babylonian tradition is further credited with influencing the cult for incense among other ancient populations, including the Jews.⁸ The fact that these aromatic traditions traveled so well is attributed to the initiative of Mesopotamian perfumers and glassmakers. Having held their professional skills in high regard, artisans preserved their craft practices in writings that were subsequently rediscovered, circulated, and adopted by other cultures.⁹ However, an extensive trade in scented products had yet to develop; frankincense and myrrh, for example, entered the Near East during the rise of the Persian kingdom. In contrast to later epochs, the scent trade

during this era was decidedly local in its organization. By concentrating on Egyptian texts and archaeological evidence, scholars have also been able to follow fragrance out of the temple, consider its everyday role, and trace in greater detail its subsequent journey throughout the Middle East and into Europe.

Although the Egyptians were unable to distill alcohol, they achieved great sophistication in the production of perfumes, scented cosmetics, unguents, and oils. Burned as part of medical and religious rites, perfumes were far from being the preserve of the gods. Besides scents that were essential to funerary practices, recipes for fumigating the home and clothes have also survived.¹⁰ Their North African lands of origin were favored with a climate that was ideally suited to the production of floral fragrances.¹¹ During the period of the New Kingdom (c. 1500–1000 B.C.), shipments of scented merchandise were arriving into Egypt from Mycenaean territories and other Mediterranean ports as well. Particularly sought after by Egyptians were grasses from Syria, juniper from Phoenicia, nard and spices from India, and frankincense and myrrh from the land of Punt (Somalia).¹² In general, the more distant a scented object's provenance, the more effectively it conveyed a feeling of luxury: roots, barks, and resins traveled particularly well. Despite their luxury status, and finding extensive use in rituals and medical practice, scented oils rapidly became one of life's necessities.

The technique employed to extract the delicate scents of leaves and petals in the ancient period was *enfleurage*. This involved using animal fats to absorb desired scents, usually restricted to native flora, through direct contact. The Egyptians used mints, lilies, and pines, but where *enfleurage* survived longest, as it continues to do, is in the extraction of scents from the most delicate flowers, such as jasmine and tuberose.¹³ Interestingly, the more exotic an ingredient was, the more likely that information relating to its nature and use has survived, as rarity in any culture usually warranted additional commentary on a flower's general habitat and properties. Thus, while lotus appears to have been the most popular scented plant in ancient Egypt, it was sufficiently well known to perfumers that few writing on fragrances and flowers appeared to feel the need to discuss the flower in any detail.¹⁴ The most famous of the Egyptian perfumes, on the other hand, was *kyphi*. In contrast to oil of roses, which remained for some time the simplest scent,¹⁵ *kyphi* was a blend of sixteen ingredients and often used to treat various ailments. The most recent prescription for *kyphi* comes from the Greek physician Galen, who presumably encountered the scent while studying at the medical school in Alexandria. An earlier recipe comes from the work

of the Roman physician Rufus, who practiced some five generations before Galen and also lived for a time in Egypt. Though taken to treat lung, liver, and skin complaints and employed to treat snakebites,¹⁶ kyphi was primarily a sacred scent, offered to the gods at funerals or burned each evening when the sun god Re disappeared behind the horizon, a practice that was common in the city of Heliopolis.¹⁷

According to Plutarch, who visited Egypt during the second century A.D., incense was burned in the region's temples three times a day, frankincense was burned in the morning, myrrh at noon, and kyphi in the evening. The method of preparing complex scents such as kyphi was itself a ritual, the key to successful manufacture being the order in which ingredients were added, as well as the timing: the later an ingredient was added, the more it affected the final result.¹⁸ Some scent recipes required that preparation always begin on the same day of the Egyptian calendar annually.¹⁹ Given difficulties of supply, however, it was common to substitute one ingredient for another in ancient perfume manufacture.²⁰ Generally, the more detailed a fragrance's recipe, the more likely it dates from the later days of the Egyptian kingdom, when the doors to the classical world were wide open and understanding of other languages allowed recipes to be shared across cultures.²¹ While we tend to think of perfumes as liquids today, those of the ancient world were very often thick pastes or ointments. They were also prepared as oils, powders, unguents, and, of course, incense. Scents were also dispersed by burning ingredients as a fragrant smoke, a method implied by the English verb "perfume," meaning "to smoke through."²²

The majority of wealthy citizens in antiquity who wished to wear scent purchased their fragrances from a perfumer. In contrast to the twentieth century, perfumers were less celebrities than ordinary artisans and far less wealthy than aromatics merchants.²³ Some names have been passed down through the ages, such as the Greek perfumer Megallus, whose name even appears to have been used to brand one of his most noted scents, Megalium, but the names of the manufacturers of fragrances have been largely forgotten.²⁴ In general, the perfumer's place of work would have resembled an apothecary's or pharmacist's shop, containing numerous jars and vases in which the raw ingredients of the trade were stored and displayed. Those who sampled fragrances likely did so by applying scents on the wrist, as perfumes coming from this part of the body's anatomy were thought to smell their sweetest.²⁵ Scents would have been made for individuals and designed to smell good on skin. Pulse points, warmed by the proximity of blood, were and continue

to be preferred sites for the application of scent. Only in the last couple of centuries have scents been manufactured less for individuals than for mass consumption, while many are now designed to smell good on paper blotters, not skin.

Global Scent Trails: Frankincense, Myrrh, and Dragon's Brain Perfume

Although scents tend to dissipate quickly, fragrances could be stored and shipped when protected from heat. Myrrh unguent, for example, could be stored for a decade, outlasting cinnamon and cassia, which also can be kept for extended periods, as can iris, an exception among "the ephemeral floral scents."²⁶ Iris perfumes, like wines, were regarded to improve with age and known, even in ancient times, to reach their prime when twenty years old, while lotus was deemed too delicate to travel.²⁷ Further studies of the ancient perfume trade have demonstrated how these and other scents ventured throughout the Mediterranean world toward the end of Egypt's pharaonic period.²⁸ The perfume industry on mainland Greece and Crete during the long reign of Ramesses II has been well researched, while the written documentation and material objects relating to the city of Pylos is particularly rich.²⁹ According to Pliny, this heavy interchange of scented goods between cultures was to be expected. Reflecting on the taste for exotic perfumes in Arabia, he observed that "there is a surprising demand for foreign scents, which are imported from abroad: so tired do mortals get of things that are their own, and so covetous are they of what belongs to other people."³⁰ Interesting, too, was that natural products that grew far away from one's home were less suited to medical use and tended to be used primarily as luxury items such as perfumes. Assigning a provenance to many ancient scents is fairly straightforward, as many were named by importers after their places of origin.

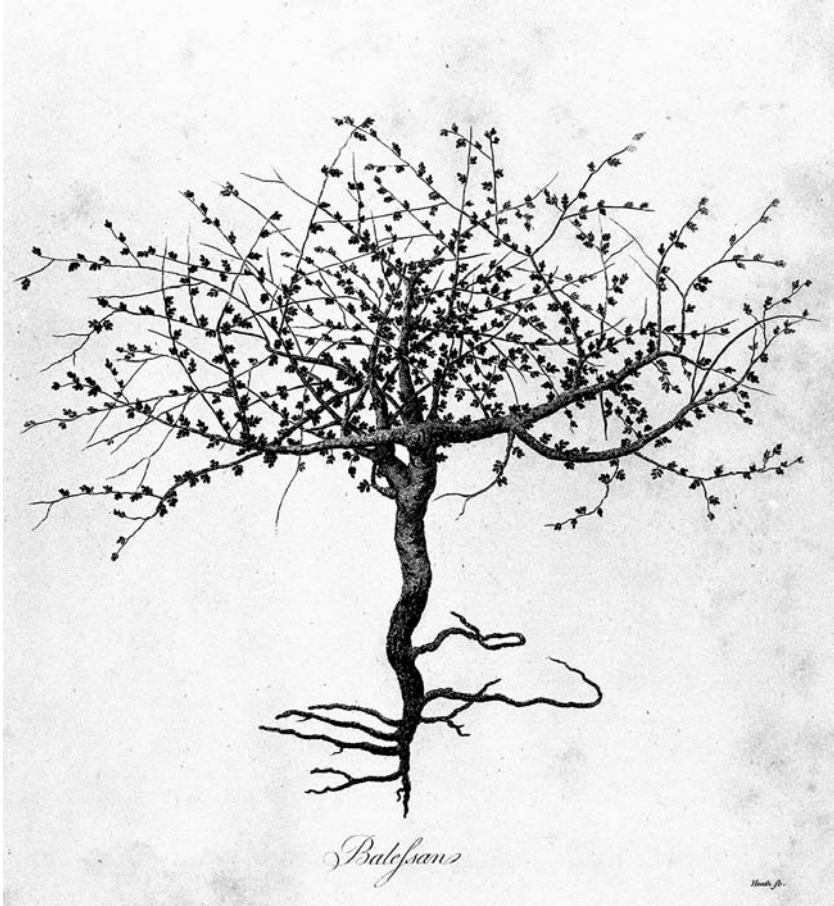
The earliest known and identifiable perfumeries date from the Hellenistic period and the Roman Empire, in centers that include Delos, southern Italy, and Judea.³¹ These particular sites are remarkable for their size and cannot be taken as representative of the majority of perfumeries during the ancient period. Most artisans produced small quantities of perfume for a local clientele, with no need for large-scale manufactories, which generally leave traces for modern archaeologists.³² Some frescoes from this period, however, indicate the existence, or at least the idea, of larger installations intended for

the production of perfumes.³³ Less evidence refers to the inevitable existence of domestic manufacture.

To many, the trade in frankincense and myrrh was as important as that of perfumes. These items might also have been more important given that fragrant arboreal gums were as important to health and hygiene as they were to religious practice; in modern times they continue to be used for medicinal purposes, at least in local growing regions.³⁴ Frankincense and myrrh also encapsulated the entire spectrum of Mediterranean sacrifice (see chapter 1).³⁵ As such, the demand for these resins necessitated two harvests a year in the southern Arabian Peninsula, and by the time of the Roman Empire, demand for these products had “so swelled the price that they could be equated with gold.”³⁶ Thus these products, along with precious metals, had become prized enough that the Magi presented them to the infant Jesus.

The earliest of the classical writers to give us information on the incense lands was Herodotus, the reputed “father of history,” who journeyed through Egypt, Africa, and Arabia in the fifth century B.C. Though having little to say on the incense trade, he identified Arabia as “the only place that produces frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon and the gum called ledanon,” while the earliest archaeological evidence of the trade dates perhaps a century earlier.³⁷ An *Enquiry into Plants* by Theophrastus written about 295 B.C. contains a section on frankincense and myrrh, as do Books 6 and 12 of Pliny’s *Natural History* (A.D. 79). Along with correcting many errors in previous works, Pliny considered the hardships supposedly endured by those engaged in the cultivation of incense trees to be tales “invented by the natives to raise the price of their commodities.”³⁸ More recent research indicates that the trees from which true frankincense and myrrh were extracted grew only in southern Arabia, Somalia, and parts of Ethiopia. Frankincense, which emanates from a tree of the genus *Boswellia*, grew in a more restricted area in southern Arabia; myrrh, which came from the genus *Commiphora* and contained more oil than frankincense, was cultivated over a wider region and into the Horn of Africa. Both products were central to their respective local economies, but they also literally dominated these regions in other respects. Given that the wood from these trees was used for cooking and in homes, Pliny observed that the atmosphere of the towns and districts known for incense cultivation resembled those that surrounded religious altars.

Authors preceding Theophrastus appear to have believed that frankincense and myrrh came from the same tree.³⁹ Known also as “olibanum,” frankincense was the preeminent material for producing fragrant smoke when burned, its



Mecca balsam (*Commiphora opobalsamum*): entire young plant. Line engraving by C. Heath, c. 1804. Wellcome Library, London, ICV No 43784.

name deriving from the old French for “quality incense.”⁴⁰ One of the earliest travelers after classical times to mention frankincense trees in Arabia was Marco Polo, although he never visited the region himself. The first detailed description of Arabian frankincense to be provided in modern times came from the assistant surgeon of the Bombay medical establishment and amateur naturalist, H. J. Carter, who obtained a branch in full flower while engaged in survey work for the government of Bombay. Besides describing the method of harvest, Carter attested that in his day “no one thinks it worth his while to

go beyond the bare coastline in Southern Arabia,” which resulted in much uncertainty about the region where the tree was grown.⁴¹ Because the final word on the species in Arabia and Somalia has yet to be written, some of the mystery associated with these trees in the ancient period continues to adhere to them today.

Frankincense was a sacred commodity, and its harvesters, like Egyptian incense manufacturers, worked under ritualistic constraints. Most trees begin to bear gum only in their third or fourth year. Tapped twice a year, the trees were incised longitudinally to free the sap, that which emerged nearest the root being the most highly valued.⁴² Stems and branches were also cut during the hot season, traditionally May to September, when the gum flowed most freely. Egg-size tears of frankincense gum often dropped from the incisions but usually accumulated in large drops on the stem or on the ground beneath the trees, while that sticking to the stem and branches was scraped off, usually a week later, using iron tools. Further yields were collected at intervals of ten days until the end of the collecting season, after which trees were left to recover for between six months and two years, recovery being dependent on rainfall soon after the harvest. Descriptions of harvests in the nineteenth century usually refer to two harvests—one in September, the other in December.⁴³ While the locations of the frankincense regions in particular and exact trade routes remain uncertain,⁴⁴ myrrh-producing areas extended farther west and into the Horn of Africa.⁴⁵ The African myrrh tree, which was regarded to produce an inferior gum, was found as far west as Chad and northern Nigeria.⁴⁶

By Pliny's time it had become clear that the only incense worthy of the name was frankincense. That said, equally striking in surviving documents is the relative cheapness of frankincense, which was less than half the price of myrrh and a fraction of the price of aromatic spices such as cinnamon.⁴⁷ It has also been estimated that each year a minimum of 1,300–1,700 tons of frankincense was carried into the Roman Empire in 7,000–10,000 separate camel loads; another 211 tons of myrrh in 1,184 camel loads also entered the empire.⁴⁸ While incense was important to the economy of this region, the belief that the whole of pre-Islamic civilization of southern Arabia depended on the profits from incense has been demonstrated to be without foundation.⁴⁹ Not only was the majority of the population in this part of the world engaged in other agricultural practices, but also much of incense's final sale price was expended over the routes of trade that took these commodities through Arabia, the Middle East, and Greece, among other final markets. While it is also imagined that there was one general “Frankincense Route” into Europe, there were many different routes and stopping-off points where



Indigenous people collecting resin or incense. Wellcome Library, London, L0006011.

goods were bought and sold and food and shelter were obtained by its traders.⁵⁰ The period of peak prosperity for southern Arabia was short lived, with the incense market beginning its collapse in the fourth century with the spread of Christianity, which initially discouraged the use of incense. By the sixth century, overland routes revived, but there were new trade patterns and the key cities in the incense trade had shifted. Constantinople, for example, took over from Alexandria as the main center for perfume, but total trade was “a mere shadow of what it had been seven hundred years before.”⁵¹

In more modern times the commercial center of the incense gum trade was Aden in Yemen. The trade there involved a number of the resins and spices that were all cleaned and sorted into different qualities. In 1875 Aden's merchants handled some 600 tons of gums and resins, including 300 tons of frankincense and 70 of myrrh. Most arrived in leather packages, or *jild*, weighing between 40 and 50 pounds, those for myrrh requiring packaging to retain its greater oil content, frankincense having traditionally been transported in baskets to prevent damage on the journey.⁵² Since ancient times, the quality of these products was not determined by smell alone; taste was relied upon, and gum of a uniform color was also selected;⁵³ together, these quality tests effectively underscore the multisensoriality that characterizes current research on the senses. The color and consistency when broken was also proof of goodness, the darkness of a sample denoted inferior quality, and flammability was a desirable trait. Varieties were often differentiated by taste, while impurities could be detected by their flavor and gum by its tendency to stick to the teeth.⁵⁴ The trade in myrrh increased until 1920, but the local trade in gums and resins (2,800 tons in 1946) remained on par with that undertaken two thousand years earlier.⁵⁵ That said, Yemen, which occupies the region formerly known as Arabia Felix, has been reduced to the poorest country in the Middle East and has since become heavily reliant on remittances from its citizens engaged in trade outside the region.⁵⁶

Camphor is another aromatic material that has been described as particularly desirable since its comparatively late discovery. It has been the subject of recent research and is worthy of consideration in histories of perfume, as it was incorporated into the various *materia medica* systems that were existent throughout early modern Europe and in China even earlier. It also offers a fitting contrast to other fragrant products. Although it is a vegetable product, obtained from trees, and also once worth its weight in gold, camphor contrasts with myrrh and frankincense in some important ways. Camphor has been described to possess a cool, clean scent and therefore categorized as a "green" scent.⁵⁷ As a result, it was associated with the moon rather than the sun.⁵⁸ While it became one of the five "principal perfumes" by the middle of the ninth century, its medicinal, or refrigerant, properties led it to be more often defined as a medicine in the West. In contrast to aphrodisiacs, such as musk or other animal scents, camphor extinguished sexual excitement and its odor was regarded as suitable to treat cases of priapism.⁵⁹ Its place within the system of humoral medicine, like that of sandalwood,⁶⁰ the most important of the South Asian aromatics, was determined by its "cold and dry" characteristics. Its odor, on the other hand, lent an unusual and resolutely medical note to perfumers' shops.⁶¹ In the early modern period,

camphor was increasingly used to guard against disease-causing miasmas by being incorporated into pomanders or simply carried in the pockets of those entering regions where plague was prevalent.

Camphor is a solid, crystalline distillate of a volatile oil obtained from three or four species of the camphor laurel, an evergreen once found primarily in Borneo but cultivated throughout Asia and India. Unlike myrrh, which is tapped from trees, camphor is obtained by felling trees; logs are then split to expose crystalline deposits that tend to form in perpendicular veins. Production of this scent therefore required the destruction of the original source, as would progressively become common in the emerging European perfume trade, whether animal or floral products.⁶² Additional oil could be removed from pockets inside the tree trunk; alternatively, resin was obtained by boiling fragments of wood and roots, with crude camphor then skimmed off the surface.

Early Methods of Scent Manufacture

While heat was to be avoided when storing scents, it facilitated new ways of manufacturing fragrances from a wider variety of products in the medieval period. It has been estimated that 80 percent of natural oils are produced by way of distillation, or the use of a still.⁶³ Without this technology, medieval perfumes would have comprised merely unguents and cosmetics. Other ways of extracting essential oils during this period, besides enflourage, were filtration, maceration, and cold-pressing. Although there are references to simple stills being used in the second and third centuries A.D., the method was perfected with water cooling in the tenth century. With improvements in glassmaking techniques, the Arabs developed the distillation of perfumes into a true industry.⁶⁴ By suspending essences in alcohol, rather than extracting scents into fats and oils, diminishing amounts of raw materials were utilized in the creation of fragrances.⁶⁵ The question of perfume in the medieval period through to the Middle Ages is closely linked to the spread of distillation techniques.⁶⁶ In most cases, however, the perfume industry remained on a small scale, comprising at most a laboratory or apothecary's place of work.⁶⁷ In general, production concentrated wherever there was sufficient capital and favorable conditions of trade. As a result, there are references to a flourishing perfume trade in the Low Countries and Spain for a time,⁶⁸ as well as in France and Italy. While the latter two countries would figure centrally in histories of the perfume trade, the role of the Netherlands continued well into the twentieth century, although its role is less familiar.⁶⁹ Brief discussions of distilling are also included in most histories of perfume, although many histories of distilling do not always refer to perfumes.⁷⁰

Other countries and cities have been added recently to “modern cartographies of perfume.”⁷¹ In the towns of medieval England, the principal source of spices, ointments, perfumes, and scented oils and waters, other than the commonly found local herbs, was the Mediterranean. Inventories of apothecaries from this period, however, suggest a vast commercial network that extended to the Far East before the great voyages of discovery of the fifteenth century.⁷² At the same time, Middle Eastern and Arabic customs and literature influenced the ways these materials were used. In areas where Jewish, Christian, and Islamic cultures collided, such as Spain, there was considerable knowledge of perfume making in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries; from Spain, these techniques traveled easily into France. Perfumery also concentrated in Venice, given both its centrality to Mediterranean trade and its local glass industry.⁷³

As with cosmetics, from which early perfumes are often indistinguishable, there were two significant changes in the later medieval period. The first, from the late fourteenth to the late fifteenth centuries, was the wider availability of perfumes and an increase in the number of people using them in the countries bordering the northern shores of the western Mediterranean. An inventory of a spice seller’s shop in Perugia from 1431, for example, presents a wide selection of scented products.⁷⁴ The second change, between the late fifteenth century and about 1560, saw further development in the technology of perfumery and an expanded knowledge of its products. Many of these products were undoubtedly used for their medicinal properties, but it is unclear whether another primary motive for the use of spices and other scented products at this time was to disguise smells.⁷⁵

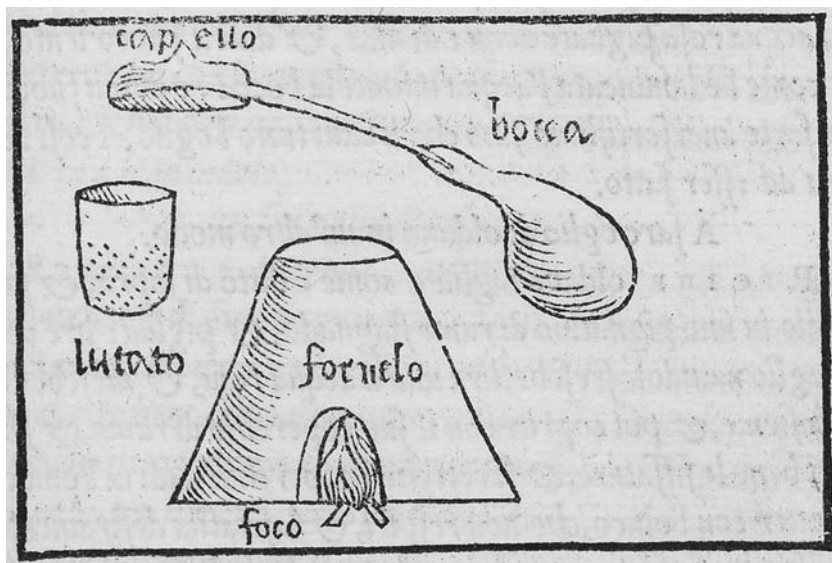
Perfume making in the Middle Ages was markedly different from contemporary practice, and the most significant change occurred in the sixteenth century. Unlike today’s alcohol-based scents, most medieval perfumery was based on oils perfumed by absorption, waters, powders, pastes, and some rare essences made by the distillation of lavender, rosemary, or resinous woods. Essential oils were obtained through washing, sublimation, alembic (by sweating), and by burning (*per fumum*), which produced smoke. Odors were based on a range of sources that included musk, ambergris, yellow amber, and camphor. The most desirable ointments were designated by their dominant ingredient, most often violet, jasmine, cloves, rose, iris, or chamomile. In addition, mousses of various compositions as well as soaps and washes composed of wood lye, honey, and syrup of figs are regularly described in contemporary records.⁷⁶ The principal techniques of manufacture involved using a mortar and pestle to prepare powders, which were literally incorporated into other consumer products by filling sachets and cushions.

With the addition of a resin or gum like acanthus or laudanum, the resultant pastes could be shaped and hardened to create round balls or pomanders, for example. “Richly encrusted with gold and silver,” these would have been held in the owners’ hands, and the natural heat of the body would have encouraged the gradual dissemination of scent;⁷⁷ alternatively, the paste might be made into prayer beads. The addition of charcoal was required in the preparation of perfumes for burning, while sugar might serve as a medium for carrying aroma as with mouth pastilles.⁷⁸

Another common method used in the preparation of scents was maceration. This involved filling glass vials with raw ingredients such as rose petals and allowing them to be heated by the sun, thus accelerating the release of oils. This method might be used to produce scented oils and waters and could also be used in conjunction with a third technique, distillation. According to medievalists, these techniques were described by various authors whose works were written or circulated in England, including those of Bartholomew the Englishman; Henry of Lancaster, the fourteenth-century aristocrat; and the English surgeon John Arderne. While their writings describe the preparation of rose water and other essential oils, such methods were not generally used to produce “fine perfumes.”⁷⁹ Damask roses, however, would become “synonymous with the art of perfumery,” as their use in early modern England simultaneously marked a “profound agricultural and technological happenstance: the domestication of the damask rose in England coincided with the arrival of the art of distillation.”⁸⁰

In general, advances in scent manufacture were hampered by the state of distillation technology. However, this did not prevent European apothecaries and manufacturers of perfume from “producing infusions from herbs and plants, as well as olfactory waters of medicinal value.”⁸¹ At Norwich Cathedral Priory, for example, the infirmarer, whose primary duty was to care for the sick monks, possessed a peat-fueled still in which he worked with products of the infirmary garden. In the late fifteenth century, however, there were significant improvements in the distillation process, as well as the isolation of new essential oils; it was during this period that the first treatises on distillation, perfume manufacture, and the use of filtration were published and widely circulated in Europe. From this point, Woolgar claims, there was also a notable increase in the numbers of perfumers rather than apothecaries and pharmacists with an interest in the manufacture of essential oils.⁸²

Because fragrances and scents were closely associated with healing in this period, it was only natural that the apothecary, too, should have achieved a foothold in the early fragrance trade. Perfuming clothing and wearing scented objects were widely regarded as wise precautions adopted by medical



Instruments used in the making of perfume, including a furnace, sixteenth century. Wellcome Library, London, L0040246.

practitioners to ward off the bad odors of disease. Specific diseases, plague in particular, that were believed to be conveyed by impure or corrupt air were countered by burning incense or inhaling perfumes such as rose and musk, especially during epidemics. Monasteries in possession of herbal and botanical gardens were particularly well equipped to become centers for the production of perfumes and essential oils, most having possessed extensive pharmacies in addition to their herb gardens. The Dominican monastery of Santa Maria Novella in Florence is another example of a religious institution that was able to establish a perfume industry of sorts after extensive trials in the sixteenth century.⁸³ While many preparations, alcoholic waters in particular, were used externally, a number of them (the herbal ones) were ingested, a practice that appears to have continued into the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ For this reason the dissolution of the monasteries in sixteenth-century England had a significant impact on perfume production, changing “monastic retreats into public places” and thereby transforming perfume production from an activity “controlled by the episcopacy” into a “domestic affair.”⁸⁵ By the early seventeenth century, every housewife was being advised to “furnish herself of very good stills, for the distillation of all kinds of water.”⁸⁶

The Italian and French Perfume Trades

An analysis of some of the earliest printed treatises on perfume manufacture, mainly French and Italian, has shown upward of fifty ingredients in perfumes; only about ten, however, were used regularly. Musk was employed most often, perhaps in half of recipes, followed by rose water, aloes, dried red roses, laudanum, ambergris, civet, and lavender. Rose water and orange flowers were often employed as bases for other scents. The use of manufactured perfumes traveled north in the fifteenth century. Inventories of fifteenth-century Dijon, one of the centers of the Burgundian court, contain few mentions of beauty products. Apart from an apothecary, there were five houses that possessed ovens or stills for making rose water. Rose water as part of the regimen for shaving had even arrived in England from Italy and France by the sixteenth century and came into fashion during the reign of Elizabeth I (1533–1603).⁸⁷ The continental perfumers' chief competitors were apothecaries and distillers who produced alcoholic extracts of herbs and other decoctions, which were frequently sold as medical elixirs under the names *Aromatica*, *Stomachia*, and *Confortantia* and survived into more recent centuries as liqueurs.⁸⁸

One perfume that was rapidly gaining in popularity during the eighteenth century and was originally employed as a medical remedy to treat constipation, fever, and, most famously, plague was Eau de Cologne.⁸⁹ Thought to have traveled from Italy to France in 1500 with Catherine de' Medici, Henry II's fourteen-year-old bride, the fragrance was initially known as Eau de la Reine. Originally created by Renato Bianco, the perfumer of the Florentine and queen consort of France, the recipe subsequently traveled to Cologne with an Italian perfumer, Giovanni Feminis, who renamed it *Acqua di Colonia*, or Eau de Cologne. It was commercialized by an Italian expatriate, Johann Maria Farina, who lived in the independent city-state for which the essence was named;⁹⁰ the scent initially comprised rosemary and citrus essences dissolved in grape spirit. It eventually made its way back to Florence under this name but was enormously popular throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, especially with those who disliked the heavier animal scents associated with the French upper classes. In the process it had been transformed from a medicine into a fragrance and from a female scent into a male one. More important, by this time France had overtaken Italy as the perfume capital of Europe.

By the eighteenth century the luxury goods market in France was vibrant. Louis XIV had stimulated the luxury trade through a system of patronage

and protectionism and by investing in the nation's infrastructure.⁹¹ Louis XV, compared to his predecessor and great-grandfather, ruled over a vastly extended kingdom. According to historians of scent at this time, the French drenched themselves in *eau admirable*, now known as Eau de Cologne, after the return of French soldiers from that city.⁹² During this period, however, scents were not applied purely to wearers' skin but also to fabrics that were carried on their person, including gloves, handkerchiefs, and dresses.⁹³ The association between perfumes and gloves specifically was out of necessity, perfumes having been used to counteract the putrid smells of substances required in the process of tanning leather. As a result, the French fragrance trade had become the preserve of a select group of leather workers, the *gantiers-parfumeurs*.

Though the French would begin to dominate the industry in the eighteenth century, perfumery in France had a longer history. Royal perfumer Jean-Louis Fargeon's father was known to exclaim that "perfumery was born in Montpellier."⁹⁴ Perfume historian Élisabeth de Feydeau, drawing on perfumery manuals, has identified certain products as being "à la mode de Montpellier," calling for the addition of animal ingredients, including civet and musk, which made scents linger.⁹⁵ In fact the first French statutes concerning the profession date back to 1190, when Philippe Auguste granted the master glove makers of Paris the right to sell their wares from their shops and stalls in Les Halles market.⁹⁶ These privileges were confirmed by King Jean II in 1357, as well as by Henri III and Louis IV. However, it was not until the seventeenth century that the French parliament allowed master glove makers to call themselves master perfumers.⁹⁷

Two cities in southern France led the production of alcohol perfumes, Montpellier and Grasse. Montpellier was well connected through its port to foreign suppliers of scented products, and its local apothecaries, which were legally established in the sixteenth century, manufactured medicines and perfumes. During an early stage of specialization, the apothecaries separated from the spice and drug merchants as well as the glove makers and perfumers-distillers. The perfume trade, therefore, became the preserve of the *gantier-parfumeurs*. Like other trades, that of the glove-making perfumers was protected by a guild. Membership required a seven-year apprenticeship, after the successful completion of which the title of master perfumer was earned. In the mid-eighteenth century there were 250 master perfumers in all of France.⁹⁸

Very little research has focused on the history of this French trade; however, a biography of Jean-Louis Fargeon has shed much additional light on

the trade during the second half of the eighteenth century. As descendants of local apothecaries, the Fargeons concentrated ever more on perfumes, situating their business in the western quarter of Montpellier, where these tradesmen traditionally congregated. Like many perfumers, they sold an array of small objects such as powder puffs and toothpicks, as well as various delicate foodstuffs, snuff boxes, and tobacco pouches, alongside baskets of perfumes and scented gloves. As perfumers specialized, many dropped the trade in food items, which were more suited to the business of grocers, concentrating explicitly on fragrances.⁹⁹ Like the apothecary, who also shared origins with the perfumer, a laboratory dominated the back of the Fargeon shop, furnished with cauldrons, stills, presses, and mortars, among other equipment. Skilled craftsmen, the most successful of these artisans joined the ranks of the bourgeoisie and, like Jean-Louis, possessed academic backgrounds before embarking on their apprenticeships.¹⁰⁰ Most were trained in the traditional glove-making specialty, characteristic to Montpellier, dyeing and perfuming leather with the flowers of Provence. Although long known as a center for perfume, Montpellier was slowly and gradually losing ground to Grasse, the economic capital of western Provence, which was also rapidly emerging as the nation's scent capital after its two dozen manufacturers of scented leathers were granted separate status in 1729; their famous green leathers were also renowned for their exceptional quality. By 1750 bankruptcies in Montpellier had become common occurrences, and members of the local guild declined in number while those in Grasse became royal favorites. The climate in Provence was also better suited to the cultivation of the flora required by perfumers.¹⁰¹ However, as the latter city's tanning trade began to wane, its perfumers would split from the tanner's guild (1759) and apply their skills to other sectors.¹⁰² By the time the English agriculturist Arthur Young visited Grasse in the late 1780s, he could claim with confidence that "half Europe is supplied with essences from hence."¹⁰³

Perfumers over the centuries had broken free of ancillary trades, including those of the apothecary, distiller, and grocer, but success in the eighteenth century came to those who collaborated with coiffeurs, soap makers, and others engaged in the beauty trades who could be relied on to expand the market for scented wares, such as hair powders. As a result of such diversification, in 1781 Fargeon's products accounted for just under a tenth of Marie Antoinette's wardrobe expenses, which totaled 110,000 livres (approximately U.S. \$330,000).¹⁰⁴ The businesspeople catering to the aristocracy and their grooming rituals also welcomed the finer quality of the products supplied by perfumers. Perfumers equally diversified their

clientele, and a number of them opened shops in other cities during these years. Fargeon, who had established outlets in Bordeaux and Nantes, rather than simply relying on the import of exotic items, even developed his own foreign trade.

The sort of success achieved by a royal perfumer was clearly not a feat that every businessman engaged in the eighteenth-century scent trade could attain. The eight master perfumers who supplied the court of Louis XV, however, produced some of the first perfume dynasties, including Houbigant, whose fragrances traveled with Napoleon throughout Europe.¹⁰⁵ Fargeon's success further serves as a premonition of the business methods that would be developed and the wealth that would be generated by a number of other capitalist entrepreneurs who would enter this industry in subsequent periods. Finding his boutique at the rue du Roule too cramped, in 1786 Fargeon moved the firm to the fragrant foothills of Suresnes, closer to his royal clients and farther away from the stench of urban Paris (see chapter 6). With his twenty-one-bedroom country house, Jean-Louis Fargeon had plenty of room for expansion and eventually became the most prominent resident of Suresnes, employing many of the local inhabitants and possessing his own horses, servants, and works of art. Convinced that the future of the industry lay in "the application of modern chemistry to this art of perfume," he invested a proportion of his earnings in efforts to exploit the latest scientific discoveries related to fixing scents and distillation, employing steam technology, and building his own orangery.¹⁰⁶ Many more perfumers were already distilling their raw materials several times, a process known as rectifying, in order to separate the essential oils from water and preserve their ingredients for longer periods.¹⁰⁷ Fargeon set about further perfecting his methods by distilling his ingredients in pure alcohol rather than spirits of wine.¹⁰⁸ His progress, however, was cut short by a revolution that sent many of his best customers to the guillotine. His trade was similarly decapitated when France's d'Allarde Law (1791) abolished the already weakened guild system.¹⁰⁹ Along with many other trade organizations, the Parisian community of glove, purse, and belt makers and perfumers was dissolved and their trade was thrown open. Less than a decade later, high-end perfumery shops were once again opening up in the French capital.¹¹⁰ Fargeon was able to evade a death sentence imposed for his close connections to the aristocracy and eventually returned to the luxury trade, but he was unable to rebuild his fortune before his death in 1820.¹¹¹ His place would be usurped by new and eager entrants to the trade.

In 1807 Paris was home to some 139 perfumeries, a number that remained stable until the 1830s;¹¹² many more of them focused exclusively on fragrances. In 1810 a Napoleonic ordinance required all manufacturers of products for internal consumption to specify their ingredients. In efforts to keep recipes secret, most perfumers gave up producing scented waters; as a result, the “spheres of perfumery and health increasingly diverged” in these years.¹¹³ In the same year, the market for perfumes and other beauty products would be worth nearly two million francs, while Fargeon’s property in Suresnes, a century and a half later, was itself acquired by another famous perfumer, François Coty, who made it his home and installed his factory, Cité des Parfums, there in 1904. Coty’s perfume complex soon attracted other perfumers, and within a short period of time the little town of Suresnes became the world capital of the wholesale perfume industry.¹¹⁴

By this time other entrants to this luxury trade appeared at opposite ends of the European continent and, eventually, the opposite side of the Atlantic. A substantial perfume industry had simultaneously developed in London during the eighteenth century to serve both the British aristocracy and its affluent middle class. The influence of the English industry only grew during the prolonged period of hostilities between Britain and revolutionary France. With French ports blocked, the English trade achieved a distinct advantage and English perfumers briefly dominated world markets until the 1820s.¹¹⁵ Key producers included Eugene Rimmel, the son of a French perfumer, who opened his own business in London in 1834. Responsible for innovative products such as perfumed cushions and non-toxic mascara, Rimmel concentrated on building a brand that conveyed “the attribute of prestige and quality.”¹¹⁶ He was also one of the first in his trade to produce illustrated mail-order catalogs. Furthermore, labels for his products were designed by artists, and his advertisements appeared in theater programs. In many respects his published history of perfume can be considered part of his innovative publicity campaign. By the 1870s Rimmel sold his products out of eight shops in almost as many countries. His main outlets in London, Paris, and Nice were eventually supplemented by stores in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Italy.¹¹⁷ While French perfumers also traded throughout the Continent, by this time British producers were exporting their fragrances around the world to India, China, and Australia.

At the same time that French perfumers were active in the British scent industry, they were equally responsible for the emergence of a scent trade in Russia. In 1864 Henri Brocard, another son of a French perfumer, opened

a business in Moscow with his wife to manufacture soap and perfume. Expanding both his line of products and his markets, Brocard sold his wares in Russia's major cities and eventually supplied the Russian and Spanish courts.¹¹⁸ Another Russian perfumery, Alphonse Rallet & Company, was founded in 1847 and had direct links to the French industry in Grasse. One of the firm's first directors was Edouard Beaux, whose son, Ernest, regarded as a creative genius in fragrances, joined the company in 1898. In that year the company, employing two thousand people and possessing a dozen branches in Russia, the Balkans, and Asia, was bought by Grasse perfumers Chiris, which already owned firms in Austria and Germany.¹¹⁹ Though very little research has been undertaken on these firms' records, business historian Geoffrey Jones has suggested that these Russian perfume manufacturers may already have been the world's largest at the close of the nineteenth century. In 1904, for example, Brocard had achieved sales of \$500,000, while Rallet in its many markets was achieving sales of \$10 million a decade later.¹²⁰ In comparison, Houbigant, one of the largest French firms for which figures exist, reported sales equivalent to \$200,000, while the largest London perfume company, Yardley, achieved sales of \$73,000 in 1906.¹²¹ Though expansion in the Russian market was hindered by the country's large and impoverished rural population, trade in this region eventually slowed with the outbreak of war in 1914 and ceased with the communist revolution in 1917. By this time the English firms were also dwarfed by the French trade. Associating their brands with the French metropolis, English perfumers merely consolidated Paris's status as the capital of fashion.

Toward a Global Industry

The expansion of the modern perfume industry coincided with increasing integration of international markets in what has been called the "first global economy."¹²² These developments included improved transport and communication, the freeing of trade, and the development of new technologies. Some were specific to perfumery, such as the process of solvent extraction. This was first observed in the Pennsylvania petroleum plants and in 1835 was subsequently applied to perfume manufacture by French chemist Pierre-Jean Robiquet, who used ether to extract the essential oils of the delicate jonquil flower.¹²³ German chemist Heinrich Hirzel first identified petroleum ether as the most suitable solvent for this method of ex-

tracting the flower's natural oils (which he patented in 1864), as it yielded products with little wax, albuminous substance, or coloring matter.¹²⁴ It also yielded more odiferous compounds, as the process was conducted at room temperature and therefore did not damage or change the flower's desirable constituents; low-temperature treatments also helped manufacturers save money during production. Technologies less specific to the perfumery trade, such as steam engines, were already introduced from the 1850s and, with the introduction of grinding machines and presses, allowed processes to be mechanized on a grander scale.¹²⁵ These changes inspired a boom in perfumery, transforming centers of the scent trade such as Grasse into industrial cities by the second half of the nineteenth century.¹²⁶ Grasse in particular helped to improve the range of materials available to French perfumers, with the construction of the Siagne Canal for irrigation purposes in the 1850s encouraging more successful planting in the region and the construction of railroads facilitating the transport of raw materials to the growers' main market in Paris. As a result, numbers of perfumers in Grasse increased from fifty-eight in 1846 to seventy-nine in 1866.¹²⁷ Local firm Roure-Bertrand Fils developed a new form of solvent extraction called concrete essence extraction, which provided perfumers with concentrated substances that were entirely soluble in alcohol. Another company whose work would transform the industry was the firm of Chiris, which had become the largest essential oil producer in Grasse by 1850, employing some five hundred workers.¹²⁸ As was clear from the company's early expansion into Russia, it was not hesitant to extend its business beyond geographical borders. Its search for natural ingredients similarly took it to France's colonies. Having purchased land in Algeria in the 1830s, Chiris was growing geraniums, orange trees, and eucalyptus, among other products, and processed these at a factory the company built in the French colony.¹²⁹ Over subsequent decades the company extended its supply channels to other African countries and as far as China and the Philippines; thus, it was instrumental in supplying French scent manufacturers with new products. The company also provided French firms with the skills required to pursue their activities successfully, having opened a perfumery school that would train many subsequent generations of perfumers.

Besides benefiting from colonialist ventures, which facilitated the search for ingredients in all corners of the world, perfumers' modes of working changed as a direct result of scientific endeavor. In particular, when organic chemists began to unravel the chemical structure of natural essences, the

production of artificial scents became a reality, starting with rose and vanilla. Besides permitting perfumers to produce synthetic equivalents of scents that could not be captured from their natural equivalents, these new methods also allowed for the creation of fragrances that did not exist in nature. Of the main perfume manufacturers active in the late nineteenth century, Houbigant and Guerlain are recognized as the first to have employed synthetic products in their Fougère Royale and Jicky scents in 1884 and 1889 respectively.¹³⁰ Unlike older perfumes, which tended to be duplicates of natural floral scents, these late nineteenth-century scents were abstract compositions, whose appearance seemed to mark the end of the single-note perfumes; Jicky was a three-note blend of citrus and lavender, with a middle note of spices, including sandalwood, over a musk, amber, and civet base note. New chemical and extraction methods led to the production of an increasingly broad range of scents in the 1890s. These were then applied on an industrial scale in 1898 when Leon Chiris built a large extraction factory that replaced the old enfleurage method once common to Grasse.¹³¹ Other firms began to move their manufacturing plants to cheaper locations outside of Paris. Chiris and other companies also built distillation and extraction units in far-flung locations such as Madagascar, Comoros, and Morocco in order to obtain products that met their new quality requirements; some of these facilities continue to operate today.¹³²

Fashion and Fragrance

It is with French perfumer Paul Poiret (1879–1943) that the now familiar concept of the couturier fragrance lies. Despite the gradual move of perfume production out of the French capital, the connections between the fragrance industry and Paris would align even more closely over the next decades. Having created Parfums Rosine, a company named after his daughter, and served an apprenticeship with the houses of both Worth and Doucet, Poiret set up his own fashion business with his wife, Denise, in 1904. In 1911 he expanded by opening an affiliate company to produce fragrances that were deemed fitting accessories for the fashions of his day.¹³³ With aristocratic customers to advertise his wears, Poiret created perfumes in collaboration with the perfumer-glassmaker Maurice Schaller and the celebrated perfumer Henri Alméras to resemble the free and fluid lines of his fashion designs. During the twenties such developments were common, with every couturier promoting his or her own perfume line. The most important of these was Gabrielle “Coco” Chanel, but also included Lanvin, Patou, Worth, as well as

other fashion houses as they progressively grew bigger and more famous.¹³⁴ Unlike her predecessors, including Poiret, Chanel was the first who dared to move away from floral scents.¹³⁵

On her visits to Ernest Beaux in his laboratory in Grasse, where the perfumer relocated at the outset of the Russian Revolution, Chanel took an active interest in the manufacture of her most famous scent. When she had created seven or eight samples, she reputedly returned her focus to the fifth specimen, comprised of some eighty ingredients, including jasmine.¹³⁶ Atomizing her fitting rooms with the No. 5 scent, as legend has it, demand for the fragrance quickly grew. More important, rather than restrict sales to her exclusive shops, Chanel, like many other perfumers in the late nineteenth century, shifted the distribution of her fragrance to the Parisian department stores that had emerged in the 1850s. In her case, Les Galeries Lafayette, the largest department store in Paris, was soon carrying Chanel No. 5. Other outlets included Le Bon Marché (established in 1852), Les Galeries du Louvre (1855), and La Samaritaine (1870), each offering a range of perfumes at below ordinary retail prices.¹³⁷ The owner of Les Galeries Lafayette soon placed Chanel in contact with the Wertheimer brothers, Pierre and Paul, with whom the designer incorporated another company, Les Parfums Chanel, in 1924 in order to protect her couture interests. The businessmen took charge of production and distribution of the scent, made a fortune for Chanel, and even more for themselves. An indication of the scent's success was that this once subsidiary company bought out the fashion house in 1954.¹³⁸

Packaging and Bottles

From a practical perspective, glass containers are the best material in which to store perfume and essential oils, because the constituent materials of such vessels will not react with their liquid contents.¹³⁹ However, perfume bottles have developed considerably in the last hundred years alone and are regarded almost as essential to the fragrance trade as the scents themselves. According to François Coty, "Perfume needs to attract the eye as much as the nose."¹⁴⁰ This was particularly important when the products of various perfumers had to vie for the attention of consumers in crowded retail outlets. Ornate vessels had been used to store perfume since ancient times, and the care taken in choosing an appropriate container, whether for personal use or for religious rituals, is another example of how perfumes are not just smelled objects; they have a visual presence and often provoke a response as

a result of their packaging alone. This is perhaps best appreciated in museums such as the International Museum of Perfumery, opened in Grasse in 1980, as well as the Museum of Perfumery in Barcelona, where the visual side of the perfume industry is more obviously on display, primarily in the form of labels, bottles, posters, botanical specimens, and manuals, rather than their actual scents. While members of the industry regularly admire perfumes for the overall artistry they represent, this has been described as a “blind spot among consumers, who take the art of making perfume and its package for granted.”¹⁴¹

In ancient times the containers used to store perfumes and scented oils were very different from modern bottles but no less exquisite works of art. The proximity of the perfumers and glassmakers in certain neighborhoods suggests a link between these two professions.¹⁴² Containers came in a variety of materials, but the substance prized by ancient Egyptians was alabaster, and many such vessels have been uncovered in excavations.¹⁴³ Spoons for dispensing unguents and oils have also been unearthed, many in the shape of female figures. In terms of storage containers, there were also other fashions, such as one for “blue marble,” or anhydrite, while others were made of Egyptian faience,¹⁴⁴ bone, or wood. The most common containers were polychrome glass flasks, which have been found throughout the Mediterranean region. Corinthian balsamaria, or cosmetic jars, have also been unearthed in tombs and sepulchers throughout the Mediterranean basin, most having been replaced by Athenian perfume containers by the sixth century B.C.¹⁴⁵

Throughout the eighteenth century, when a modern perfume trade began to form, perfumers’ clients would still decant their scents into small pharmaceutical-style porcelain bottles that customers provided.¹⁴⁶ Scents for such personal containers were usually mixed especially for patrons. Since the 1750s, however, with the discovery of leaded crystal, which allowed for perfume bottles with gold and silver fittings, these vessels became as exclusive as their users.¹⁴⁷ Many were one-of-a-kind creations, purchased by wealthy customers, who transferred their favorite fragrances from generic bottles into ornamental works of art that decorated their dressing tables.¹⁴⁸ At the very least, perfumers’ own bottles were embellished with attractive labels. China containers, imported from England and Germany, also became more common in Europe during this period.¹⁴⁹

Bottle designs became central to some perfumers’ business strategies, particularly in creating brand identities. With production costs declining in the late nineteenth century, retail prices remained high as manufacturers

invested in “richly decorated boutiques” and eye-catching packaging that added symbolic value to products.¹⁵⁰ Bottles and labels were designed in the artistic styles of the day, and some firms even commissioned artists to design bottles. The leader in this sphere was François Coty, a relative newcomer to the French industry at the time. Born in Corsica, Coty became obsessed with the perfumery trade while working as a political secretary. He eventually changed careers, made a pilgrimage to Grasse, and affiliated with the firm of Antoine Chrisi, where he learned about floral scents along with their cultivation and extraction techniques. While the popularity of his perfumes was said to have been stimulated by a moment of anger when he dropped a bottle of his fragrance on the tiled floor of a Parisian department store, the subsequent growth of his firm relied very little on chance.¹⁵¹ When a particular concern with packaging led Coty to commission the Parisian jeweler René Lalique to design bottles for his new perfume lines, the bottles for his creations quickly began to cost more than their contents. In an effort to lower unit costs, Coty began to produce fragrances on a larger scale. This was achieved by developing scents that would be popular with all women, not just the wealthiest customers. Coty could then begin to produce greater volumes, which also led him in 1914 to build his own glass factory with the capacity to make one hundred thousand bottles a day. Unlike Poiret, the Guerlain and Coty firms were businesses that concentrated exclusively on the manufacture of perfumes, and strategies to stand apart from competitors became a priority. In the twentieth century the design of bottles was pronounced, and the name, which had previously been so prominent on earlier bottles, was reduced in size and incorporated into their eye-catching designs, as evident in Guerlain’s flacon for Coque d’Or.¹⁵² The incorporation of surface emblems, occasionally made of real gold or designed by known artists, added quality to these consumer products or helped some brands again achieve luxury status in an age when these products were being acquired by consumers of all class backgrounds (see chapter 5).¹⁵³ It would not be long, however, before other perfumers such as Coco Chanel would find existing perfume bottles “too old fashioned and too ‘Belle Époque,’”¹⁵⁴ the French designer eventually opting for a sharp and rectangular flacon, an adaptation of a bottle of men’s cologne, for her classic scent.¹⁵⁵

In contrast to the way that manufacturers such as Coty controlled every stage of production, French perfume houses generally took a “more passive approach to foreign markets until the turn of the century.”¹⁵⁶ Markets the size of America’s, however, could not be ignored for too long. Between 1905

and 1914, several French companies opened branches in New York, including Guerlain, Roger and Gallet, and Houbigant. Coty, not surprisingly, was also quick to respond to the lure of the American market. After sending his mother-in-law to investigate its potential, an American base was established, and by 1912 the firm opened an office in New York. Other leaders in the race to exploit new markets were recognized “outsiders,” such as the Jewish founder of Parfums Caron, who not only investigated early on the potential of South America’s rain forests to supply new ingredients but also sent his agents to sell in Latin American markets. After noting the champagne industry’s dependence on its foreign markets, he commenced sales in America in 1913.

Surprisingly, many of the luxury firms established in the early twentieth century increased their sales during periods that were otherwise not profitable for other industries. For example, Elizabeth Arden branched out from her base in New York in 1914 using borrowed money and opened a salon in July 1914, when others in the industry were bracing for war.¹⁵⁷ Shortly afterward, while traveling in France, she started to experiment with her own perfume line.¹⁵⁸ Her compatriot Helena Rubinstein may have opened more salons in these years, but from 1915 through 1920 Arden introduced the greatest number and diversity of preparations of any cosmetic manufacturer in the world.¹⁵⁹ Even in France during these years, the company’s branch was generating orders between twenty thousand and thirty thousand dollars annually. The first Arden factory there was set up within months of the First World War’s conclusion, her first salons in Paris and London opening in 1920.¹⁶⁰

The perfume and cosmetics trade during the interwar years was even brisker. The Grasse fragrance industry had reached its peak at this time, manufacturers having produced several hundred or thousands of tons of jasmine, rose, orange blossom, and violet. Its firms similarly led work on the development of essential oils and natural products, much of this field still being dominated by the Chiris firm. Many of these firms also began to expand outside Grasse and built annexes outside the Provençal city.¹⁶¹ Significant contributions also came from Germans and Swiss chemists and the companies that employed them.¹⁶² By 1925 American women were spending an estimated \$6 million daily on salons, hairdressers, and the purchase of beauty products. Coty’s American arm was leading the American market with total revenues of \$60 million in 1929, with the top five cosmetic firms alone generating more than \$10 million annually.¹⁶³ From its domestic wholesale division, Arden, not unlike a dozen other leading beauty firms, was grossing over \$2 million annually. By the Great Depression its wholesale division was

grossing more than \$4 million annually and the firm's European operations were almost as profitable as its American one.¹⁶⁴ From 1928 to the end of 1929, the volume of goods traded in the beauty industry grew by 50 percent. Convinced that the public's demand for her products increased "the more they chew their fingernails, wrinkle their brows, and pull their hair," Arden, like her closest competitors, invested in even more lavish premises in New York's Fifth Avenue and opened outlets in Los Angeles, Palm Springs, and Miami Beach.¹⁶⁵ The success of the beauty industry in even the hardest times led the United States Congress to propose a 10 percent luxury tax on the unusually resilient cosmetic industry.¹⁶⁶

It was during these otherwise stagnant economic years that the Wertheimers had started production of Chanel No. 5 in America, and it soon conquered the wartime market.¹⁶⁷ Despite such success, this period also witnessed the end of Paris's domination of the American high-fashion market, with many New York designers rivaling Chanel's prominence. Unlike the French firms, which lacked either the resources or inclination to market their products, the American companies more effectively expanded on Coty's dream of creating a mass market for perfumes. Radio and cinema now allowed these beauty merchants to reach a much wider audience. The Austrian mountaineer and author Heinrich Harrar, for example, famously claimed in his book *Seven Years in Tibet* that it was possible to buy Arden's products in Lhasa, which made her as well known as Singer sewing machines and Coca-Cola.¹⁶⁸ Using television to develop brands, companies like Max Factor and Estée Lauder in subsequent years produced less expensively packaged products, which consumers purchased in drug stores rather than department stores and applied more lavishly on a daily basis.

While war allowed some American perfume companies to fight their way to the top of the perfume industry, it brought the local Grasse industry to a standstill, because its firms were deprived of exotic supplies and relations with foreign clients were significantly disrupted.¹⁶⁹ In addition, many chemists had fled the Nazi-occupied territories for the security of America, where their skills were equally appreciated. At the conclusion of hostilities, the smaller family-owned firms in Grasse lacked the capital to invest in new suppliers and technologies. The emerging American firms, in contrast, were now in a position to compete on the world stage with the industry's former leaders. In 1956 the Grasse basin still housed thirty-six perfume firms and employed fifteen hundred salaried workers in the industry.¹⁷⁰ Unlike in the past, the principal process employed in the creation of fragrances was

hemisynthesis, or the creation of scents that are not always found in nature, thereby broadening the perfumer's palette of fragrances. Many firms began to concentrate on the more profitable task of scent formulation rather than transforming raw flowers into essential oils. Given changes in production methods, however, other international firms found themselves more suited to this particular field.

A new cohort of firms with the required links to the petrochemical industry would lead to the development of new synthetic fragrances in the postwar era. Though their names were not nearly as well known as the fragrances they manufactured, global companies, including International Flavors and Fragrances (IFF), would become major players in the industry. IFF had its origins in a small firm created in the 1930s by Arnold Louis van Amerigen, a Dutchman who had immigrated to America in 1917.¹⁷¹ He set up his own firm in New York and merged his company with that of his original Dutch employer, Polak and Schwarz, in 1958,¹⁷² with sales totaling \$28.4 million.¹⁷³ By 1963 the company, now under the presidency of Henry Walter, Amerigen's trusted adviser, reported sales of \$47 million, of which perfumery accounted for \$32.5 million, making it the single largest supplier firm to the fragrance industry.¹⁷⁴ Another American firm, Universal Oil Products, also diversified into the synthetic fragrance business and in 1967 acquired the influential Chiris business of Grasse. Swiss chemical and pharmaceutical companies also maneuvered for increased shares in this lucrative market. These included Firmenich and Givaudan, the latter having been acquired by Hoffman La Roche in 1963.¹⁷⁵ While intensifying pressure on the remaining independent Grasse perfume businesses, these new businesses, "unbeknownst to consumers," assumed an increasingly important role in the creation of fragrances.¹⁷⁶ Dependent on oil-based ingredients, the perfume industry's Arabian heritage was again apparent and developed an associated vulnerability, as was demonstrated during the oil crisis of the 1970s, when the price of raw materials quadrupled.

Despite such challenges, perfume companies are global firms and the scent trade continues to expand. For example, it was argued in the 1980s that "never before in history have so many products made use of fragrance," with scents being incorporated into vinyl chairs, rubber tires, furniture polishes, and toys.¹⁷⁷ Most of these scents, like perfumes, were created by the large supplier houses. The American industry at this time was only 20 percent concerned with pure perfumes, 80 percent of revenues having been derived from perfumed products.¹⁷⁸ This has only expanded in the most recent decades, with

sales at IFF alone surpassing \$1 billion in 1993.¹⁷⁹ Today, the Grasse basin is still home to sixty-five flavor and fragrance firms, employing thirty-five hundred salaried workers, but 50 percent of sales now comes from food flavorings.¹⁸⁰ No longer employing the same techniques, the industry employs hydrolytic enzymes that completely deconstruct and digest raw plant material and, while reducing the cost price, allow for the production of natural oils that are even closer to the original plants' fragrances.¹⁸¹ The craze for biotechnology is also important to the perfume industry, where genetic engineering may help manufacturers render natural oils more marked or powerful.

Aromatherapy, Environmental Fragrancing, and Perfume-Free Zones

Some histories regard the rise in aromatherapy as the most recent and apparent link in "an unbroken chain of practices which originated in ancient civilizations such as the Egyptian."¹⁸² The mere "antiquity" of these practices is as much a part of therapy today as it was to people in the ancient world, who often looked to their ancestors for guidance.¹⁸³ The germicidal strength of synthetic oils was identified in the late nineteenth century and surmised to have been the reason behind a lower rate of cholera and tuberculosis among perfumery workers in Grasse at this time.¹⁸⁴ Although the town's chemists would herald a new age of scientific perfumery, these investigations spurred the revival of older forms of botanical therapy. An entirely new area of therapeutics, based on the use of essential oils, was also developed in France during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Aromatherapy involves investigating the effects of essential oils on the physical and mental processes. The use of essential oils for medicinal purposes has been around since antiquity, but its first appearance in the modern scientific literature was an 1875 report by W. S. Watson in *The Medical Press and Circular*, where Watson stressed the exhilarating effect of odors on the mentally ill.¹⁸⁵ It is with the work of Grasse-based chemist René-Maurice Gattefossé (1881–1950) that these ideas were developed much further as aromatherapy. A cosmetic chemist, Gattefossé burned the skin on his arm during an explosion in his workshop as he attempted to blend a new perfume.¹⁸⁶ On plunging his arm into the nearest cool liquid, which happened to be lavender oil, Gattefossé noted both rapid pain relief and a subsequent quick recovery. So convinced was he of the essential oil's ameliorative effects, he spent the next fifty years studying the properties of such oils, which were

said to be particularly efficacious in the treatment of dermatitis and proved to be natural antibiotics. He published his findings in 1928 in a book titled *Aromatherapie*, thus coining the term.

These ideas enjoyed an early period of florescence in France before the Second World War but spread rapidly to other countries in the West during the 1970s alongside growing interest and support for alternative therapies.¹⁸⁷ For many years the leading European exponent of aromatherapy was Marguerite Maury, who, with her husband, both “championed and organised courses in the therapy and was for many years the leading promoter of a more holistic and personalised form of aromatherapy.”¹⁸⁸ Besides arguing that massage was the best means of absorption, Maury resided for a time in England in the 1950s studying and developing aromatherapy products and bequeathing British aromatherapy with the spiritual undertones it still retains.¹⁸⁹ Her own book, *Le Capital Jeunesse*, appeared in France in 1961, was translated into English as *The Guide to Aromatherapy* (1964), and simultaneously revived some ancient traditional philosophies of medicine. Other popularizers of the practice included Dr. Paolo Rovesti in Milan and a colleague of Gattefossé, a Monsieur Godissart, who began an aromatherapy clinic in Los Angeles in the United States in the 1930s. Today it is rare for a chemist or druggist not to stock these perfumed products. Burned or rubbed into the skin, scented oils are regularly used for their reputed beneficial effects “on the body, mind and spirit.”¹⁹⁰ While the postmodern interest in such fragrant practices is arguably also evidence of contemporary tendencies to “reodorize” our stench-free, postindustrial environments, it is equally interpreted as another indication of contemporary society’s renewed quest for spiritual and sensual fulfillment.

An appreciation of scent’s benefits is of course not restricted to the West. In 1980s Japan “the era of perfume dynamics” arrived with research suggesting that workers were more efficient and experienced reduced levels of stress when exposed to certain scents.¹⁹¹ Peppermint, for example, was used by employers to invigorate and refresh employees, especially in the afternoons, when energy levels decline. Aroma generation facilities have since become more common and have been designed into several construction projects in Japan, but these are not entirely new to a country that has a long tradition of incorporating incense into social rituals. It is estimated that approximately 40 percent of Japanese households use incense every day, either for ritual, masking smells, or even play.¹⁹²

Responses to fragrances within the workplace have not always been positive, as became especially apparent after IFF’s essence plant in Zaandam, in

the Netherlands, was closed in 1967 and converted into a technical school. Those who occupied the building recalled how fragrances that appeared to have penetrated its concrete structure following years of in-house scent manufacture continued to dominate the site. Initially regarded as little more than a novelty, the ever present aroma progressively generated numerous complaints among staff and pupils in the 1970s and 1980s and was linked with headaches and other illnesses. As a result the potential hazards it posed were officially investigated by the region's engineering bureau. Those undertaking the investigation concluded that the air was indeed perfumed and a little dry but suggested that this did not pose any serious dangers.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, the episode reiterates how traditional views that associated pleasant smells with health have been overturned in the last decades of the twentieth century. Nor is it mere coincidence that this change coincides with the rise of a global scent industry that not only brought the luxury of perfumes within reach of ordinary consumers but also witnessed the introduction of fragrances into ordinary household objects as well as their wider seepage into public spaces.

Doubts and fears about the benefits of an increasingly fragrant society have not dissipated. In the decade since environmental fragrancing technology appeared, increasing numbers of individuals and groups have tried to ban perfumes in public places with what could be described as religious zeal. In early 1992 a Massachusetts state legislator even introduced a bill to ban the use of perfumes to "covertly control the behavior of others." Appropriately, the bill was sponsored by the Citizen Commission on Human Rights, an arm of the Church of Scientology. The legislation was targeted specifically at attempts to secretly or subliminally introduce aromas, scents, perfumes, or fragrances in business and public places. Years earlier a resident of New York successfully petitioned her state legislator to introduce a separate bill requiring all scent samples distributed in magazines and sold in the state of New York to be sealed. Since then, employees across North America have campaigned to have their workplaces designated "scent-free" zones (see chapter 6). Restaurants and state-owned buildings in cities that have already secured smoke-free spaces are now being encouraged to create "fragrance-free zones." Support groups for such campaigns argue that the "chemically hypersensitive" deserve to be legally represented as another disability or handicapped group and offered protection under existing laws. Otherwise, their members claim, without action they will be "unfairly driven from society" by those wearing scented personal products.¹⁹⁴

Conclusion

In the same way that public health concepts appear to have been inverted with recent claims that good smells are potentially unhealthy, the geography of the scent industry has also radically shifted over the centuries covered in this chapter. Most histories of perfume trace the origins of modern perfuming practices to either ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia. Prized ingredients traditionally followed technological practices into Europe from foreign lands, particularly the Arabian Peninsula. Over time, European production developed in a variety of settings, including private homes and workshops, as well as religious priories, and scents were gradually incorporated into a wide variety of cultural practices, progressively dominating social spaces, initially churches and royal courts, but even early modern markets and households. Many scent ingredients that were once regarded as exotic and scarce, including myrrh, cinnamon, and the Damask rose, proliferated and were increasingly found in local shops and market stalls. These once rare fragrances thus became everyday, “real-world smells,” as suggested by literary historian Holly Dugan. In the case of rose water, Dugan has even demonstrated how an imported perfume “came to define emerging English identity through olfaction” during the reign of Henry VIII.¹⁹⁵ In such cases the exotic was ultimately domesticated.

By this time perfumery had even become a household craft in many English households. The global trade was likewise firmly rooted in Europe, first in Italy, then gradually shifting westward into France by the eighteenth century. While the products of the Global South continued to be desired and appropriated by merchants and colonizers, and occasionally, as in the case of the Damask rose, domesticated, the inhabitants of the foreign territories that supplied these luxuries were deemed less alluring and frequently marked as definitively different from Europeans. Interestingly, such harsh judgments were regularly made by relying on smell alone. The next chapter explores the controversial relationship between race and odor by examining the role of scents in the construction of “natural” divisions and hierarchies of humankind.

3

Odorous Others

Race and Smell

As outlined in chapter 1, throughout human history scents have often functioned to unite people with their deities and other worshipers in religious rituals. Yet smells have also effectively divided populations and were regularly invoked to oppress certain groups. The Roman concern with “foreign stench” was only one of many ancient and openly expressed anxieties associated with the perceived corruption caused by outsiders.¹ As scent began to play a less important role in modern European society, Western travelers remained aware of traditional, “archaic” beliefs in rural and traditional communities, which either prioritized smell or produced unfamiliar aromas. Anthropologists also became more sensitive to and interested in the place occupied by smell in non-Western cultures. This was not always with the intention of elevating the sense of smell, as Classen, Howes, and Synnott have argued, but rather as part of strategies to devalue societies whose members continued to rely on scent to structure their daily lives and orient themselves in the wider world. In most cases the central role of smell among “primitive” peoples was interpreted as “one more proof of their lower status on the evolutionary scale of civilization.”² Different odors also marked one out as distinct. Writers emphasizing the relative nature of smell preference also regularly drew on racial examples, often regarding “less civilized” outsiders as being more tolerant of dirt and decay. Notions of cleanliness and uncleanliness, as British anthropologist Mary Douglas observes, “did not evolve primarily for their efficacy to prevent disease, but rather for their role in producing cultural meaning.”³ To characterize a group of people as foul-smelling was to “render it repellent at a very basic physical and emotional level, not simply at a cognitive level.”⁴

In general, non-Western societies have regularly been denigrated as malodorous. Aroma has been an important element in the cultural construction of this difference and inequality. In contrast with the transitory reek associated with the natural cycle of renewal and decay, the cultural embeddedness of racial scents underscores the absoluteness of social boundaries.⁵ The permanence implied by such value judgments has historically stimulated spatial and social exclusion and minimized contact with groups that threatened contamination. Even so, acceptance did not follow the symbolic and material fumigation of immigrants, processes that are intended literally to transform them into “odourless and modern entit[ies].”⁶ While such narratives have become commonplace in a globalized world and are replayed with each new wave of immigration and migration, material sensations regularly appeared in early travel literature when Westerners (in most cases) first confronted culturally diverse others. At such moments of initial contact, fragrance was associated with markets—food, in particular—and was subsequently transferred to the people themselves. In those cases where immigrants entered a new culture, it was with such scents that migrants were associated. Integration therefore often involved eradicating odors, whether or not deemed harmful by official gatekeepers, such as immigration officers. However, as most immigrants would quickly learn, the smells of difference were not easily eliminated; such associations were often so embedded that integration was not always the logical conclusion of fumigation processes.⁷ This has prompted some scholars to suggest that perceived stench is simply part of broader strategies employed by those who wish to avoid outsiders.⁸ Despite scientific challenge, the concept of racial odors persists, even in modern academic studies of scents and smell, and not only those that deal with physiological issues.⁹ This chapter draws out examples of this concept from a few existing historical studies focusing on the Jews, Chinese, and Irish, groups that previously have been conferred moral identities based on the odors they allegedly emitted. It then concentrates on blacks and the concept of race, a subject that has rapidly assumed a place at the forefront of sensory history.¹⁰ In the case of black Americans, reference to bad smell was not only used to cast aspersions on a racial group but was also integral to the manufacture of racist ideology. Smell, and not just sight, was central to the construction of racial difference.

Compared to such simplistic attempts to label persons as either foul or fragrant, the meanings of scents in other cultures appear remarkably rich. The chapter therefore concludes by examining some of the pioneering anthropological work that has been undertaken on the cultural role of smell in certain

non-Western societies. Though often incorporating racist assumptions,¹¹ the work of early anthropologists “is nonetheless rich in sensuous ethnographic detail.”¹² Drawing on studies from isolated communities in South America and Africa, this chapter also presents some work by contemporary anthropologists who, rather than reinforce earlier prejudices, have charted some of the world’s most complex osmologies. These vary from Andaman Islanders’ use of scent to reckon time and, as is prevalent in Western cultures, the ascription of stench to individuals in ways that hinder or even prohibit social interaction among groups within the same culture. Previously regarded as “mere ‘picturesque’ details that belonged more in travelogues than in serious anthropological literature,” or attributes that were lost when certain Third World cultures were “civilized” and “deodorized,” these studies serve to remind us of the disparate roles that odors continue to play in society.¹³ At the very least, these examples effectively demonstrate different ways of conceptualizing aromas and, simultaneously, challenge older, historic notions of smell refinement among only certain groups, usually white, upper-class Europeans. One might also argue that there are cultures outside the Global North that are “olfactorily richer.” Either way, historians of all senses, including smell, should be encouraged to look outside Western cultures where olfaction is relegated to secondary status in order to consider alternative smell models and classifications.

Aromatic Travelogues

Ancient thinkers often compared sense perception in animals with that in humans. Early Greek philosophers like Aristotle admired animals for their instinctive cleverness, and their work developed a theme of animal “wisdom,” based on the possession of keen senses. An agenda simultaneously existed in establishing clear boundaries between “animal” and “human” nature in order to uphold an ideology of natural order in which the human stood at the pinnacle.¹⁴ Just as the human anatomy was regarded to be an improved version of lesser animals, ancient authors might emphasize the superiority of the sensory abilities of certain animals compared with humans, but the intelligence of animals was effectively limited to their sensory cognition. Humans, on the other hand, added the valuable component of rational thinking to knowledge gained through the senses. The sophistication of their rational mind, in turn, allowed humans to compensate for weaker sensory capabilities.

Disorientation, however, always led humans to rely on their senses, and this was most commonly experienced when people uprooted themselves

from stable home environments and traveled. Smells encountered on pilgrimage may have been one such early instance when individuals regularly encountered foreign smells. European Christians who made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, however, were very different from subsequent generations of travelers: the former visited distant places in order to be physically immersed in the sites of the Bible, often hoping to add to the profundity of the experience through touch, sight, and smell.¹⁵ The experience of hajj similarly involves traveling great distances and “staying long enough to see, smell, touch, hear and taste” holy Mecca (see chapter 1).¹⁶ Subsequent generations of travelers on secular pilgrimages were less likely to regard the material sensations endured on their journeys as similarly enlightening.

The strangeness or otherness of a foreign country is something that travel writing strives to render, usually by evoking unfamiliar sensory narratives.¹⁷ At the very least it makes places easier to remember.¹⁸ According to Britain’s best-known Edwardian otolaryngologist, Dan McKenzie, “The East is just a smell! It begins at Port Said and continued until one reached San Francisco. Few forgot the bazaar smells of India, the atmosphere of China. The first whiff of a Tibetan monastery, like that of an Eskimo hut, grips the throat, they say, like the air over a brewing vat.”¹⁹ As McKenzie’s olfactory impressions suggest, the composition of most travelogues encouraged authors to assemble similar toposmias, which located odors in particular places. While sensory experiences can be controlled by refusing to taste, smells continue to accumulate with each inhalation, unless travelers remain cocooned by the “sanitized, hygienic bubble” of an air-conditioned tour bus.²⁰ Of longer lineage is the tourist’s tendency to judge unfamiliar scents as unpleasant, a finding that relates to the more recent concept of habituation, whereby familiar smells are interpreted as pleasant.²¹ Moreover, a universal assumption made by travelers since ancient times is that one’s own social group is inodorate (without smell) while those encountered on distant journeys and recognized as foreign simply stink. Either way, the apportioning of an odor to a place, whether positive or negative, was an important component in terms of completing its character.²²

Those traveling to new continents, or simply leaving their localities, have regularly invoked the novel scents encountered on outings. Typical was Fred Kitchen’s journal of an agricultural laborer, *Brother to the Ox* (1940), which records that “the potatoes smelled good, but the Irishmen didn’t.”²³ In the eyes of travelers such as Kitchen, these “rural riffraff” were the equivalent of Gulliver’s humanlike Yahoos, who smelled of the excrement they threw so freely, making them at heart the “coarsest” and “most unteachable of brutes.”²⁴

Their stench was no minor trait, but an essential part of their identities. Like the Yahoos, the hordes stunk in the past, stink now, and would continue to be stinkers. So prepared were some to encounter these stenches that they were claimed to be noticed the very moment one crossed a border. For both Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) and Tobias Smollett (1721–1771), smell defined the environments encountered outside England and even threatened their very lives when abroad.²⁵ Smells also tended to intensify during particular periods, such as when relations between countries were particularly poor,²⁶ or simply the farther one moved away from one's homeland.

Differences between Europeans were regularly defined in terms of scent. Desiderius Erasmus, the Dutch Renaissance humanist, like many Western tourists in the twentieth century, had little difficulty distinguishing himself from stinking foreigners—in this case the English—when he entered their homes: “The floors are made of clay, and covered with marsh rushes, constantly piled on one another, so that the bottom layer remains sometimes for twenty years incubating spittle, vomit, the urine of dogs and men, the dregs of beer, the remains of fish, and other nameless filth. From this an exhalation rises to the heavens, which seems to me most unhealthy.” Although the Dutch appear to have been exceptional at the time Erasmus was writing and would develop a reputation for “excessive neatness” in the seventeenth century,²⁷ similar reports were compiled by English writers. Moreover, one did not have to travel far from home in order to find “grimier, heathen folk.”²⁸ For example, an English gentleman visiting Edinburgh in 1636 found the smells of the city so obnoxious that they affected his sense of taste throughout his stay. According to this native of Cheshire, “The sluttishness and nastiness of this people is such [that] . . . their houses, and halls, and kitchens, have such a noisome taste, a savour, and that so strong, as it doth offend you so soon as you come within their wall.”²⁹ More than a century later, Johnson's Scottish friend, biographer, and fellow traveler James Boswell repeated similar observations, claiming that “walking the streets of Edinburgh at night was pretty perilous, and a good deal odiferous.”³⁰ Although Italian cleanliness during the Renaissance period has been described as a “cultural export,”³¹ American author Mark Twain evaluated Italy in similarly negative terms, claiming in 1869 that the locals “crowd you—infest you—swarm about you, and sweat and smell offensively.”³² During the First World War, and decades before claiming master race status, Germans even claimed to be able to identify their opponents across no-man's-land by smell.³³ Moreover, such comments were not reserved for enemies or invading armies alone. Predictably, perhaps, the English during the Second World War expressed surprise that the olfactory

sense of the French was not as sensitive as their own, as evidenced by the “primitive” odors that pervaded the country, including farm dunghills as well as the mansions of the rich, which retained their cesspools. As a result of these “pools of corruption,” the English-speaking army authorities had to send in a peculiar gasoline engine known to the Americans as “Stinking Willie.”³⁴ If anything, the latter description is perhaps less usual, as the trend has been toward “portraying the countryside in more favourable terms than the city” (see chapter 6).³⁵ However, at this time such distinctions were unnecessary, as these commentaries were “badges of patriotic bravura . . . with which to taunt [your] enemies.”³⁶ “To be clean,” as historian Simon Schama has argued of the seventeenth-century Dutch, “was to be patriotic, vigilant in the defense of one’s homeland, hometown and home against invading polluters and polluted invaders.”³⁷ In most cases the most dangerous external threats tended to be immigrants and other representatives of “alien cultures.”³⁸

Consequently, the most negative, or foul, sensory epithets tended to be reserved for the developing world. Perhaps not surprisingly, the recurring image in travel writing and journalism of the “Third World” is the open sewer. In contrast to the West, where sewage is hidden and contained below the ground, this motif “viscerally evokes the dangerous disorder of things out of place” in the developing world;³⁹ the implication here is that only when people cease to live in such a putrid and disgusting environment will they become more refined. As such, descriptions of Indians as dirty children, whether taken from issues of the *Sanitary Record*, novels, or the reports of imperial officers, suggest that reform in British colonies, for example, was dependent on the implementation of a large-scale colonial toilet-training program. Alternatively, as Anne McClintock has argued, the principal line of demarcation between colony and metropole was soap.⁴⁰ It was further noted that all countries occupying a corresponding level of civilization manifested the same instinctive aversions, but only some initiated change, itself a sign of national superiority. For example, according to an early twentieth-century smell text, the populations of most urban environments endured filth, but “it [had] been left to the practical genius of the English race to give effect to the natural repugnance and to translate its urgings into practice.”⁴¹ Refinement supposedly led to increased delicacy of the senses, and, besides denigrating the “less civilized,” nations have competed in their claims to have reached the height of global sophistication through the implementation of increasingly comprehensive hygiene programs (see chapter 6). More usually, however, locations outside Europe and North America have been regularly summed up since colonial times as little more than “stinking eyesores.”⁴²

Similarly offensive and odiferous descriptions by Eastern observers offered a counterbalance to Western discrimination. In the first English edition of the *Arabian Nights*, for example, Europeans are said to eat “evil-smelling, putrescent things,” such as cheese, butter, and game, and, despite having an ablution poured over their heads shortly after birth, rarely wash “for the rest of their lives.”⁴³ The Japanese also found Europeans and, indeed, other Asian peoples, including the Chinese, to be dirty. Interestingly, third-century Chinese writers did not return the compliment, but actually distinguished the Japanese for their “habits of personal cleanliness.”⁴⁴ The work of anthropologists has revealed that Europeans continued to be classified as odorous by non-Western peoples throughout the twentieth century due to their reputations for not washing.⁴⁵ More likely, scents discerned on such encounters were the result of differences in diet.

You Are What You Eat

If the history of many cities has been envisioned in terms of smell (see chapter 6), the history of food has been written largely as the history of taste. Related histories have explored the mouth’s gustatory role in the dining experience, often at the expense of the nose and the other senses. One of the main historians to emphasize the connection between smell and food is Benjamin Wurgaft. Smell, he reminds us, plays an integral role in choosing or rejecting what ultimately goes into the mouth. Consequently, these “smell samples” can characterize a nation as much as eating its cuisine. A British diplomat in late-nineteenth-century Japan, for instance, could therefore comment on the food of his host nation, despite not ingesting any, due to the awful smells he encountered.⁴⁶ His revulsion was magnified because the stench invaded or penetrated his body through inhalation. Smell, like hearing, is a channel of vulnerability, whereby one often experiences something involuntarily. Full control of the senses, as Wurgaft reminds us, therefore remains a fantasy.⁴⁷

The history of racism contains many similar complaints to that of Wurgaft’s aforementioned British diplomat. As demonstrated already, prejudice is fueled by aroma-based slurs, most often about the way a particular ethnic group’s food smells. While historian Mark Jenner’s work has addressed the conflation of garlic-hating and xenophobia, which likely intensified in England during the eighteenth century, other foods were equally employed to denigrate foreigners.⁴⁸ Wurgaft’s study conveys numerous examples; Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, for instance, hated the smell of Chairman Mao’s pork skins in black bean sauce and expressed his views during a meeting

between the leaders of the twentieth century's largest communist regimes. Clearly, "diplomatic intensions stood no chance against a smell's ability to affront."⁴⁹ The smell of food therefore "informed in very powerful ways constructions of race and the language and politics of racism."⁵⁰

To smell bad or wrong implied that foreigners had been fed incorrectly. Taken to the extreme, it could even suggest barbarity. Indeed, immigrant groups in the past were regularly identified by the food smells they emitted. This was depicted in American author Jeffrey Eugenides's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, *Middlesex* (2002), in which Greek steerage passenger Desdemona sails to Ellis Island, New York, in the 1920s. While onboard, like many who had made the crossing in reality, Desdemona could distinguish the seafood eaters from those who ate particular spices, or as the narrator suggests, "In those days you could identify a person's nationality by smell. Lying on her back with eyes closed, Desdemona could detect the telltale oniony aroma of a Hungarian woman on her right, and the raw-meat smell of an Armenian on her left. (And they, in turn, could peg Desdemona as a Hellene by her aroma of garlic and yogurt.)"⁵¹ Most immigrants carried these odors to their New World communities. Often it was their foods that mitigated a sense of displacement and were a lingering reminder of a country left behind, perhaps permanently;⁵² the smell of food could as easily transport individuals back home as mark them as outsiders. The arrival in new communities might therefore involve "struggles around memory, identity construction and creating a sense of belonging."⁵³ Some groups attempted to shed these identifying scents or cloak them through elaborate hygiene rituals. For émigrés to North America, retaining the smell of the Old World was interpreted as evidence that one was not yet fully American. Nevertheless, as Wurgaft suggests, in this melting pot, "each element of the stew still bore a trace of its national origin."⁵⁴ Conversely, Americans were not thought to harbor any scent residue but simply had the desire not to carry the odor of their first home.

Associating newcomers with the smell of food, though often intended to denigrate specific groups, also became the realist's explanation for olfactory difference.⁵⁵ In the case of Jews, their characteristic fragrance was said to be caused by an excess of onion and garlic in their diet, not some intrinsic biological trait. Nevertheless, such scents quickly became literary motifs that were integrated into folk stories and popular writings and used, for example, to distinguish rural from urban dwellers. Although racist literature is full of such scent slander, the most interesting comments come from authors who have addressed immigrants,⁵⁶ or often their own, desire to conceal these telltale

ethnic traces and even their association with other new arrivals. For example, the *Maimie Papers*, a collection of letters from a Jewish ex-prostitute, captures these olfactory fears and demonstrates how prejudices were perpetuated by immigrants themselves.

Writing from Philadelphia to a friend in 1911, Maimie Pinzer referred specifically to the overpowering infusion of garlic, onions, and cabbage wafting from the kitchen of her “plebian” Jewish landlords into her room.⁵⁶ Maimie’s focus on the contaminating power of aroma in her correspondence reflects a common and internalized form of racism, often strongest in the children of immigrants. Although lonely, Maimie preferred her personal privacy over communal living with her friendly, lower-class Jewish landlords and ended her contamination fears by eventually moving to another apartment. Among some newcomers this sort of reaction might have translated into an active avoidance of immigrant communities and their distinct ethnic smellscape. Fearful of physical contagion, Maimie, like so many migrants past and present, longed to rise above her fellow émigrés by distancing herself from their shared cultural tradition. As so often, this was represented primarily through food, or at least its smell. Presumably having encountered disparaging comments as a result of the scents she carried, Maimie subsequently internalized the idea of a bad Jewish odor, which, though medieval in its origins (as will be seen in the next section of this chapter), remained firmly rooted in the twentieth-century popular imagination.

Maimie’s fears were not just those of a historically persecuted Jewish people. There are similar tales of aroma avoidance in literature pertaining to other immigrant groups. For example, S. Mitra Kalita, journalist and author of *Suburban Sahibs* (2003), articulates a similar olfactory fear in her descriptions of growing up in a north Indian family in New Jersey. Before her non-Indian friends would come over to play, Kalita attempted to conceal the “Indian Food Smell” (or IFS) by spraying air freshener throughout her home.⁵⁷ As Wurgaft reminds us, the suburban space inhabited by Kalita and her family was a carefully controlled scent environment, its deodorized nature contrasting with the odorous, fragrant, and shared spaces of the city tenements.⁵⁸ Such aroma anxieties recur in various immigrant biographies and always stand out, given the elaborate nature of chosen purification rituals.

Despite even the most elaborate deodorization processes, Western urban environments continue to carry scents. While these are considered in detail in chapter 6, for the present purposes it is important to consider that every effort by an immigrant to integrate into a new society or culture also distanced

them from a former one. Thus, rejection was not simply something that potentially came from a new community. This is particularly well illustrated by an anecdote from Paul Spikard's history of American immigration.⁵⁹ Spikard addresses the white community's efforts of "civilizing" Native American children in boarding schools and then returning them to their communities as outposts of "whiteness." In one such case a thirteen-year-old boy named Sun Elk left his home in New Mexico in 1883 and attended the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania. After seven years of wearing "white man's clothes," eating "white man's food," attending "white man's churches," and learning "white man's talk," he returned home. The tribal elders rejected Sun Elk as one of their group, because he had forgotten how to speak his first language. More important, he was recognized as alien to the tribe because he was considered to emit a "strange smell."⁶⁰ Like the young Peruvian man Manuel Córdova-Rios, captured by an Amazonian tribe in the early twentieth century and discussed in a similar context by anthropologist Constance Classen,⁶¹ Sun Elk had become "attuned" to the olfactory traits of his new hosts. "Olfactory reversal" in such cases essentially required a ritual akin to baptism,⁶² through which the excluded were symbolically reborn and literally anointed anew with their respective group scents.

Foetor Judaicus

The fact that such scent prejudices were regularly internalized by both the educated and uneducated suggests their history is deeply embedded. While any outsider would have suffered abuse similar to that of many twentieth-century immigrants to America, some of the earliest references to ethnically distinct smells are those of the Jew. As punishment for their reputed crime against Jesus, it was said that Jewish people emitted a particularly rank stench, akin to that of the devil.⁶³ The belief that Jewish bodies exuded a foul odor, or *foetor Judaicus*, was commonly accepted among medieval Europeans of both the literate elites and lower orders. It is a particularly poignant example of the way smell was used to register distaste for a racial group whose "evil" traits were assumed to relate to actual physical characteristics (in this case the nose).

The historian Eric Zaphran has traced these ideas back to the medieval Arabic scholar Abu Ma'shar, who wrote about the saturnine personality. In particular, it was the Jewish people's association with the astrological sign of the god Saturn that reputedly gave them a fetid odor. Such references also extend back to the Roman period, although Semitic scent references

are associated more often with religious practices distinct to Jews, such as fasting. The Roman poet Martial, for example, referred to the stink of “the breath of fasting Sabbatarian Jews.”⁶⁴ Later, Guido Bonatti—the celebrated Italian astrologer and adviser to the Holy Roman emperor—described this scent as “goatlike,” at once correlating Jews with the devil and developing an associated personality type. Like goats, Jews were regarded as filthy, but they were said to have become foul from not working, producing nothing, and scavenging from European Christian society,⁶⁵ a notion alien to England until the expulsion of 1290. This barrier between the two religious communities was regarded as one between barbarism and civilization but was not considered insurmountable. If a Jew were converted to Christianity, it was said, the Jewish stench transformed immediately into a fragrance sweeter than ambrosia.⁶⁶ The allegation that Jews sacrificed Christian children in order to employ their blood in Passover rites and rid them of their distinctive “fetid” odor has also been argued to have an English archetype.⁶⁷ Some even claimed that the aroma associated with Jews was a positive sign symbolizing devotion; smelling bad to mortals outside their faith, the devout at least smelled good to their God. There may occasionally have been more practical reasons for such perceived differences, as the daily washing of the genitalia was regarded as a Jewish custom and was not tolerated by medieval Christians (see chapter 1).⁶⁸

As older notions attributing foul odors to Jews gradually declined, many continued to reiterate views that the food and personal habits of Jews violated civilized standards. Jay Geller has explored these ideas in the context of nineteenth-century Germany. During this period Jews were evidently denigrated and depicted as primitive or base. Rather than emphasizing any heightened senses, however, they were merely said to stink and were situated at the bottom of any imagined scent hierarchies. For example, the author of an article on urban sewage systems in *Harper's Magazine* in 1885 pointed out that “cleanliness was a relative term; the ideas of a Polish Jew of the lower classes, of a New England housewife, and of a chemist are very different.”⁶⁹ Presumably, the order in which these were listed was also intended to highlight a readily understood hierarchy of cleanliness. Cleansing communities, on the other hand, could also easily translate into campaigns aimed at eliminating those associated with filth and corruption. Efforts to purify the social body of perceived “corrupt elements” plumbed new depths in Nazi Germany, with Adolf Hitler clearly articulating the perceived links between smell and racial pollution in *Mein Kampf*:

The cleanliness of [Jews], moral and otherwise, I must say, is a point in itself. By their very exterior you could tell that these were no lovers of water, and, to your distress, you often knew it with your eyes closed. Later I often grew sick to my stomach from the smell of these caftan-wearers . . .

All this could scarcely be called very attractive; but it became positively repulsive when, in addition to their physical uncleanness, you discovered the moral stains on this “chosen people.”⁷⁰

“Through his racist politics of smell,” writes Classen and her coauthors, “Hitler sought to mark Jews as undesirable and socially dangerous by projecting a stench onto them and associating this odour with physical and moral corruption.”⁷¹ This may be an extreme example, but one merely has to dip into the numerous histories of Semitic communities throughout Europe to locate variations on this theme.

T. M. Endelman’s *The Jews in Georgian England* (1979), for example, includes an anonymous Jewish source, reminiscent of Maimie Pinzer, who describes a typical heder, or one-roomed school, where poor Jewish children were taught to read elementary Hebrew. As with so many descriptions of a distinct ethnic group and its practices, the scene is perfumed to carry existing prejudices. In this particular heder, in a second-floor back room sat an elderly former laborer, “who, having a beard, was dignified with the high-sounding title of rabbi. Around this aged teacher, in such fetid chamber, with the thing called a *bed* in the corner, sat, or rather squatted, a number of ill-clad and, with but few exceptions, dirty children.”⁷² To portray London Jewry as “the most nasty and filthy people under the canopy of heaven” (as did one writer of the *St. James Chronicle* in 1804), to point out that “their skin [was] so impregnated with filth as to defy the powers of fuller’s soap” (as did William Kidd in his 1830s guidebook, *London and All Its Dangers*), was to grossly distort the fact that the poor could not be as “fastidious about cleanliness as the rich” (see chapter 5).⁷³ However, even the Romantic poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who was friendly with the Polish-born *maskil*, or scholar, Hyman Hurwitz and certainly no raving anti-Semite, recorded the following encounter:

Once I sat in a coach opposite a Jew—a symbol of old clothes’ bag—an Isaiah of Holywell Street. He would close the window; I opened it. He closed it again; upon which, in a very solemn tone, I said to him: “Son of Abraham! Thou smelliest; son of Isaac! Thou art offensive; son of Jacob! Thou stinkest foully. See the man on the moon! He is holding his nose at thee in the distance; doest thou think that I, sitting here, can endure it any longer?” My Jew was

astounded, opened the window forthwith himself, and said he was sorry, he did not know before I was so great a gentleman.

By the late nineteenth century the tone of British commentaries had not changed, given that Jews were frequently encountered in descriptions of the sweated trades of London's East End. The Parliamentary Select Committee investigating such occupations themselves regarded the immigrants as "generally very dirty and uncleanly in their habits." On a more positive note, and in the same breath, they were described to be "quick at learning, moral, frugal and thrifty, and inoffensive as citizens."⁷⁴ They were, after all, Europeans and often white. Gravitating to the small number of occupations that could be pursued at home or in makeshift backroom workshops, Jews were rarely visible enough for the general populace to contest such representations, except perhaps when congregating in shelters—places regarded as "unhealthy" and undesirable in helping attract foreigners to this country, an image that is still with us and regularly employed by writers and journalists for dramatic effect. Think only of the 2009 dawn police raids of "The Jungle," a Calais refugee camp, as a British population feared being overrun by immigrants whose impact on the nation was perhaps not only restricted to the economic costs of supporting these new families: the *Guardian's* correspondent on entering the improvised camp began her report with, "The first thing that hits you is the smell."⁷⁵

In early 1850s England, the poor were not always blamed for their unsanitary environment and were instead considered victims of civic oversight—unless, that is, you were a migrant, whose increased numbers seemed to coincide with a wave of deadly epidemics. John Snow, for example, noticeably dwelled on the respectability of the artisans in Golden Square, one of the worst slums in London, during the 1855 cholera outbreak.⁷⁶ The English poor were different, said to maintain a certain dignity in adversity, characteristics that were supposedly absent among others, including the Irish, the most important migrant group in Britain during the nineteenth century, having settled in all growing urban centers.⁷⁷ The size of their communities—the Irish-born approached one-fifth of the population of many northern towns—and the timing of their arrival also provide a compelling explanation of the prejudice that simultaneously materialized. Throughout the 1800s they are variously described as "dirty," "dreadful," "filthy," "foul," "wet," "uncivilised," wearing a "suit of tatters," and living in any available, if not the "worst," "foetid," "damp," "grimy," "greasy," or "reeking" "pig-hutch," "dog-hutch," "out-house," "cellar," "subterranean hole," "vault," or "stench," usually in some state of undress, if not snoring, with a calf or pig nearby.⁷⁸

Migrants may always have been seen as undesirable, but in the nineteenth century they became regarded as a burden on British society. Most found themselves entering the sorts of dystopian cities that were so vividly captured in contemporary novels and social commentaries, and this immediately and inexorably increased reactions against them. The late-nineteenth-century novels of Arthur Conan Doyle, for example, drew on Victorian convictions that London had become “a backwash of imperial detritus,” a “great cesspool into which all the idlers and loungers of the Empire are irresistibly drained.”⁷⁹ The French “apostle of the gutter,” Émile Zola (1840–1902), considerably elevated the “impoverished language of odors” by including descriptions of the fine nuances of smells in his novels, but his writings also reinforced the stench associated with the modern slum (see chapters 5 and 6).⁸⁰ When Victorians looked for a scapegoat, they found many obvious candidates. In an effort to strengthen the case against immigrants, many such portraits became highly personalized and, in the process, racialized. For example, one 1849 account from the *Morning Chronicle* recalled an Irish “woman with skin so foul that she might have passed for a negress, was squatted on the ground; and a litter, I cannot call them a group, of children burrowed about her.”⁸¹ As Patrick O’Sullivan has argued in *The Irish in the New Communities*, in such prejudicial accounts, the “metamorphosis is complete. Not only do the migrant Irish live like pigs, and live with pigs; here the Irish are pigs.”⁸² The stench of most immigrant groups was equally seen to arise from a failure to follow decent human standards and generally live like animals.

Suited to particular jobs as a result, the migrant assumed all that was depreciable in the work they undertook. This will be addressed further below, but it is also particularly evident in the case of Parisian sewer workers, as historian Donald Reid has outlined. For some time a celebrated example of moral proletarians, these sanitary workers were not inherently dirty, and in the French case they embodied characteristics that personified the national spirit. Middle-class thinkers traditionally celebrated “the symbolic power of socially marginal waste handlers to reveal the true nature of society.”⁸³ However, this representation gradually shifted with the multiplication of immigrant sanitation workers throughout Europe. At the end of France’s Second Empire (1852–1870), for example, Parisian workers already began to shun sewer work, and many of the most recent recruits were Gascon migrants.⁸⁴ By the 1880s these demanding manual jobs were adopted by Italian settlers. Changes in municipal employment practices rapidly ended this process, and the city’s sewers again became maintained by the French, who enjoyed an increase in unionization, benefits, and wages.⁸⁵ Unusually, tendencies to char-

acterize these workers by their smell again appeared to decline with these and subsequent changes to the composition of the workforce. Alongside the introduction of the nine-hour workday, in 1888 the city council ruled that no more than 10 percent of the approximately one-thousand-strong sewer labor force could be foreign. Although the Parisian sewer men were an anomaly in the 1960s and 1970s, with not a single non-French worker in their ranks, street sweepers and garbage men were increasingly North and Black Africans. Those who signed up for sewer work in the 1970s and 1980s generally waited between two and four years before they were offered a post, often only on the recommendation of a relative.⁸⁶ The same was true in other countries, like Australia, where family connections were essential to obtaining these coveted posts, and keeping the workforce white was essential to maintaining higher salaries and benefits, as well as a less odorous public image.⁸⁷ The local authorities, however, eventually used available émigrés, first to undercut the hard-fought labor benefits of the sewer workers and then to commence the privatization of the city's sanitation system. Racist prejudices created the conditions that oriented this "foreign" labor force toward the least desirable jobs, including those regarded as the dirtiest and most degrading, such as toilet attendants, "which public opinion, imbued with the myth of the primitiveness and the mental backwardness of Black Africa, is led to consider as quite good enough for it."⁸⁸ Moreover, the public actively avoided encounters with immigrant workers, who were regarded more readily to take on the scent of stinking refuse.

The Aroma of Chinatown

Linked to "the foul-smelling sub-culture of opium smoking,"⁸⁹ and inhabiting "low, black, foul-smelling, cave-like hole[s] underneath the sidewalks[s]" of the urban districts where they congregated, Chinese migrant workers in nineteenth-century Europe and North America were another ethnic group that was marked by odor.⁹⁰ Whether located in the Chinatown of San Francisco or other towns, coastal or non-coastal, the Chinese were the target of public health investigations in the late 1800s, in which they were the latest of a long line of immigrants whose bodies were considered vectors for epidemics and numerous other social ills.⁹¹ As historian Nayan Shah has demonstrated, these concepts not only entered popular discourse but were also incorporated into political debates of the period. In 1876, for example, California senator Aaron A. Sargent conveyed to his colleagues in the U.S. Senate how overcrowding and filthy and "sickly smells" drove "even the lowest classes of society" from

those neighborhoods occupied by the Chinese.⁹² Chinatowns in Vancouver and Victoria were likewise described as “foul-smelling, disease-threatening and dirty.”⁹³ Chinese laundries were a similarly contested site, described by the Los Angeles press in the 1910s as a “disgrace to the city and a positive menace to the health of the community.”⁹⁴ Sick members of these Chinese communities were likewise excluded from local health-care facilities, given their potential to “contaminate ‘civilized’ patients.”⁹⁵ Consequently, disease was “conceived as organic to every Chinese racialized space.”⁹⁶ Government reports about immigrant enclaves in the early twentieth century described the visual abjection and, more important here, highlighted the olfactory aspects of such neighborhoods.⁹⁷

In the case of the Chinese in North America, racial difference also became “naturalised through labour in nature,” as has recently been demonstrated by historian Connie Chiang.⁹⁸ In her article “Monterey-by-the-Smell,” Chiang unfolds the significance of olfactory perceptions in localities along the California coastline during the first half of the twentieth century. One debate highlighted in Chiang’s research concerns Chinese squid-drying fields, which were established in the 1890s and prompted local white residents to condemn Chinese fishermen and their “distasteful” operations, despite the existence of other fishing communities in the region. Over nearly two decades of disagreement the production of offensive smells “intertwined with existing animosities to mark the Chinese as inherently repugnant in the minds of some white observers.” Ultimately, interest groups “used odors to leverage [their] political influence and create an excuse for removing the Chinese and sanitizing the shoreline.”⁹⁹

One of California’s earliest settlements, the Monterey Peninsula began to attract Chinese fishermen in the mid-nineteenth century. Having “caught wind” of the thriving fish stocks in the region, members of San Francisco’s Chinese population initially established a camp at Point Alones, which was met with animosity from other fishing communities, primarily other new arrivals, including southern Europeans, who focused their activities on mackerel, halibut, sardines and salmon. Once Monterey’s fishermen battled to demarcate their territories, the Chinese were gradually pushed westward out of the region. As elsewhere in North America, ethnic and racial divisions emerged in these neighborhoods, and the Chinese were left in a poor position, given their scarce social and political resources. Hostility toward the Asian workers was also expressed in the conventional manner, with white observers regularly describing Chinese fishermen as “filthy and inferior.”¹⁰⁰ Echoing earlier contemporary descriptions of Chinatowns throughout the

continent, the living conditions in Monterey were also interpreted as a natural consequence of race. Suffering physical attacks and even bans specific to their chosen fishing methods, the Chinese fishermen “retreated to a fishery that no other group cared to exploit: the squid fishery.”¹⁰¹ Carried out at night, squid fishing also enabled the Chinese to avoid conflict with European fishermen, who generally worked during the day.

Even this practice, however, soon generated animosity among those critical of the Chinese coastal presence. With the total squid harvest approaching 360,000 pounds, destined largely for San Francisco and Hawaii, critics of the Monterey Asian fishers claimed their concentration on squid had been decided only after having exhausted other species. Rather than acknowledging the emergence of this niche market as evidence of resourcefulness, it was interpreted as “a sign of Chinese destructiveness.”¹⁰² Thereafter, the practice was attacked more vehemently because the Chinese fishing operations were said to give off a “repulsive odor” because of the way the harvest was processed: once landed, squid were split open and laid out on racks and dried for two or three days, processes that naturally generated a distinct and pervasive smell. The Chinese fishing villages were also criticized as being “unspeakably dirty and redolent with the odor of decaying fish.” Over time the stench associated with Chinese production in the area “became a way to characterize Chinese themselves as inherently repugnant.”¹⁰³ Being odorous, as others have found, was tantamount to being odious, and vice versa.¹⁰⁴

In these same years, areas along this stretch of California’s coastline were being transformed into resorts, with businesses like the Pacific Improvement Company hoping to capitalize on the region’s “stunning scenery and pleasant climate.”¹⁰⁵ Close to the hotels built to attract tourists, Chinese fishing villages were initially described as tourist attractions. By the 1890s, however, they were more often labeled as nuisances, and petitions against them were drafted, many aiming to stem the odors associated with seafood preparation. Despite the growing acceptance of germ theory, “the foul-smelling vapours” of the drying squid—not unlike other Chinese habitations farther up and down the same coastline—were depicted as especially dangerous and potential harbingers “of illness and possibly death.”¹⁰⁶ Even so, the Chinese continued their harvest until 1902, when the issue escalated with landlords and hotel owners issuing an order that forbade drying squid on company property. The matter was taken up by the local and state boards of health; arrests of Chinese fishermen followed, and it was announced that the lease on Chinese land would not be renewed when it expired in 1906. A proposed relocation of the community, however, was unnecessary: the



Chinese fisherman, Monterey, California, 1875. Photographer Albert Dressler. Courtesy, California Historical Society, FN-22407/CHS2010.372.

site was destroyed by fire in May 1906, and the Chinese were forbidden to rebuild. When Monterey passed an ordinance forbidding the drying of squid within city limits in 1907, Chinese fishing activities inevitably began to decline and were negligible by 1910.

Chiang's case is valuable in the way it demonstrates how racial difference can become naturalized through labor, particularly the smell of labor. As she argues, "The Chinese had already faced racial animosity," but their production of offensive smells "added fuel to the fire and further marked them as an undesirable presence in Monterey."¹⁰⁷ Equally, although dealing with Chinese fishers in California, the study is relevant to research on other immigrant groups who, through resourcefulness or lack of opportunity, undertake work that others regard as filthy and foul-smelling. Because these outsiders assumed the smell of their labor, odors became yet another indication of their social inferiority. In the case of fisheries and fish processing, smell always had the potential to become "a source of considerable rancour."¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, when disputes over smell reemerged in Monterey in the 1930s (this time as the sardine industry expanded), "most residents learned to turn their noses away from the noxious fumes."¹⁰⁹ Indeed, and in direct contrast to the case of the Chinese in Monterey, olfactory sensi-

tivity could be construed as an assault by outsiders on the local economy. Legal and government representatives colluded to rid localities of nuisances, and yet odors, even the most offensive, were regularly interpreted as signs of economic prosperity. Alternatively, authoritarian efforts to stem stench may be part of mainstream efforts to “foist disciplinary regimes to control the foreign, the queer, the poor and visible minorities.”¹¹⁰ Historically, the decision to pursue such nuisances clearly depended on who was involved in producing an offending stink.

Smell and the Making of Race

Although white Americans regularly claimed to be offended by scent pollution in the early twentieth century, smell and heightened sensory powers were traditionally associated with nonwhites. Scientific authors regularly suggested that “dark-skinned human races have a keener sense of smell than the lighter races.”¹¹¹ They were also said to smell musky, pungent, or even reek; this characterization enforced nonwhites as subjects, rather than leaders, of sanitary campaigns. Drawing on the work of Ukrainian American psychiatrist Joel Kovel, cinema academic Richard Dyer has demonstrated that the construction of “the so-called white race has historically been founded on a fundamental symbolic equivalence between whiteness and purity, between blackness (or any putative nonwhiteness) and corruption, sin, and filth.”¹¹² Rather than catalog a litany of pejorative terms that have been applied to the fragrance of African Americans throughout the last 150 years, and that are still regularly employed to offend, this section summarizes one of the more innovative and ambitious historical studies to tackle the issue of race and smell. Mark Smith’s *How Race Is Made* belongs at the heart of this chapter and serves as an example of the way the senses might open up new fields of academic research and challenge us all to reconsider how we sense history. *How Race Is Made* is an exposition that charts how modern discussions remain “hostage to the eye.”¹¹³ The historical examination of race, as in many studies of the past, employs visual language, claiming, as Smith rightly points out, to “search for perspective,” “focus on,” or “shed light on” questions of race and racism. Although sight will always remain central to such discussions, Smith’s work offers new ways of understanding race and the role of the other senses in conceptualizing difference.

Smith’s text grapples with the perceived need to sense race in America in the mid-nineteenth century, when the melting pot had reached a point when white Southern slaveholders could not always trust sight alone to authenticate racial identity. Concern only increased in the latter 1800s with the onset

of legally sanctioned segregation. In particular, many whites were anxious that some blacks could pass as Caucasian “in a modernizing, geographically more fluid South.”¹¹⁴ As a result, people began to employ alternative ways to detect difference, including touch, sound, and, most pertinently, smell. Hence, white-looking mulattos, it was claimed, “would retain ‘the body odor of the Negro.’”¹¹⁵ According to blacks themselves, this distinctive scent could have been accounted for by differences in diet, personal grooming habits, and employment conditions, but whites saw it as primarily biological, as they racialized the senses in an effort to maintain division. The imperatives of Southern slave society also meant “that elites rarely attributed sensory stereotypes to nonelite whites.”¹¹⁶ Not surprisingly, the most vicious coincided with distinctions between the races becoming more difficult to detect. Although race had always been about more than just sight, other sensory variances have also been innate markers of difference.

Early observers of American society inevitably differentiated between blacks and whites by skin tone, but smell was also applied as a reliable discriminator. In a typically repugnant example from one Philadelphia resident in 1769, “The negroes . . . stink damnably.”¹¹⁷ Their supposed “rank” smell was not due to climate, sweating, or even hygiene, as other races were deemed sweet, yet blacks were generally described as smelling foul and often compared to animals.¹¹⁸ Animals, too, it was said, could detect the difference between the taste of white and black flesh, the latter being more inviting to predators like sharks and lions.¹¹⁹ Racist medical texts claimed that black bodies “secrete less by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the skin.”¹²⁰ Black scent was also more likely than white odor to degenerate into a disease-causing miasma. The color of black skin, like the physiognomy of the nose, was equally pathologized. Regarded to be a form of leprosy, in the opinion of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century medical practitioners, black skin retained the scent of mortification or putrefaction normally associated with disease.¹²¹ In proffering such explanations, the medical establishment actively perpetuated ideas of difference.

Southern whites claimed that the senses allowed them to maintain racial categories with some confidence. Slaves regarded these distinctions to be less stable and challenged scent stereotypes by stressing their washing habits and fondness for perfumes. Their logical retort was that cruel and avaricious white masters made them work hard and “robbed [them] of comfort and cleanliness.”¹²² There continued to be much truth to these assertions, with generations of African Americans occupying the worst housing and working in the least desirable and filthy occupations.¹²³ Although whites generally resisted these arguments and refused to “think about race,” they continued to be concerned

with “the problem of black freedom” and close contact between races in public, otherwise described as “crowding.”¹²⁴ For many whites the only answer was segregation in accommodation, education, and transportation, which by 1900 had become a legal part of Southern life. Statutes in Arkansas and Louisiana, for example, introduced separate passenger carriages on those states’ railroads, segregated seating in restaurants, as well as divided schooling. For black rail passengers in the late nineteenth century, “a ‘visible and distinct admixture of African blood’ meant being assigned to the black car.” While such wording reemphasized the visual nature of race detection, this process of sorting, it was claimed, could equally be accomplished by a vigilant conductor using just his nose.¹²⁵

At this point in his history Smith turns to the legal case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which served as the basis for modern segregation. The case upheld the constitutionality of Louisiana’s 1890 statute allowing for separate carriages and was the result of “a carefully planned event” involving a visually “white” “Black” man, Homer Plessy, who sat in a white carriage. By his own design and altercations with forewarned railway staff, Plessy, who had only one great-grandmother of African descent, and was therefore classified as octoroon according to the language of the time, found himself removed from the first-class car destined for Covington, Louisiana, and before Judge John H. Ferguson in the Criminal Court of New Orleans. Although the case was intended to demonstrate both the failure of the judgments underpinning division and the instability of race categories, segregationists claimed they could sense race in other ways. Despite several other reported incidents of white Southerners being unable to visually detect white blacks, whites claimed to have “developed more sensitive noses.”¹²⁶ Littered with suggestions that racial mixing was dangerous, not least because of the claimed noxiousness of their black odor, the case involved Plessy’s lawyer pressing the question of how a conductor could reliably determine race. Throughout the trial this central question was repeatedly sidestepped. Instead, the court concluded that a system of segregation must incorporate more senses than sight in order to establish racial identity.

Contemporarily, whites stressed their superior olfaction to detect runaways and thieves by being able to trace the scent of the slaves and the items stolen by blacks.¹²⁷ Often the hounds used to track runaways were regarded as extensions of the slave owner’s nose; such keen white senses were similarly claimed in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Throughout the twentieth century, olfactory distinctions between blacks and whites continued to be made, the black side of town reputedly smelling of “stale perspiration and whiskey,” or “overfried catfish” and “barbequed pork chops.”¹²⁸ Yet tests undertaken by

psychologists between the 1930s and 1950s concluded that noses could neither distinguish the “peculiar odor” of a racial group nor differentiate between the sweat of black and white people. Whether or not distinctive smells existed, segregationists made them real by constantly invoking their prejudicial stereotypes.¹²⁹ Beliefs of black inferiority reached their climax “in assertions that Negroes were unclean.”¹³⁰ Despite the anxiety that contact could lead to contamination, whites regularly rejected black neighbors but not their black servants.

In order to avoid similar categorization, middle-class blacks adopted bourgeois sensibilities and, again not unlike Maimie Pinzer, joined in the condemnation. Black American author, educator, and political leader Booker T. Washington, for example, claimed that many blacks were dirty and that improvement would come only with toothbrushes and better cleaning habits. Others claimed that they, too, could smell black people and that proximity to those of lower class made them “feel sick,”¹³¹ and attempted to set themselves apart from fellow blacks by trying to smell “white” by using specific fragrances.¹³² Such myths and stereotypes were eventually challenged by 1950s African American magazines that argued there was no distinct racial scent and demonstrated “that blacks could embrace cleanliness on their own terms and not smell better just to impress whites.”¹³³ However, heavy perfuming and cleaning could also reinforce stereotypes by suggesting that fragrances were employed simply to smother foul smells.¹³⁴ As this suggests, despite the proliferation of literature that revealed such views to be contrived, sensory profiling once again came “into play with searing focus” in the mid-1950s with the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision to integrate public schools. As one vitriolic resident of Alabama argued in 1957, “No one wants there [*sic*] Child to go to School with Stinking [Negros] they stink they all do God Put that Sent [*sic*] on them.” Supposedly fearing for the future of his country, he concluded, “Why if the Negroes force Integration our next President will be a Stinking Negro.”¹³⁵ Once again, white spaces were said to be “invaded” by black people, with predictions of diseases spreading through schools as if by miasma, and with further threats arising, given closer contact with blacks “at work, study, rest, recreation or play.”¹³⁶ Seeing and hearing segregationists “spew . . . hatred with such ferocity” shocked many who witnessed these tirades on national television. However, letting the rest of America see the hatred of “those caught in their own sensory history” had the potential to educate a wider audience who would ultimately embrace civil rights.

Alternative Cultures of Smell

Compared to the European customs reflected in the extracts above, some cultures in the Global South have developed rich and detailed classificatory systems for smells that extend far beyond attempts to distinguish between simply the foul and the fragrant. Some anthropologists in the first decades of the twentieth century attempted to explain this in an evolutionary way, suggesting that primitive peoples possessed more acute olfaction because they were closer to animals; however, more modern explanations involve habitat. The Suyá of Brazil, the Desana of Colombia, and the Umeda people of New Guinea, for example, all reside primarily in rain forests, which are visually impenetrable. Environment therefore “imposes a reorganisation of sensibility,” as suggested by British social anthropologist Alfred Gell.¹³⁷ Smell, as well as hearing, can provide these people with “knowledge of things hidden to the eye.”¹³⁸ For instance, the Umeda are adept at “detecting the faintest trace of smoke from a campfire” or animals “concealed in the forest canopy.”¹³⁹ Interestingly, the words for smell and dream in Umeda culture are related, and smells are considered akin to dreams in their ability to divine.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, it is also common for hunters to sleep with herbs in order to inspire dreams of a successful hunt; the dreams, like scent, can then be followed in order to lead hunters to their quarry.¹⁴¹ In fact, when they are tracking, Umeda hunters do walk with their eyes directed to the ground.¹⁴²

The Desana also distinguish between animal species by their unique odors. Those that emit the strongest musky scents are said to inhabit the forest depths, and those that are usually found in clearings are said to possess more pleasant aromas. These scents are carefully and accurately followed or avoided, depending on the circumstances. The Desana similarly regard their own people to secrete a unique scent that marks the territory they inhabit. Men and women are also regarded to emit distinct odors, women often being compared to fish or ants, and men to meat. These traits are carried over into rituals in which these animal substitutes are often used to represent men and women.¹⁴³ Referring to themselves as *wira*, or “people who smell,” the Desana continually sniff the air to detect the “wind threads” of other Colombian tribes when traveling.¹⁴⁴ In contrast to that of the Umeda, Desana life nevertheless remains ordered predominantly by vision and is pervaded by color symbolism.¹⁴⁵

The ways in which some non-Western cultures categorize smells is very intricate and illustrates the arbitrary nature in which aromas are grouped. The

Desana, for example, use categories that mix certain plant and animal species. Each scent is also imbued with “its own cultural value and potency.”¹⁴⁶ For example, the bouquets associated with a local species of deer and palm tree are associated with both male power and fertility. The Suyá Indians of Brazil, by way of contrast, have developed a classificatory scheme that employs three fundamental odors—bland, strong, and pungent—with a fourth category, “rotten,” applied to foods.¹⁴⁷ Men; small mammals, including monkeys; most fish; and innocuous plants, in contradistinction to olfactory regimes elsewhere, are regarded as bland smells. Women, children, carnivorous animals, and harmful plants are deemed strong smelling, as are all aspects of sexuality.¹⁴⁸ Old people, large mammals, some birds (including the vulture), and medicinal plants are pungent.¹⁴⁹ As has been argued elsewhere, the system “is heavily invested with cultural values.”¹⁵⁰ Not only does the scheme serve to rank individuals, but certain groups attract distinction because of the wider implications of blandness and strong smells. For example, like strong smells, children are offensive because they are unsocialized and disruptive, not necessarily odorous;¹⁵¹ a simple initiation rite when a boy reaches puberty effectively turns him into a bland-smelling man.¹⁵² Interestingly, a very different system of classification is in use among the Bororo people, who inhabit the same region as the Suyá. Comprising eight specific odor classes and two basic smells—putrid and sweet—it bears more resemblance to Western classificatory groups but is naturally imbued with its own rich cultural meanings.¹⁵³ Moreover, the method by which scent is detected contrasts with Western scientific explanations of olfaction. Rather than being sensed by the nose, smells in Desana culture are discerned by the whole body.¹⁵⁴

Anthropologists including Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, Vishvajit Pandya, and Constance Classen have written about the Andaman Islands off the coast of Burma in the Bay of Bengal, where the passage of time is conceived by the indigenous Ongee people as a “succession of odours” specific to seasons and celebrations. This and a flower, the *Sterculia jeru*, which engulfs the isles when it is in bloom, define the Andamans as “islands of fragrance.” Indeed, the Islanders’ smell calendar was already renowned by the time Claude Lévi-Strauss wrote *The Jealous Potter* in 1985.¹⁵⁵ On a basic botanical level, the Andaman jungles contain trees and plants that bloom at different times of year. Consequently, the islanders share a language that recognizes a “calendar of odours.” More than simply pleasant smells, these bouquets also possess considerable power, or “aroma-force,” which are exploited for their medical uses. Certain scents can even provoke illness, such as that from the plant *Anadendron paniculatum*, which is believed to cause rheumatism.

Other scents, including those of villages and most flora and fauna, are more localized and together constitute an “olfactory landscape,” a concept that is explored further in chapter 6.¹⁵⁶

These notions of time, perfume, and place even extend to human well-being and life cycle. Girls are given the names of flowers in bloom at the time of their first menstruation, which they retain until they bear their first child, or “fruit,” and then revert to using their birth names. Controlling personal odors is important, but not for reasons emphasized in most Western cultures. For example, red paint is applied to the body in order to regulate temperature, induce sweat, and ultimately generate smell, thereby healing the body.¹⁵⁷ Yet within Andaman culture, physical scent is generally considered to be confined to the bones, which are regarded as “the most condensed form of smell.”¹⁵⁸ On death, the bones of the Ongee remain in this world, while the spirits are left odorless. Prior to the end of one’s life, the body is dressed with fragrant flowers to assist the release of smell and to provide a channel of movement for the soul.¹⁵⁹ Thereafter, smells are organized to attract or avoid the spirits of the dead.

This scent cycle also determines the hunting seasons of the Ongee, depending on the wind direction, the seasonal smells, and where the scent-hungry spirits will be carried. The islanders confine themselves to the forest or the coast accordingly as sites periodically become “odor-free.”¹⁶⁰ They spend all of their time on the coast between May and July, when spirits are believed to hunt and feed in local forests.¹⁶¹ When the mortal Ongee butcher their captured creatures, care is taken not to mix human and animal scent in order to ensure successful future hunts.¹⁶² Certain plants, like the green creeper, can also spoil potential success, as their aromas are believed to frighten away animals—in the case of the green creeper, the sea turtle.¹⁶³ Indeed, the bones of animals that are difficult to track are taken on journeys so that the smell may attract living relatives.¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, Ongee maps are not visual representations of the local geography, as the landscape is constantly changing through the shifting scents of time.

Neither are the Andaman alone in conceptualizing time in relation to scent. However, for the Dassanetch, a farming tribe in southwest Ethiopia, the succession of odors is not that of seasonal bloom but, rather, the smells associated with the dry season and the wet season. Their identification with livestock has been used to explain the heightened role of olfaction in Dassanetch pastoral culture. For this cattle-herding people, the year is divided into two dry and two wet seasons. The dry seasons are characterized by the acrid smoke from the fields as they are scorched to clear old growth. The eating of meat is also generally confined to the dry season,¹⁶⁵ as a time of decay,

when the stench of rank odors, such as rotting fruit, rises up to the sky and is scattered through the clouds. These “bad” smells frequently regenerate and, in the downpours of the rainy season, bring renewal, fresh growth, and fragrant smells. Menstruation, or the rain of women, like the wet season, is similarly regarded to be free from odor.¹⁶⁶

Although the Dassanetch conceive smells in a manner familiar to Western society, they recognize that both foul and fragrant scents are essential parts of the life cycle. As herders they regard the scent of cattle, the “perfect animals,” as a good aroma, if not the ideal.¹⁶⁷ In contradiction to the noxiousness associated with the “worst parts” of Western occupations, the Dassanetch anoint their bodies with bovine products, including ghee (clarified butter), urine, and manure, proudly wearing the scent of their livelihood.¹⁶⁸ Smelling like cattle also helps women attract men in tribal courting rituals.¹⁶⁹ Their pastoral lifestyle serves as a marker of group identity, distinguishing them from other locals, including fishermen, whose scent marks them as lower ranking.¹⁷⁰ The aroma of fish does not have a place within the predominant calendar of agrarian smells and is thus often unanimously regarded as one of the few permanent polluting odors.¹⁷¹ Unlike other smells, the reek of fish does not travel into the sky and can therefore potentially infect cattle.¹⁷² The taboo against fish is occasionally lifted during periods of drought and famine, but at such times the Dassanetch become, in their own words, “stinking people.”¹⁷³ Interestingly, fishermen are not considered untouchable.¹⁷⁴ However, while pastoral men marry fisherwomen, a pastoral woman will not marry into a fishing family. Moreover, betrothal of a fisherman’s daughter involves her living with the groom’s father or brother until she loses her fish smell and becomes a “pastoral girl.”¹⁷⁵ As noted by Classen, “The fact that the two groups are not entirely separate but constitute one interdependent community probably only increases the pastoralists’ concern to safeguard their own identity and social structure from external forces of corruption.”¹⁷⁶

Conclusion

The example of the Dassanetch is important to scent studies for a number of reasons. The “odor of the other” with this example becomes not simply the odor attributed to others but also the way odor is understood and employed by others.¹⁷⁷ Despite references in the historical literature suggesting that the perfume culture of the Muslim Arab world extended into northeast Africa, “a vast part of the continent located south of the Sahara appears to be *terra incognita* as far as smell and perfumes are concerned, and its olfactory world

has aroused little or no interest, save for a few rare specialised studies.¹⁷⁸ An absence of studies may be equally negative, implying that such “primitive” people could only smell bad, have no association with perfume, or develop a system that was demonstrative of sensory refinement.¹⁷⁹ Although some work has examined the way in which the African continent was visualized,¹⁸⁰ Africa’s scentscape remains largely undiscovered. Moreover, while anthropologists have identified rich sensory cultures outside the Global North, discrimination based on scent appears to link these different traditions, as the Dasanetch hesitancy to mix with fishing families suggests. The Desana people of the Colombian Amazon similarly remark on different tribal odors, whether meat, fish, or agricultural, when traveling through regions inhabited by other Tukano-speaking populations.¹⁸¹ Odor among these tribes, as in European society, is both a marker of identity and “regulator of intertribal relations.”¹⁸²

While each culture has historically possessed a subgroup that is deemed untouchable, this status was often constructed through narratives rich in olfactory imagery. Foreignness in particular was “cast as dirty because it brings alien cultures and customs that challenge the myth of a single system of social equality.”¹⁸³ On a day-to-day basis such practices of othering involved the smell of foods that marked particular ethnic groups as different. Eager to settle into new communities, immigrants often subjected themselves to rigorous purification rituals aimed at eliminating all aromas that might set them apart as different. However, even the most strenuous efforts were unable to satisfy the most suspicious noses, as the foulest odors were often those that were imagined and therefore immune to even the best hygienic practices. In the irrational world of racist politics, foreigners would always stink and possess the potential to contaminate, as research from Smith and a host of others, whether examining Jewish communities in Europe or North America Chinatowns, has demonstrated. Taking on the qualities of the run-down, filthy urban districts where they tended to settle, mysterious, “dirty” foreigners, who emigrated to imperial capitals, themselves became potentially suspect pollutants. Like stinking urban waste, they were regularly subjected to the controls of sanitary inspectors and even incorporated into segregationist campaigns. Taken to the extreme, such associations with filth and stench were not only used to condemn particular populations but, as became apparent during the Nazi period, were also actually used to justify a group’s elimination. Although such extreme examples of scent’s part in authorizing genocide have become uncommon, the rhetoric of racial smells has a long and festering past. Not surprisingly, the concept of racial smells, while thoroughly discarded by science, continues to affect the way various

publics think about smell. When an American fragrance company recently attempted to isolate “the ‘body scent of a beautiful girl,’” it set its chemists to analyze and trap the scent of “four fair-skinned women.” These subjects were then asked to refrain from eating spicy or otherwise odorous foods, including onions and garlic.¹⁸⁴ Hopefully, it will be clear that this particular example reiterates many of the themes developed in this chapter, but the sex of the subjects also leads this discussion into new directions. It is to the theme of gender and smell that the next chapter turns.

4

Seduction and Subversion

Gender and Smell

Smell and gender are inextricably connected, as usually becomes apparent early in most histories of perfume. Edwin Morris, to take one example, begins his history of fragrance with the admission that he initially “felt embarrassed” at the outset of his research, as the subject appeared trivial to members of the general public, who generally regarded scent as “a pleasant extravagance for women to indulge in during their leisure hours.”¹ His views soon changed upon recognizing the importance of fragrance in determining, for example, behavior and trade in human history.² Nevertheless, his attempt to justify scent as a field worthy of study remains highly gendered. To Morris, its importance as a field of study stems largely from the fact that it eventually drew the attention of the great—read male—“technical minds,” who grappled with ways to categorize, extract, and preserve prized essences. With references to “fathers” of botany and Nobel Prize–winning male chemists, the subject is as quickly masculinized by other writers who were hesitant to enter what was perceived to be a feminine domain. According to another perfume historian, Frances Kennett, women were attracted to perfumery “out of an abiding interest in looking attractive,” men “out of an increasing interest in science.”³ Success in the industry, after all, depended on even the most skilled perfumers keeping their noses “attuned to feminine fancies.”⁴

“Perfume,” as historian Richard Stamelman states, also inherently “speaks the body”⁵—most often the female body, but in altered form.⁶ The belief that women specifically embody perfume is a very early or “primitive conception.”⁷ Scents usually announce female presence, and a choice of fragrance has permitted wearers to modify that individual signature. The sixth-century

Kama Sutra claimed explicitly that beauty was determined by odor, not physical appearance. Writers ever since have reduced past loves to single, memorable scents, which continually return and “resurrect encounters” whether we like it or not.⁸ A horrible stench, on the other hand, similarly refined identity and frequently precluded the act of union between individuals. “Through a language of airborne shouts and whispers,” perfume and putrescence, both real and imagined, have defined the sexes, and primarily female character, across broad chronological periods. In ancient Greece fragrances marked men as pliant or effeminate while others effectively distinguished between types of women—young or old, married or unwed. Just as it distinguished between the civilized and the savage, aroma was readily used to elevate or demean women, as examples in this chapter indicate. Whether in ancient Rome or Victorian London, prostitutes were associated with a standard derogatory repertoire of odors as were early modern witches and old women. Sweet, often floral, sensory epithets used to describe the Virgin Mary, on the other hand, firmly underscored her exalted place in heaven. Occasionally such symbolism extended to mothers and cleaning ladies, “wielding brushes and pails,” who were variously praised as “unambiguously virtuous,” their abilities to achieve “pure households” implying “moral strenuousness.”⁹ The former pungent put-downs, however, were far more common than any fragrant flattery, accentuating the observation that “we never hear much about female abhorrence for male odors.”¹⁰ According to German dermatologist and sexologist Iwan Bloch, this was previously explained away as the result of man’s “stronger olfactory sense,” making him “more susceptible to the female odor than she is to his.”¹¹ Although this explanation has not stood the test of time, in the battle of the sexes, men tended to come out smelling of roses, if anything at all. Thus it has been suggested that women have been as frequently subjected to a “male nose” as they have to the more familiar, predatory “male gaze.”¹²

Smell might equally have proved a false indicator and confused audiences. There are, of course, smells that were traditionally regarded as very masculine, while others were less clearly defined. This chapter returns the reader to a variety of historical contexts where such peculiarities were less clear or only beginning to be outlined with clarity. As such, the distinction between male and female scents emerges as a relatively recent invention in the long history of perfume. Only in the last couple of decades have perfumers attempted to reintroduce consumers to unisex, let alone queer, scents. Moreover, while in the last century the perfume industry may have employed disproportionate numbers of male scientists to improve rates of extraction and build global

empires, the captains of this vast industry during periods of great expansion were just as often women. As notable as the accomplishments of the grandes dames at the helm of the scent industry were, much of the routine labor involved in the production of fragrant luxury goods was also undertaken by female hands, both in this century and in earlier epochs. Finally, while heterosexual women clearly have been the prime targets and subjects of perfume advertisements, the types of women depicted in such media have recognizably changed over time. This chapter aims to address these and other aspects of smell culture and to broadly chart the overtly gendered olfactory landscape from ancient to modern times.

Aromatic Distinctions of Sex

Smell has been conceptualized in a predictable fashion in much of the existing historical literature. In general, sensory studies tend to deal with gender in a very conventional manner, most authors pairing perfumes with their floral sources and describing them as feminine objects. The rose, for example, was already acknowledged by the poetess Sappho as “the queen [as opposed to the king] of the flowers.”¹³ Interestingly, the nose itself is frequently feminized in early medical texts, which emphasize its “leaky anatomical parts,” not to mention the breast-like teats that were said to receive scents in the nasal canal.¹⁴ The female parts of flowers were most likely to harbor volatile oils, which were said to attract masculinized pollinators.¹⁵ The spirit of the camphor tree in both Malaya and Sumatra, among many other aromatic substances in nature, was also invariably described as female.¹⁶ Shaped into pellets, powders, or perfumes, the earliest fragrances were used for censuring the gods, as indicated in chapter 1, and both male and female deities, Sappho says, disapproved of those who appeared before them with “uncrowned heads.”¹⁷ However, it was most often a female god, usually associated with love, beauty, or fertility, who took the greatest interest in scents or even possessed the most ambrosial of auras. Although odiferous oils were employed to embalm kings and queens, it was a noted female monarch—namely, Cleopatra—who is unanimously regarded as “the mistress of luxury and extravagance,” with her ability to make even the winds “love-sick” with perfume, according to Shakespeare.¹⁸ Not only did the famed Egyptian queen in the first century B.C. use four hundred denarii’s worth of unguents on a single occasion (enough to buy a pound of aromatic material in Pliny’s day) just to soften and perfume her hands,¹⁹ but she also carried such great quantities of kyphi, the quintessential royal incense (see chapter 2), that its scent forewarned those on shore of her

barge's arrival well before it was within sight. Essential elements of amorous encounters between two lovers,²⁰ unguents were also utilized on a grand scale in her famed attempts to seduce Roman general Mark Antony. Such extravagance among male rulers was not unheard of but evidently recounted less regularly.²¹ However, the type of fragrance employed by the ancients would have differed with gender. Roman literature, for example, contains numerous references to male and female scents. Socrates, to quote just one, specified that "there is one sort of dress for women and another for men"; so, too, was there "one kind of smell for women and another for men."²² As the source of this quote implies, most descriptions of past scents were produced by itinerant male scholars and physicians, including Plutarch, Pliny, Rufus, and Galen, and reiterated in various forms by a host of male writers throughout more recent centuries. Not surprisingly, there are far more references to the smell of women than men in ancient literature.

The basic olfactory classification, as noted by Classen, Howes, and Synnott, and recounted in nearly every historical study of smell, was to associate desirable women with pleasant fragrances and those deemed less desirable with foul stench. Although the Renaissance writer Michel de Montaigne suggested that "the most perfect smell for a woman is to smell of nothing," few evidently did if we rely on the writings of others.²³ As a result, a lack of scent was not what most contemporary authors used to characterize the definitive "scent of a woman." In the case of the absent woman in endless love poems, it might have been a particular fragrance, usually a floral scent. However, based on a modern investigation carried out by a leading American fragrance company (and discussed in the conclusion of the previous chapter), whose scientists attempted to capture the smell of four women on controlled diets by placing hollow globes on the subjects' lower abdomens, upon close analysis the aroma was judged to lay somewhere between lotus flower and cotton blossom.²⁴ In various cultures of the Global South, the most desirable scent for women often mirrored items of exceptional value in local economies. For example, female members of the Dassenetch community in pastoral East Africa have traditionally anointed themselves with ghee made from cattle fat when attempting to attract mates.²⁵ The Desana in Colombia, on the other hand, associate men with the smell of meat, and women with fish.²⁶ Though the animals with which men and women are paired tends to differ with culture, the resultant classifications almost invariably result in men being regarded as bland-smelling, while the reputed scent of women tends to be decidedly disgusting. Periodically, concerns with female aroma escalated, primarily during periods of moral panic, when preoccupations with

female respectability became prominent. In those societies where women have experienced exclusion or were feared as potentially contaminating, it was often the smell of menstruation that was singled out as particularly offensive.²⁷ Moreover, the less pungent a woman's smell within that culture, the higher her rank on the associated social scale (see chapter 5).²⁸

As the final point suggests, history has seen numerous attempts to differentiate between women based on smell alone, and most often these involve associating a particular unpleasant odor with a female subgroup. The myth of the Lemnian women is one of the earliest examples of such narratives and has attracted some attention from smell historians. At its heart, though Greek in origin, the myth encompasses many of the codes underlying subsequent attempts to depict women as foul-smelling. As outlined by Marcel Detienne in his classic study *The Gardens of Adonis* (1977), Aphrodite, the goddess of love, afflicted the women of Lemnos with a repellent stench after they repeatedly failed to honor her through the ritual of sacrifice. Because of the unpleasant scents divinely bestowed upon the women, their husbands rejected them and took concubines, captured Thracian slaves, as their new partners. Finding themselves humiliated, the vengeful wives massacred every adult male and child in Lemnos and, for a time, lived as frenzied warriors and cannibals on their Aegean island. Their circumstances changed only after receiving Jason and his mythological band of Argonauts to their city. The visit occasioned a festival "in which the finest sacrifices [were] offered up in honour of Hephaistos of Lemnos and his wife, Aphrodite."²⁹ Union with the Argonauts returned the women to their "feminine calling," converting the women of Lemnos from "anticonjugal Amazonianism" to "conjugal matriarchy,"³⁰ ultimately ensuring the survival of the island population. More important, the revival of sacrifices also prompted Aphrodite to eliminate the women's foul stench. In this and other similarly aromatic allegories, sweet smells returned not after the introduction of better hygiene but following a modification in comportment. Other women were subsequently singled out as particularly pungent, both in myth and reality, and encouraged to change their ways after transgressions of what was deemed acceptable behavior; such women included, most notably, prostitutes and witches.

The Smell of Witches and Prostitutes

While women thought to be witches were regularly said to employ the powers inherent in scented objects, the nauseating smells and stench emitted by the early modern witch and her minions, much like in Christian tradition,

were symbolic of their imagined demonic natures. Very often these reputedly repulsive personal stenchs were achieved only after following a strict regimen that led both blood and humors to decay into infectious and poisonous vapors. The witch's body, grown deadly and corrupt, as outlined in considerable detail by scent historian Annick Le Guérer, was the result of a vegetarian diet of onions and cabbages, not to mention her copulations with Lucifer, the "Obscene Goat" himself.³¹ That witches should have developed such repulsive stenchs was equally explained by their propensity to rob graves and attend gallows where they would gather their powerful, odiferous ingredients, or further evidence of the existence of animal familiars, with which they shared their habitations.³² Most important, the poisonous reek of the witch, as Classen reminds us, was also interpreted as "an intensified form of the foul odor attributed to women in general."³³ Women's noxious emissions were simply augmented in the case of witches, "whose physical putridity matched her moral corruption."³⁴ Only fasting holy women, who stopped menstruating, were said to be free from the "cold, wet malefic odor of decay,"³⁵ a scent reputedly detected in all women to varying degrees.

In contrast to saints, whose dead bodies gave off the sweet smell of sanctity (see chapter 1), witches were associated with pungent smells in life and death. In Roman superstition the sorceress, in order to transform herself, aerated herself before a burning brazier of coals and incense.³⁶ Witches' brews and potions were also "powerfully aromatic," their olfactory emanations integral to their potency.³⁷ Charms themselves were often fragrant items that inspired fits and even demonic possession among victims. Those under the spell of scented charms also occasionally emitted smells as evidence of their possession. Affecting both body and spirit, scent and perfume, like the witches themselves, were regularly described as tools of Satan, and their users were punished accordingly.³⁸ On the European continent, women found guilty of the crime of witchcraft were publically burned, and the memory of such events, unlike the immolation of martyrs, was recalled in terms of the smell of burning hair and flesh.³⁹ The filthiness ascribed to witches clearly belongs to an age-old tradition of misogyny that "reverses virginity and reproduction while condemning women for their supposedly uncontained, excessive bodies."⁴⁰ The construction of the witch as one who had carnal relations with the devil, in the process producing imps, familiars, and foul stenchs, represented the extreme end of a cosmology that conflated sex with filth. Sexual activity, as William A. Cohen reminds us, has often been tainted with the charge of filthiness, which has "made the word *filth*, like its synonym *smut* (originally meaning soot or smudge), another term for pornography, obscenity, and sometimes sex itself."⁴¹

This particular affiliation similarly bestowed bad odors on prostitutes, a practice at least as old as the gospels and one unequivocally aimed to denigrate character through an association with unpleasant smells. Pleading for forgiveness, the “harlot” was famously converted by the sweet smell of salvation in Christ and was simultaneously repelled by the reek of her former deeds.⁴² More often than not, however, it was other individuals who first identified the alleged stench of the prostitute and, in a very public process, advertised their own supposed moral purity. Writers of the Roman period already identified prostitutes through references to smell, sometimes that of “swine,” other times “poor perfumery.”⁴³ The Hebrew Book of Proverbs similarly depicts a whore as “one who perfumes her bed with myrrh, aloes and cinnamon.”⁴⁴ Such accounts simultaneously served as ready warnings to any woman who relied too extensively on perfumes and might be regarded by her peers to exude extreme vulgarity. Respectable women reputedly aimed less for complete cleanliness, choosing to leave their genitals unwashed, forsaking such hygienic practices “to courtesans and prostitutes alone.”⁴⁵ Variations existed among prostitutes themselves, especially when they were young, attractive, or well born, in which case they might be perfumed, though often wearing fragrances, such as jasmine, that had fallen out of fashion and belonged to the marginal world of courtesans.⁴⁶ As has been emphasized by Bloch, “The appellation *unguentaria* meant the same as whore or panderess,” the shops that supplied these women of ill repute having suffered some of the condemnation reserved for its main customers.⁴⁷ In the middle of the nineteenth century, Stamelman says, bourgeois women were more often “counselled to avoid musk, civet, tuberose and other intoxicating fragrances too closely associated with the *odor di femina* of prostitutes and other women of easy virtue.”⁴⁸ Nevertheless, such distinctions set these women apart from the rest of their denigrated cohort and occupied instead the higher rank of courtesan; alternatively, the custom of perfuming the genitals has been regarded as “a necessity enforced by . . . sexual competition,” especially in societies where polygamy prevailed.⁴⁹ The foul smell of the common prostitute, on the other hand, was said to be indicative of the filthiness of the conditions in which she worked, brothels themselves having reputedly reeked of “long-used coverlets.”⁵⁰ The Spanish word for whore, *puta*, is based on the Latin word for putrid, as are similar terms in other languages.⁵¹ As this implies, writes art historian Lynda Nead, prostitutes were regularly regarded as figures of contagion, spreading disease “through physical contact with clients and on to the rest of society.”⁵² In monastic writings such distinctions might disappear altogether, women as a group having regularly been characterized by

reputation was shaped by such olfactory narratives.⁵⁵ Nils Ringdal's "world history of prostitution," for example, although spanning centuries and more than four hundred pages, contains almost no references to scent. Neither is its sole reference to odor related to the identity of a prostitute, but, instead, a sex worker's sensitivity to a particularly sweet scent, which led her to recall an earlier, pious stage in her life when she cohabited with her virtuous and fragrant uncle, a monk.⁵⁶ Gail Hershatter's study of prostitution in twentieth-century Shanghai similarly refers to male scents, in this case the smell of sex workers' male customers, including the "revolting smell of liquor on the breath of patrons who try to steal kisses."⁵⁷ Other authors refer only to the prostitute's ability to smell profit or generate "filthy lucre."⁵⁸ Charles Bernheimer's study of the representation of prostitutes in nineteenth-century France refers to a famous yet fictitious tour of a house where a notable literary character encounters the "dense," "overheated" air of a building "full of the stench of dirty female underwear, the pungent odor of women's hair, the acrid scents of colognes." On this occasion it is not a brothel that the narrator describes,⁵⁹ but a theater navigated by the Count Muffat in Zola's *Nana*. Unusually, Corbin's history of prostitution can be included among those that contain almost no reference to scent, despite his defining role in the history of the senses.⁶⁰ Thomas McGinn, in his history of prostitution in the Roman world, does refer to smells associated with the ancient sex trade, both real and imagined, but quickly closes the subject, stating, "It is easy to find evidence that [brothels] were filthy and poor," but he notes that these descriptions must be discounted because they are the products of an upper-class sensibility (see chapter 5).⁶¹ Outside this specialist field, the subject of prostitution is rarely mentioned without a reference to smell, whether relating to perfume or the imagined stench of moral corruption with which the practice was associated in the popular imagination. Smell was regularly relied upon to distinguish good girls from bad ones, particular scents translating into simple metaphors that allowed for instantaneous identification of members of the social body thought to be corrupted. Recycled in most societies throughout various epochs, such tropes have had an unusually long life.

The reappearance of such concepts in public health narratives is to be expected, given the equally ancient association between noxious smells and disease. Discussions of prostitution have always been cloaked in a moral language rich with idioms evoking disgust and filth, particularly the metaphor of sewers.⁶² As film and literary scholar David Pike has argued, "Identifying the prostitute with the city's drainage system allowed the phenomenon to be graphically visualized."⁶³ Like rats, with which they were regularly associated, prostitutes were seen as disease carriers, who, as inhabitants of run-down ur-

ban districts, could transgress boundaries by disappearing into the imagined drains of a city's backside and "come up *anywhere*."⁶⁴ Moreover, defining the prostitute as a "sewer" simultaneously naturalized her profession and conigned it "conceptually to a specific urban space."⁶⁵ In this regard the eminent French public health expert Alexandre Jean Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet is best known for having researched both sewers and prostitution in France's capital city. As historian Donald Reid has pointed out in his study of the Paris sewers, Parent-Duchâtelet regarded his sewage apprenticeship as a necessary prelude to his work on brothels: "If I was able to enter the sewers, handle putrid matter, spend part of my time in refuse heaps, and live in some sense in the midst of what society closets off as most abject and disgusting, without scandalizing anyone, why should I be embarrassed to take on cloaca of another sort (a cloaca more filthy, I admit than all others), in the justified hope of doing some good, by examining it from all sides."⁶⁶ Like many others before and after, Parent-Duchâtelet articulated the connection between sewers and the female anatomy explicitly. Corbin, too, pointed out this association in his influential study of scent in nineteenth-century France: "The virulence of the illness transmitted by female sewers, by vaginal filth of fallen women, is naturally linked to the mire and to excremental effluvia."⁶⁷ Like the sewers, prostitutes' genitalia, to paraphrase Reid, performed a necessary function in the modern city, and the state was equally concerned with monitoring this part of the city's economy in order to prevent brothels from becoming places of infection.⁶⁸ Reiterating Saint Augustine, Parent-Duchâtelet stated matter-of-factly, "Prostitutes are just as inevitable in an urban district as are sewers, dumps, and refuse heaps. The authorities should take the same approach to each."⁶⁹ Not surprisingly, the regulation of prostitution was often "the first state intervention in women's health undertaken" not just in France but in "virtually every colonial setting."⁷⁰ In the process, authorities in these various locations duplicated his distorted assertions about prostitutes.⁷¹

Unlike other contexts the image of Georges-Eugène Haussmann's Paris as a female entity continued after the city's underground network was cleaned and sanitized. If anything, "The original Saint-Simonians," Reid claims, "had favoured an even more elaborate corporeal metaphor of renovated Paris as woman complete with fountain-breasts and the works."⁷² At the same time, while its antiquated sewage system was more easily construed as feminine because it was "wild" and "untamed," the improved sewers of the Second Empire were described to exude a "male' technical rationality" that harnessed the power of nature.⁷³ That said, the workforce in these sewers, whether in

Paris or anywhere else, tended to be male.⁷⁴ Cesspool cleaners were also predominantly male and depicted in distinctly masculine ways. For example, in order to deal with very strenuous labor, Reid claims these workers filled their bellies with *l'eau de vie*, or spirits, and acquired “reckless courage.”⁷⁵ Parisian residents who failed to tip their cesspools or refused to have their cesspools emptied had their homes defaced through the application of filth by these unruly gangs of laborers. Unlike female laborers, male sewer workers were also well organized; like prostitutes, they were regularly monitored by the police. Women, however, did make the odd appearance in sewers, as when their middle-class representatives began to tour the sewers of Paris in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Most of the city’s guidebooks reassured visitors that the journey was one “in which ladies need have no hesitation in taking part.”⁷⁶ Commenting on this unlikely attraction, observers claimed that “the presence of a lovely woman can add charm to the sewer.”⁷⁷

Gender and Perfume

The middle-class woman who could bring charm to a sewer, unlike the prostitute, was more likely associated with exotic scents than with subterranean fumes. When the perfumer Eugene Rimmel published his *Book of Perfumes* in 1867, he expected the subject would appeal to particular readers, “especially to ladies.”⁷⁸ Revealingly, his initial jottings on the history of perfumery appeared as short articles in the *Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine*.⁷⁹ Paintings of imagined fragrance users and advertisements for products, then and now, also almost invariably depict female figures in various states of undress, posing gracefully in luxurious surroundings.⁸⁰ Olfactory references, as Dugan states, suggest “desirability in ways visual codes could not capture.”⁸¹

Since the ancient period, perfumes were regularly described as products that made women appealing to men. As such, aromas “could function as a synecdoche for other kinds of olfactory pleasures, namely bodily ones,” and were “explicitly linked to sex.”⁸² The female servants to King Ahasuerus of Persia in the Hebrew Bible, for example, supposedly spent twelve months perfuming themselves in preparation for their office—the first six months spent immersed in oil of myrrh, the second dusted with spices.⁸³ Similar yet shorter scenting ceremonies have been documented by ancient and modern scholars. Of particular interest is the ancient Assyrian custom of burning incense immediately after sexual intercourse, which clearly functioned as a purification ritual.⁸⁴ Although such observances involved both men and

women, it was more commonly argued that early Christian women required perfume because they descended from the corruptible flesh of Eve.⁸⁵

If perfumes distracted audiences from this imagined inheritance, scents also attracted the attention that both women and men desired. In 1354 Henry of Lancaster specified that he appreciated the smell of women, by which he almost certainly implied the spiced and perfumed women of the aristocracy.⁸⁶ Not only would the numbers of fragrant females in elite circles have noticeably increased from this century onward (see chapter 5), but also, as this comment and so many similar ones from this and other ages suggest, women were more obviously perfumed. In the late thirteenth century, recipes circulated advising women on spices to use when they were intending to sleep with a man. Of course, men also had access to texts that described ways to make them more sexually attractive to women, including consuming “spycys of goode odoure.”⁸⁷ Perfumes were also valuable in countering various sexual maladies, including impotence, anaphrodisia, and sterility, Hippocrates having first recommended the introduction of myrrh into the vagina in order to increase sexual excitement.⁸⁸ Camphor, on the other hand, had a potentially debilitating effect and was said to castrate men.⁸⁹

Though more often perceived as prophylactic, scents could undermine health, especially that of women. The literature of the past is filled with descriptions of hypersensitive women swooning as if from illness after exposure to various intense scents. In particular, women were regarded as susceptible to diseases, such as neurasthenia, associated with hyperosmia, or heightened sense of smell, as well as scented visions or imagined smells, symptoms attributed to a “hysterical personality.”⁹⁰ Freud similarly likened “a ‘heightened sense of smell’ with hysteria.”⁹¹ Olfactory hallucination, as outlined convincingly by English and scent scholar Christina Bradstreet, “was . . . popularly regarded as a symptom of ovarian disease”;⁹² interestingly, hysteria and other sexual neuroses were treated using scents, such as valerian.⁹³ The mysterious power of odors over women was equally evident in the famous 1630s demon-possession trials held at Loudun, in Poitiers, France, that concluded dramatically with the execution of Father Urbain Grandier.⁹⁴ At the public hearings that grew out of the best-known story of demon possession in Western history, the odor of musk roses brought on hysterical attacks among the victims and their exorcists, to the vast delight of assembled spectators. Such descriptions of scent regularly refer to “the attractive, bewitching power of smell” and remind us of its important role in seduction, as well as the realms of sorcery and witchcraft historically.⁹⁵ Part

of the witch's arsenal since antiquity, and like spells, perfumes and scents could undermine willpower and were supposedly employed to disarm individuals and aid in their capture. In the hands of seducers, "airborne scents were devices that could potentially provoke—and usurp—sexual agency."⁹⁶ The association between the enchantress and perfumes continues to endure in the popular imagination through the marketing of perfumes with names like *Black Magic* and *Poison*.⁹⁷

Sex, Seduction, and Pheromones

Since ancient times, fragrances have been part of a complex olfactory-amatory system in which personal attraction was conveyed by means of sweet scents.⁹⁸ "Fragrance," according to perfume historian Stamelman, "is the voice of sweetness the body adopts to capture and enrapture."⁹⁹ Drawing on a Gallic literary tradition, Bloch reiterated the words of Dr. Augustin Galopin: "When one smells an odor one becomes impregnated with the very matter of the odorous body; when one smells a woman, one becomes impregnated and sated with the living perfume of this woman."¹⁰⁰ The gods of the ancient world were not immune to such games of seduction, most noticeably in the case of Venus, but also with Hades, who seduced Persephone with the narcissus flower. The gods, however, were also often susceptible to seduction; recall Zeus being attracted by Hera's scent.¹⁰¹ Importantly, it was often female deities who lured their male counterparts against their better judgment through the strategic use of fragrances. Such heteronormative narratives reappeared across cultures and gave additional meaning to stories of seduction, such as those involving Cleopatra or Delilah.¹⁰² Dressed as Venus, the Egyptian queen plotted the recovery of her lost territories by seducing Mark Antony, marking her appearances and departures with perfumes.¹⁰³ At a banquet given for the Roman statesman, she filled a room with a knee-deep blanket of roses.

The potential seducer in ancient times was already advised by the authors of various texts to refrain from foods that would make it more difficult to keep one's kisses sweet.¹⁰⁴ In one particular poem from the ancient Egyptian period, the link between scent and sex is made explicit, its release coinciding with the moment of climax.¹⁰⁵ The scents themselves transformed the lover into a perfume, which could be enjoyed in their absence, captured odors allowing one to erect a "shrine to love," often for a love lost.¹⁰⁶ As one of countless examples, John Donne's love poem "The Perfume," composed in the 1590s, employs perfume as a metaphor for the beloved woman and her

body.¹⁰⁷ Baudelaire's "Exotic Perfume" similarly illustrates the way "perfume explodes within the imagination, provoking moments of erotic sensuality, intoxication, bewitchment, and physical as well as spiritual presence."¹⁰⁸ "Eyes closed," the narrator's attention becomes focused on the scent of the woman's body, and the poet is transported on the wings of scent to another world. It is only after he has breathed the woman's fragrance—breathing itself is recognized by scent scholars as an erotic act¹⁰⁹—that he begins to see, implying that smell makes vision possible. Scent literally transforms sight into insight.¹¹⁰ While Baudelaire may be an unusual case, having reputedly possessed the capability of "lov[ing] women with his olfactory sense,"¹¹¹ similar longings are transformed into scent obsessions in the poetic works of numerous lesser-known nineteenth-century authors. The advertising prospectuses of perfumers employ similar metaphors, with promises of regenerative powers and almost certain seduction appearing to mimic supernatural spells.¹¹²

The work of biologists, zoologists, and naturalists has only reinforced the links between fragrances and sexual attraction, primarily by highlighting the importance of scent in the reproductive practices of animals. Emissions that play a part in the sexual activities of mammals also tend to be produced by the sebaceous, anal, and genital glands. Within the human race the female is similarly depicted as the hunter in literary descriptions of seduction, using scent to capture a potential partner. She is described as the one with the "slightly better sense of smell," who selected a healthy mate in order to ensure the survival of the species.¹¹³ Such narratives have been replayed in perfume advertisements in the modern era. As such, "perfume and perfume advertising, along with advertisements for corsets and bath paraphernalia, and other previously unseen objects of dress and beauty, were one of the first instances of the public dramatization of the experience of intimacy."¹¹⁴ Private acts played out in leaflets and posters became public spectacles, with perfume allowing for the visualization of intimacy in public places, including shop windows and department stores or where billboards displayed such sensuous scenes. "Eros," according to Stamelman, "even though still sublimated, [was] brought out into the open, in accord with authorized protocols."¹¹⁵ The erotic effects of hair in particular were not only recognized long before the appearance of such seductive ads but were also supported by animal models. Like feathers, or even the wings of butterflies, hair retained and disseminated odor particles. According to Galopin, "The general parfum de la femme pervade[d] the hair in a concentrated area"; it was "the bouquet of the body which render[ed] superfluous any other perfume." Few women

during France's Second Empire washed their hair, as shampoo caught on only during the Third Republic, when Galopin was writing.¹¹⁶ As a result, "hair remained," to quote Corbin, "one of a woman's strongest (and most seductive) trumps."¹¹⁷

Like the scent trails illustrated in perfume advertisements, visual representations of smell were often portrayed as ropes with the potential to capture and draw in prey. Such extreme powers of seduction have traditionally been associated with wild animals, including most notably the breath of the leopard, or "perfumed" panther, whose mythical fragrance was exploited to capture its prey with little exertion.¹¹⁸ Aristotle, for example, suggested that the leopard was the sole animal that emitted a pleasant odor.¹¹⁹ Other ancient authors suggested that animals, including fawns, gazelles, and goats, were subdued by the panther's exquisite smell and voluntarily offered themselves up to their fragrant stalker.¹²⁰ Descriptions of the way the cat used its natural trait for the purposes of seizing prey take the hunting metaphors of the seductive female to their extreme and have been reproduced repeatedly in perfume advertisements.¹²¹ For the Greeks, the panther symbolized the courtesan, whose alluring scent echoed that of the panther. Though an unusual pairing, the scented feline also came to represent the image of Christ;¹²² the emphasis here was on the irresistible quality of Christ's teachings (see chapter 1). Bloch even suggests that priests knowingly employed perfume to attract men to religious events.¹²³ Possibly inspired by the panther myth, the scents of both flora and fauna have long been incorporated into the hunting practices of humans; for example, camphor was used by Malayan elephant hunters to conceal the scent of humans and their firearms.¹²⁴ Across cultures, human odors have regularly been masked using animal scents, usually urine, especially by hunters whose weapons worked at close range.

Fragrant animal products, though used to camouflage their stalkers, were more commonly valued as aphrodisiacs. Named in honor of the goddess of love,¹²⁵ and because of their animal and specific anatomical origins, certain amative scents, including musk, civet, and castoreum, were traditionally thought "to radiate a potent natural vitality."¹²⁶ Equally appropriate, if not somewhat ironic given their luxury status in the scent industry, these commodities stem from the sebaceous, anal, and genital glands of small mammals, including the musk deer, Ethiopian civet, and beaver (castoreum). Used by perfumers to intensify a scent, these natural odorants are used by animals to attract mates. Literary references indicate that they quickly found a place in human courtship. When the amorous Benedick "rubs himself with civet"

in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*, early modern audiences readily inferred that "the sweet youth's in love."¹²⁷

Of the scented substances extracted from animals, musk has been the most popular with consumers throughout history. According to the physiologist Hendrik Zwaardemaker, whose scent classifications were discussed in this volume's introduction, "musk odors . . . fulfill[ed] a sexual role among many animals."¹²⁸ Whether derived from the small antelope native to western China or two other "inferior" types from Bengal and Russia, the accumulation of a kilogram of the seductive secretion necessitated the slaughter of 140 animals prior to 1888, when it was successfully synthesized by German scientist Albert Bauer during his research into explosives.¹²⁹ While destruction of the aromatic antelope ceased in the twentieth century when safer methods of extracting the musk grains from live deer were also developed, the dried grains had been entering Europe since the early Middle Ages—along with other odiferous objects, including camphor—initially with Crusaders returning from Arab lands.¹³⁰ The additional danger associated with handling this pungent product in an age of miasma helped construct the extraction process as suited to robust men; when hunters removed the musk pods, they would shield their mouths and noses in order to avoid "haemorrhage" or even "death."¹³¹

Though musk tends to be described as a male scent today, this was not always the case. Possessing extraordinary powers of sexual attraction, the essence has been described by perfume historian Stamelman as the olfactory equivalent of the corset: "Like its form-fitting counterpart, musk accentuates the 'salient contours' of the body, highlighting the woman's aromatic silhouette; it gives odorous definition to her figure."¹³² It was "soft, sexual, and somewhat akin to the human skin odor." As such, rather than obscure odors, like many other fragrances, musk asserted the body's natural odors. Only with a noticeable increase in modesty among women in the late eighteenth century was the animal scent eventually discredited, worn only by "brutal and undifferentiated persons."¹³³ A subsequent decline in the use of musk inaugurated, in Stamelman's opinion, "a new, more conservative attitude toward the olfactory realities of the female body."¹³⁴ It was, perhaps predictably, rediscovered only in the 1960s when its associated sensuality specifically added to its appeal.¹³⁵ Although synthetic varieties were developed, musk deer were also first successfully farmed during this period, with herders able to extract musk up to three times without the need to slaughter animals.¹³⁶ During much of the twentieth century, when complex synthetic fragrances prevailed, musk nevertheless remained an unusually popular single-note scent.

To early Christians it was the abandonment of self-control implied in discussions surrounding scent that generated considerable opposition to perfume use (see chapter 1). By referring to involuntary responses, even the earliest writings on scent invoked surprisingly modern physiological concepts. For example, fourth-century Christian texts ponder the way in which “the self-indulgent are led by odors and perfumes and sweet scents rising from their wreaths,” and how not unlike “cattle [they] were led by rings through their noses and by ropes.”¹³⁷ Comparisons with animals added potency to such descriptions of scent while paving the way for modern research into the pheromonal effect in the human species.¹³⁸

The term “pheromone” was coined in a groundbreaking article published in the journal *Nature* in 1959 by Peter Karlson and Martin Lüscher, a German biochemist and Swiss entomologist respectively, drawing on two Greek words meaning “to bear along” and “an excitement.”¹³⁹ Contrasted with hormones secreted within an organism, pheromones are released into the environment at certain times and places in order to coordinate activities between individuals within a species, whether fish, reptiles, mammals, or insects (the subject of Karlson and Lüscher’s initial study). By stimulating the vomeronasal organ at the base of the nasal septum of a potential mate, pheromones in a boar, for example, might both attract a sow in estrus and lead her to assume the proper position for copulation. The “discovery” of the presence of a swine sex pheromone in truffles simultaneously furnished an explanation for the fungus’s appeal to pigs, which are able to detect these delicacies even when they are buried up to a meter underground.¹⁴⁰ An experiment performed in the psychology department of the University of Birmingham in 1978 looked into the biology that underpinned such courting rituals. In an attempt to verify that the musky steroid androstenol is a human sex pheromone, research volunteers were requested to sniff scent samples and then assign an “attractiveness grade” to a series of photographs of women. The marks handed out by the sniffers were far higher than those given by the non-sniffing members of a control group.¹⁴¹ Earlier research by Austrian perfumer Paul Jellinek (1954), who claimed that certain odorants could induce an unconscious reaction, initially generated industry interest in replicating such responses in their perfumes (see the introduction). Though such results have yet to be achieved, one could be led to believe otherwise from the claims implied in the story lines of perfume advertisements from the 1970s, including Revlon’s Charlie, and cheaper men’s fragrances in more recent years, which often employ narratives suggestive of their aphrodisiac

qualities. Even more controversially, a recent history of pheromones concludes that “mammalian pheromones do not exist,”¹⁴² even though the concept continues to fascinate scent scholars.

Long before the concept of pheromones was discovered, the connection between smell and human sexual behavior was taken for granted. In the fifteenth century, “allegorical representations of the sense of smell” already represented perfume as “a tool of sensual pleasure rather than a preventative of sin and disease.”¹⁴³ With the dissipation of plague in the late seventeenth century, pomanders, for example, were more likely linked to amorous associations “rather than medicinal applications.”¹⁴⁴ By the late nineteenth century (1886), the physician Augustin Galopin suggested that the purest union between a man and woman was created by the sense of smell “and sanctioned by the brain’s normal assimilation of the animate molecules emitted by the secretions produced by two bodies in contact and in sympathy and in their subsequent evaporation.”¹⁴⁵ Shortly afterward, Berlin-based otolaryngologist Wilhelm Fliess honed these connections by postulating a close and reciprocal relationship between the nose and genitalia.¹⁴⁶ As evidence, Fliess described changes affecting the nasal mucosa during menstruation, copulation, and pregnancy, which he called “genital localisations.”¹⁴⁷ The relationship was particularly noticeable in the female, as nose bleeds often accompanied uterine bleeding and ceased during pregnancy. Thus his treatment of dysmenorrhea involved nasal therapy, occasionally justifying the complete destruction of certain olfactory zones. The physicians F. J. Collet, Robert Jouet, and Sigmund Freud, with their belief in nasal reflex arcs, further reinforced the links between smell and sexuality, or the proboscis and the pelvis, in the first decades of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁸ Not simply concerned with how smell acted as a sexual stimulant, some researchers began to examine the way odors could repulse and leave individuals socially isolated. Freud provided examples of the repellent power of smell and the havoc this could play in interpersonal relations.

Virgins, in contrast, reputedly smelled sweet, if only mildly fragrant. Ancient Christian writings, for example, referred to the need for virgins to avoid “gorgeous” apparel and “sweet-scented unguents” in their hair.¹⁴⁹ Texts also noted the problem of perfume use by dedicated virgins. Tests for virginity often relied directly on scent. Assumptions by ancient Greek authors that the vaginas of virgins were closed “webs, knots, folds, or gathers of blood vessels and other delicate tissue” implied that virginity could be detected by fumigating women from below;¹⁵⁰ if the scent of fumigants was undetectable in a girl’s breath, this implied that she was “closed” and thus a virgin. Alternatively, a test devised by the thirteenth-century German theologian and Dominican friar Albertus

Magnus involved virgins smelling potent substances, including lilies, coal, and lettuce, which would induce immediate urination among non-virgins;¹⁵¹ variations of this test reappeared in writing for many more centuries.¹⁵² More unusually, the thirteenth-century Scottish mathematician and theologian Michael Scotus claimed to be able to detect virginity through the manipulation of the nasal cartilage.¹⁵³ Havelock Ellis's work on sexuality does not confirm the survival of this method but cites twentieth-century clergymen who claimed they could detect virginity through odor alone.¹⁵⁴

While Xenophon's Socrates reproached women for their reliance on cosmetics and urged brides to abandon perfumes in favor of their own natural odors, sexual encounters in the ancient period, as in modern times, appeared to rely on both artificial and natural scents. In marked contrast to Socrates, Plutarch points out that most men would consent to make love to their wives only if they were perfumed and "powdered with spices."¹⁵⁵ Many writers agreed but recommended women make minimal use of perfumes so as not to nauseate their husbands. Too much scent suggested a funeral, not married life.¹⁵⁶ Other ceremonies and festivals were held in an atmosphere of "grave, almost harsh solemnity," such as the ancient Greek ritual devoted to Ceres-Demeter and Thesmophoria, or the harvest festival of sowing, and specifically employed appropriate fragrances to underline the prohibition of sexual relations, including the "chaste tree," a plant that possessed a scent reminiscent of pepper.¹⁵⁷ While there was a place for perfume within marriage, only moderate use was generally suggested. As Detienne has explained it for the ancient period, "An excessive use of perfumes in sexual relations necessarily entails neglecting the relations that sacrifice establishes between gods and men and thus perverts their entire cultivated way of life in which blood sacrifice is just as important an element as monogamous marriage." As such, "any form of seduction harbours within it the principle of a threat of corruption."¹⁵⁸ Additionally, and more applicable to other cultures succeeding the ancient period, once union had been contracted through marriage, the generous use of fragrance was no longer deemed necessary, because with the chase complete, the use of scent had served its purpose. Continued use might simply attract additional unwanted attention. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Frenchman Augustin Galopin challenged the very role of perfume in courtship rituals, claiming that natural perfumes were more important to attracting the ideal mate. In a work published in 1886, Galopin asserted that the "purest marriage" contracted between a man and a woman was that "engendered by olfaction and sanctioned by a common assimilation in the brain of the animated molecules due to the secretion and evaporation

of two bodies in contact and sympathy.”¹⁵⁹ In any case, the desirable smell that attracted a man to his wife was regarded to decline gradually with age until, when old and deemed no longer desirable, women were more regularly associated with bad smells. Latin poet Martial was one of many who described old women as both wrinkled and smelling of “a goat.”¹⁶⁰

That smell should be central to the marriage ceremony comes as no surprise. Scent scholars have reminded us that odors are an essential part of social bonding and the rituals that formalize these bonds.¹⁶¹ Scent is known as the way infants recognize their mothers, and studies have demonstrated that men and women can identify partners through the scents carried in their clothing alone. Classen and her colleagues have equally emphasized that in the ancient world the tradition of perfuming brides could be understood as a form of cultural processing, whereby women, presumed to be naturally foul-smelling, were symbolically transformed into fragrant, “obedient help-mates” through perfuming customs.¹⁶² As a religious ceremony, marriage easily incorporated other prevalent scent practices. Burning camphor was part of Hindu wedding ceremonies, with the bridegroom occupying the place traditionally reserved for the deity,¹⁶³ while Sanskrit sources refer to ginger grass around the marriage altar.¹⁶⁴ The biblical Book of Esther recounts how women had to adhere to the “days of their purification” before marriage, which meant steeping oneself in anointing oils for at least six months.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, marriage in North Africa called for a variety of aromatic preparations and precautions. Before the actual ceremony, the bride, who was particularly vulnerable to any jealous djinn, underwent a series of purifications and perfuming, the scenting of hair alone lasting several days.¹⁶⁶ Brides also protected themselves with incense and scented jewelry made of saffron, orris root, musk, and benjamin. Elizabethan weddings were less fragrant but still involved having rosemary carried before the bride during the marriage ceremony.¹⁶⁷ As Dugan reminds us, however, rosemary was a complicated signifier, given its use as a plague preventive. Escalation of its use during epidemics in the seventeenth century would have suffused it with diverse meanings, at times leading it to become “a harbinger both of erotic, affective promise and diseased peril.”¹⁶⁸

Men’s Scents, Women’s Scents, and Beyond

An earlier reference to King Ahasuerus of Persia in this chapter is revealing, as it clearly refers to specific “spices and ointments for women.”¹⁶⁹ Careful grooming among social groups removed such distinctions in the Roman period, with

both men and women removing underarm hair, for example, and, in this way, controlling the odors associated with this region of the body.¹⁷⁰ In this respect perhaps class was the crucial distinction between those who smelled in certain periods and places (see chapter 5). However, as Classen and her colleagues suggest, there was a feeling in certain quarters that perfume should be worn by women only. When perfume was detected on men, the same individuals often implied that it was a sign of effeminacy. It therefore became more common to speak of legitimate scents for men, such as the olive oil worn in gymnastics.¹⁷¹ When it came to perfumes, men and women in ancient times tended to wear the same scents. Though scents were less specifically gendered during this period, there is occasional mention of female and male scents. Interestingly, ancient authors refer to male and female frankincense, possibly due to a tendency for resin drops to resemble testes when they accumulated on a tree's scarified trunk.¹⁷² Most notably, the writings of Theophrastus refer to a particular scent that was widely known as *The Egyptian*. Unlike other scents, it was colorless and was said to be particularly suited to women because of its strong scent and character, comprising several ingredients, including cinnamon and myrrh, and the fact that it was long-lasting on the skin.¹⁷³ The lighter lily scents, on the other hand, were described as suitable for men.¹⁷⁴

Such distinctions between male and female scents were also true for more modern periods. While men and women may have used different scents, they generally applied scent to different parts of the body. Given that human hair is a reliable carrier of scent, men have traditionally applied scented pomades to the beard, while women concentrated on their tresses.¹⁷⁵ However, unlike Henry VIII, men could find their noble characteristics emasculated by applying the wrong scent, such as soft myrrh oil.¹⁷⁶ Traditionally, men have been associated with harsh odors, as might have been encountered on military campaigns. These included the stench of infected wounds, dead bodies, and the smoldering wreckage of the battlefield or bombarded city. Soldiers were regularly depicted as sweaty and unwashed and surviving on rations. Interestingly, it was the scent of the warring soldier that the women of Lemnos assumed when they rejected their ascribed conjugal roles and chose war with their menfolk over marriage and its related duties.¹⁷⁷ In contrast, since ancient times, peace has been associated with the scent of "nectar and ambrosia," and incense was used to announce both surrender and purify captured towns.¹⁷⁸ In modern times the floral references to peace have survived. Photos of peace activists dropping flowers down the barrels of soldiers' guns have become a lasting image of the antiwar movement during the Vietnam War, a conflict that otherwise famously smelled of napalm, to paraphrase Lt. Colonel William Kilgore.¹⁷⁹

Interestingly, such simplistic associations had already been disrupted in the ancient period. For example, Roman military equipment, including shields and spears, was regularly perfumed on holidays. Military leaders, both ancient and modern, have also been described as heavily perfumed. Caesar famously boasted of his well-perfumed fighting men, and for Roman leaders the “odour of a crown of fragrant laurel leaves” was the “ultimate smell of success.”¹⁸⁰ At least one smell historian has recognized that George IV of England first encountered the perfume that would become his own preferred scent on a princess at a ball he attended.¹⁸¹ The scent of rose attar became an even more essential component of Henry VIII’s performances of royal power; the use of rose water in some Tudor dramas represented “masculine, kingly ‘triumph over exoticized, feminine virtue.’”¹⁸² Napoleon symbolized the modern self-made man of the bourgeois era, epitomized by his fastidiousness in matters of personal hygiene, whether at peace or engaged in warfare. Never absent from his military campaigns were crates of Eau de Cologne, vials of which he reputedly poured over his head each morning.¹⁸³ In general, after the late eighteenth century, men applied their scents more subtly and women tended to wear floral scents instead of animal ones. By the late nineteenth century, floral scents were almost exclusively regarded as feminine fragrances, while sharper scents were characterized as masculine. During periods when fewer men wore scents, there was also a tendency to regard perfumes as frivolous,¹⁸⁴ particularly because they seemed to preoccupy women more than men. In more recent years certain perfumes continue to be identified as masculine scents, including most of those that smell like coniferous woodlands or the animals that dwell therein. More often, male fragrances are gendered through language, sporting such names as Hummer and Harley Davidson and described as “rugged,” “adventurous” scents and “100 percent man,” just in case there is any lingering doubt.¹⁸⁵

Other times the divisions have been less clear, as when synthetic scents were first produced in the late nineteenth century. Unlike existing floral or animal scents, the new abstract fragrances were not as easily identified as male or female as were, say, a rose or lily. Because of this, many were targeted to a particular sex only to be rebranded before being successfully relaunched as perfumes for the opposite sex. Of particular interest, given the way it is marketed in the present day, is the case of Old Spice. Originally formulated for women in 1937, the scent was sold as Early American Old Spice. After its initial launch failed, Shulton, the manufacturer, requested William Schulz, its creator, to reformulate the scent for men, primarily by increasing its citrus content.¹⁸⁶ Although a more “masculine” scent was created, it continued to be

sold in a cream-colored bottle, reminiscent of “an eighteenth-century rose-petal container, decorated with an East Indian motif.”¹⁸⁷ The motif of male sex appeal was subsequently heightened in the product’s advertising, with bottles carrying the imprint of a woman’s lipstick and television commercials featuring hypermasculine characters.¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the latter incarnation was an instant success, bringing its manufacturer a 25 percent market share and repeat business. In contrast to women, who are said to purchase a brand until they get bored, cheap male scents have been described as “intended for the guy who mates with a product for life.”¹⁸⁹ Thus children of the 1970s and 1980s regard many of these “cheap and cheerful” scents to be “the natural odor that God has caused fathers to emit after shaving.”¹⁹⁰

A division of labor based on gender has also always been evident within the manufacture of scents. In the ancient world women were central to the manufacture of perfume, which highlights the domestic nature of its early production in many early households. However, they were also involved in production when carried out on a larger scale. In reliefs produced in Egypt during the 26th Dynasty, approximately 600 B.C., women are depicted gathering the raw materials used in cosmetics, religious rituals, and funerary equipment.¹⁹¹ Interestingly, they are depicted undertaking not only light work, such as gathering and sorting flowers, but also some of the heavier tasks, such as working presses that were used to extract the oils from blossoms.¹⁹² The recipes used to prepare unguents and other sacred preparations were often inscribed on the walls of temples and in private chambers where presumably only male priests had access. Sacred scents, as this suggests, were often more overtly male scents, those charged with collecting frankincense in ancient Greece having been forbidden any contact with women while gathering these crops.¹⁹³ The blending of perfumes is also presented as a male activity in the South Asian tradition.¹⁹⁴ Perfumers, however, were still often women.¹⁹⁵ According to Karen Rhea Nemet-Nejat, in her work on ancient Mesopotamia, “Women played a major part in the manufacture of perfumes, from the actual manufacture to being authors of perfume recipes.”¹⁹⁶ There is even reference in ancient documents to an entire alley in Jerusalem populated by female unguent makers during the time of Samuel.¹⁹⁷ Such marked female involvement was less obvious when the collection of fragrant products involved traditionally masculine activities, such as hunting, as in the collection and removal of musk pods or felling trees, when harvesting camphor or sassafras.¹⁹⁸ In the case of camphor, women’s work usually involved cleaning and sorting gums and resins, for example.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps because the harvest of frankincense and

myrrh involved merely the tapping of trees, accounts of its collection occasionally note the presence of women.²⁰⁰

Within the last few centuries, this division of labor continued to exist. What one finds in most histories of perfume is an emphasis on the female user and the male producer. Smell had become “the sense of intuition and sentiment, of home-making and seduction, all of which were associated with women.”²⁰¹ There are, however, occasional references to female perfumers. In 1551 eight women were registered as perfumers of gloves in Lisbon.²⁰² The painter Nicolas Poussin ordered perfumed gloves from a particularly noted female perfumer, Signora Maddelena, while in Rome in 1649.²⁰³ Around the same time, the newly emerging and fashionable West End district of London also had a resident female perfumer.²⁰⁴ As has been argued elsewhere, such references grew ever scarcer in the nineteenth century when the art of perfumery entered the age of chemistry. Science and business may traditionally have been male domains,²⁰⁵ but increases in male manufacturing directors also resulted in the appointment of more female clerical workers at scent firms, where presumably their presence, as at other places of work, led “cheap perfume and flowers” to overpower the office’s traditional stench of “masculinity and celibacy.”²⁰⁶ Women not only adorned the labels of perfumed products but also dominated some sections of the perfume production process. As one would expect, images of perfume laboratories depict clean, rational spaces, most often occupied by male scientists in white coats. Women, on the other hand, were heavily involved in floral harvests, sorting products, and packaging. Of the nine thousand employees in Coty’s “Perfume City,” 80 percent were women.²⁰⁷ At the time he wrote his *Book of Perfume*, some four decades earlier, the London perfumer Eugene Rimmel notes that female labor had been engaged by the capital’s fragrance firms for some twenty years.²⁰⁸ Claiming to be the first modern perfumer to employ women, Rimmel particularly valued them for their dexterity.²⁰⁹ Packaging, as in other industries, was therefore regarded as women’s work, although enclosure and shipment of products in heavy wooden containers was men’s work.²¹⁰ Even in the Japanese incense industry, the sorting, weighing, wrapping, and boxing of incense sticks has been undertaken by female workers in the twentieth century.²¹¹ Men, on the other hand, ultimately remained in charge of production, both in the incense industry of Japan and in the leading scent firms in Europe and North America, and generally received the financial benefits associated with the trade.²¹²

Of course, over the past century the fashion industry attracted its share of talented and determined women whose stories confirm and challenge



Gathering roses for the manufacture of perfume, Grasse, France. Source: "The Romance and History of Perfume," *Mentor Magazine* 10, no. 11 (1922), 7.

gender norms within this sector. A good example is Coco Chanel, who rose from humble origins to lead a global fashion empire. In the first decades of the twentieth century, her name "came to mean emancipation and casual feminine allure,"²¹³ the latter of which she strategically employed with some success throughout her career. Adopting the quip, "A woman who doesn't wear perfume has no future," she guaranteed the success of her fashion empire by tapping into conventional beliefs regarding women and scent and launching an unconventional fragrance. Until 1920 most women adopted the scent of an easily identified flower, but Chanel abandoned roses and lilies, which she believed smelled artificial on women and, paradoxically, composed an artificial scent that would smell natural.²¹⁴ She was actively involved in the development of Chanel No. 5, "the greatest legend in perfumery,"²¹⁵ spending long days in the laboratory of Ernest Beaux, a chemist based in Grasse, in the south of France.²¹⁶ In the end their labor resulted in what has been described as an aromatic modernist sculpture, "a sleepy panther," with a corresponding stratospheric price and "a perfume unlike any other ever made," reliant as it was on an "overdose" of aldehydes.²¹⁷ Despite being unlike previous scents, Chanel No. 5 was unquestionably "a woman's perfume, redolent, evocative of woman."²¹⁸

Coco Chanel is of additional interest in a discussion of smell and gender for the way she challenged prevailing stereotypes of femininity. For example, she opposed the exotic ideal espoused by designers such as Paul Poiret, despising the feathers, fabrics, and floral prints that characterized his products. Instead, Chanel drew on the “well-bred look of the British aristocracy,” transposing the boater’s hat, jersey, and pullover from England to France, simultaneously transforming them “from male use to feminine chic” in an attempt to free women from stereotyping.²¹⁹ Another key feature of her collection was the “khaki of the doughboy,” which she purchased from army and navy surplus stores and turned into dresses.²²⁰ Her color of preference was black, and the outfits she designed were divested of every superfluity. Chanel and those she inspired preferred “a ‘boy-girl’ (garçonne) style that suppressed the hips and chest and did not emphasise the waist.”²²¹ This particular style similarly influenced the packaging of her famous scent, which shunned the colors that dominated other perfumes, its bottle an adaptation of a bottle of men’s cologne.²²² Like Chanel’s clothing line, it rejected the voluptuous female figure that was reproduced in the design of so many perfume bottles; this was only one of many ways the French designer transgressed traditional heteronormative gender binaries.

After deciding against a career in the traditionally feminine field of nursing, Elizabeth Arden, considered the “mother” of American cosmetics, was another such enterprising woman to succeed in the masculine world of business.²²³ Opening her first beauty shop in 1910, Arden, born Florence Graham, built up a global cosmetic company, which at its peak grossed an estimated \$60 million a year.²²⁴ Moreover, much of the daily decision making was done by the firm’s female figurehead. Though she employed many male executives, Arden delegated authority to a number of female senior managers, including her sister, Gladys, who ran Arden’s French operations. More often than not, she was autocratic in her business style; indifferent to the opinions of others; and variously described as “vain,” “ruthless,” “ambitious,” and “single-minded.”²²⁵ According to her biographers, she had “never shown any genuine enthusiasm for [the male] gender, except when it belonged to a race horse.”²²⁶ Like many other powerful women at this time, however, she did not immediately enlist in social movements that aimed to improve the status of women, choosing instead a less direct route to emancipation via fame, wealth, and beauty.²²⁷

Despite exhibiting a ruthless and, one might say, masculine nature, the environment inhabited by Arden was feminine to the point of caricature. Her penthouse in New York displayed a mix of eighteenth-century French and

1930s modern design, with floral arrangements throughout, as well as “pink horses and feathers on the walls.” Her bed “was all pink frills and silk,” contrasting noticeably with the room occupied by her second and last husband, Prince Michael Evlonoff, who had been “evicted” in 1943.²²⁸ As she claimed at the time, and despite the red door trademark of her salons and perfume, “When people think pink . . . they think Arden.”²²⁹ Her salons were opulent with their pink damask-paneled walls, edged with a dark pink braided satin ribbon, and filled with masses of flowers. Her cosmetics, though based on those of her competitors, stood out because of their aroma, most being sold as pharmaceutical goods. Facial and body creams and lotions had, in Arden’s opinion, smelled “like a cross between a hospital ward and a house of ill repute.” By using larger quantities of “superior essences,” she was able to move the products “out of the whorehouse and into the boudoir.”²³⁰ Always concerned with the thin line separating the respectable client from the harlot, she ran trials of her products before introducing new styles and products.²³¹ In order to improve sales, Arden also encouraged women to match perfumes to their clothes rather than stick with a single scent.²³² Strangely, the small laboratory where she concocted her latest preparations, which shared premises with her main New York salon, “was Spartan and rather drab.”²³³ Her salons were run by women and her cosmetics applied by women, primarily on women; upon her death, not even her final maquillage was left to a male mortician, a thought she found simply “too mortifying.”²³⁴ Speaking to business and professional women, she emphasized that “women invented management” and “originated group control.”²³⁵ As “intimate” and “feminine” as she believed her industry to be, however, she continued to see a place for men in the world of cosmetics. By the early 1950s Arden not only brought in many male managers, but she also became the first major manufacturer of women’s cosmetics to market a line for men and opened the first men’s boutique to be attached to a beauty salon.²³⁶

While designers like Elsa Schiaparelli would challenge the Chanel look in the 1930s and embrace the “curves of the frame” in an attempt to restore “the suppressed waists and hips,”²³⁷ many more women would succeed in the fashion and fragrance industry in the second half of the twentieth century. Most notably, these included the five Fendi sisters, Paola, Carla, Anna, Franca, and Alda, who in 1925 transformed the small boutique and adjoining leather and fur workshop established by their parents at the corner of Rome’s Piazza Venezia into a global name. Like all fashion firms, the sisters eventually developed their own fragrance, specifically designed to be worn with furs (which remained at the heart of the family firm), and launched the

scent in 1985.²³⁸ Two years later the business introduced their Fendissime line, conceived by a third generation of Fendi women.²³⁹ Though founded by their father, Edoardo Fendi, and having worked in close collaboration with Karl Lagerfeld, the sisters attributed much of their company's success to their mother, Adele, whose portrait dominated the entrance of their offices on the Via Borgognona in Rome since they opened in 1964.²⁴⁰ Within a few years, similar celebrations of female success would be integral to the way fragrances were marketed to the public.

In the 1970s the Revlon cosmetic company appealed directly to women in order to design a fragrance that suited the ideals of the women's liberation movement. When informed that women least liked being told that a perfume could make them attractive to men, Charles Revson and his executives came up with a new, though still very concentrated, fragrance, named Charlie (after Revson himself) and marketed the first "life-style scent" to female audiences in 1973 via "counter-stereotype" advertising.²⁴¹ Appropriately enough, given its male name, the scent's commercial embodiment was a liberated woman who wore pantsuits and a "masculine sports jacket" rather than dresses. Portrayed by history graduate and model Shelley Hack in a series of successful television commercials, Charlie swept in on the wings of male adoration, although she never appeared to be angling for a man. Instead, she dashed across intersections and jumped out of limousines or onto the decks of boats departing from their docks, always appearing to be in a hurry. Where she was headed seemed less important than that she was on the go and was confident, unescorted, and sexy. Charlie was an independent, fun-loving woman, and if the perfume's name was somewhat gender ambiguous, Hack's character assuaged male egos that, despite being on the go, she was not after their factory jobs.²⁴² Other companies rushed in to offer their own "liberated" scents, but Charlie remained the "sensational hit which defined a generation."²⁴³ Other fragrances developed by Revlon and its competitors reacted to the image of the go-getting Charlie and specifically marketed themselves to the woman "who wanted to be feminine again," but these rarely surpassed Charlie's winning formula.²⁴⁴ In its first year, sales of Charlie generated \$10 million and in the early 1980s approached \$50 million.²⁴⁵

In many respects Hack's career equally summed up the aspirations of second-wave feminism. Unlike the faces of other scents during this period, Hack would remain familiar with television audiences and was eventually cast as Ivy League-educated Tiffany Welles in television's *Charlie's Angels*, which, as one of the first programs to showcase women in roles traditionally reserved for men, equally conjured up notions of young, liberated women. The produc-

ers of the detective series clearly could not resist the intertextual associations with which Hack's character engaged during her perfume commercials and quickly signed her up for a tour of duty on the program.²⁴⁶ After several guest appearances in television and film, Hack retired from acting in 1997. Three years later she became founder and president of Shelley Hack Media Consultancy, a company whose projects focus on the intersection between media and the development of civil society. During the next decade Hack literally began a real-life tour of duty, working extensively in the Balkans and West Asia, helping to rebuild media institutions in post-conflict countries. As "supermodel, actress and peacekeeper," Hack's career encapsulates the Charlie ideal more effectively than any of the perfume's commercials ever managed.²⁴⁷

Unlike Chanel No. 5 or Charlie, the first synthetic fragrances to appear in the French perfume industry were less easily interpreted as distinctly male or female and, consequently, frequently led to some gender confusion. The first scent to use synthetic materials was intended as a women's scent, only to be rejected by female users.²⁴⁸ Guerlain's Jicky, perhaps to be expected given its male namesake (Aimé Guerlain's nephew Jacques was nicknamed "Jicky"), was not initially accepted by women. Its scent was regarded as too "ferociously modern," too great a departure from older fragrances with their simple, easy-to-define, single-note aromas like rose or lily. It remained more popular with men until the eve of the First World War, when the women's fashion press finally bestowed the scent with its approval. Appealing as it did to both sexes, Jicky prefigured what has been referred to as "the disturbing aura of androgynous perfumes."²⁴⁹ In contrast, fern, which began as a predominantly feminine class of perfume, has today become a masculine scent, much as scents classified as woody are primarily masculine fragrances, derived from sandalwood and cedar as well as patchouli and vetiver.²⁵⁰

As suggested earlier, during the ancient period writers warned that playing with gender roles was decadent and dangerous. Men who refused to perform their gender according to the prescribed mode potentially upset the very foundations of society and, to some, heralded "the decline of civilization."²⁵¹ References to perfumed men as being effeminate suggest that to many noses in various ages perfume was a homosexual scent or, at the very least, associated with perversion. Ambroise Tardieu, to highlight but one example, identified the pederast as bejeweled, corseted, and "giving off the smells of the most pungent perfumes."²⁵² The stereotype of the perfumed, painted queen is also easily recovered from existing histories of homosexuality. However, for others, such associations might as easily be conveyed as powerfully by smoking and the smell of cigarette smoke.²⁵³ References to "the disease of

homosexuality” and a need for “moral purity” in anti-gay writings could also evoke images of rot and decay and their associated stench, strategies that were effectively used to tarnish prostitutes in the past. The work of Matt Houlbrook has demonstrated more precisely how certain discursive processes embedded “the queer in the dirt and defecation of the urinal,” at least in the modern British context.²⁵⁴ While London’s magistrate Harold Sturge defined homosexuality as “morally wrong, physically dirty and progressively degrading,” his contemporaries in the 1920s and 1930s argued that such passions could easily be controlled by cleaning the capital’s public toilets more thoroughly, the “stale” scent of urinals being said to excite queer men; “once they have the scent,” it was said, “there is no holding them.”²⁵⁵

Evidence suggests that such narratives may have been more common and influential, as far as how homosexuality was conceptualized and even treated, in the twentieth century. In an article published in the *Journal of the National Medical Association*, an organization of black physicians, Dr. Michael Miller of Howard University in Washington, D.C., discussed his use of aversion therapy to treat homosexuality. Finding many male homosexuals, particularly those he regarded as effeminate and passive, to possess a high degree of sensitivity to specific sensations of taste, touch, and smell, Miller exploited such reactivity by using hypnosis to regress his homosexual patients to the time of their most disturbing disgust reactions.²⁵⁶ In the process many of them became highly sensitive to close contact with other males, who were now perceived to be “foul smelling, filthy, disgusting and distinctly unpleasant.” In other words, they internalized views toward homosexuality that tended to predominate within American society at the time, most Americans believing the practice to be transgressive and therefore filthy. At the same time, Miller’s patients were “given strong suggestions regarding the attractiveness and loveliness of the female body.”²⁵⁷ His article concludes with the suggestion that similar methods could be used successfully “with female homosexuals.”

Conclusion

Whether or not one can speak of “queer smells,” the study of smell is highly reminiscent of recent work on gender. Like gender categories, scents are “inherently unstable” and continually in a state of flux and transition. Deserving of further research is how openly gay designers more recently “dismantle the clichés of masculine styling” in the ways that Chanel, for example, tackled those in female fashion.²⁵⁸ The playfulness and irreverence for fashion conventions is as noticeable in the advertising and packaging of Jean-Paul

Gaultier's perfumes, "much of which toys with gay culture and homoeroticism."²⁵⁹ Dubbed the "postmodern sense," perfumes similarly confuse categories and challenge boundaries. However, this has not stopped people from assigning gender attributes to scents. Some aromas are unproblematically defined as male or female, despite a lack of agreement about what necessarily constitutes a "male odor." Many scents were initially introduced as female or male, only to be relaunched and repackaged as the opposite. On occasion the marketing of scents also mirrors larger changes in the relations between the sexes in society, as is most noticeable in the advertising campaigns designed to promote the 1970s scent Charlie. Certain men and, more commonly, certain types of women became associated with scent stereotypes, those of the prostitute and witch predominating throughout centuries, in order to communicate a clear moral message.

Male descriptions of scent clearly dominate the existing literature. As a result, women have been regularly denigrated through associations with foul smells. Women in the West have also traditionally been associated with the more corporeal and proximate senses of taste, touch, and smell, while men have been paired with the so-called rational senses of sight and hearing, which operate at a distance.²⁶⁰ Accordingly, in their everyday practices women were expected to concern themselves with cooking, cleaning, and child care, while men engaged in debate and discourse and managed the work of others. How this translates into different scent practices is therefore less clear, although women undoubtedly contested, transgressed, and strategically occupied the sensory stereotypes imposed on them by men.²⁶¹ That said, we are no closer to confirming David Howes's view that "women may be understood to have different ways of sensing than men."²⁶² Even if such differences turn out to be nothing more than social or cultural constructions, these would still speak volumes. It is to such questions of smell and the ability of particular social classes to smell that the next chapter now turns.

5

Uncommon Scents

Class and Smell

Besides classifying primarily good and bad smells, most histories of smell describe it as the most elitist of the senses. Initially the preserve of the gods, or aromatic luxuries enjoyed primarily by ancient royalty, given their cost, perfumes and scented items were synonymous with the social success and refinement achieved by society's elites.¹ It is only in the last hundred years that "perfumery has moved from the exceptional to the commonplace and from elite to mass market."² And even then it is still more clearly associated with a life of leisure than one of labor. Throughout history, laborers were more commonly described by their social betters as being unable to smell but, rather, to merely stink. Thus the factory occupies a minor role in the history of the olfactory, other than being a major source of pollution.³ In fact, perfume's associations with luxury and art continue to make people working in the modern scent trade uncomfortable when confronted with vulgar terms such as "industry." While the smell of industrial production may have encouraged the middle classes to move out of towns and cities, the lower orders appeared to be oblivious to good and bad smells alike. How else could so many of them have endured lives in poorly ventilated and overcrowded homes in dirty and decrepit slums? As one Victorian perfumer put it, "noses they have, but they smell not." Like race and gender discrimination (see chapters 3 and 4), olfactory codes enforced class boundaries, often functioned subconsciously, and were quickly regarded as truisms, impervious to rational challenges.⁴ It has therefore been common across cultures, argues Constance Classen, "for the dominant class in

a society to characterize itself as pleasant-smelling, or inodorate, and the subordinate class as foul-smelling.”⁵ In general, research into the European working poor has only confirmed their status as “the great unwashed,”⁶ or, as George Orwell put it more bluntly than anyone else, “the lower classes smell,” or so many were told and accepted without question in their formative years.⁷ This chapter engages with such apparently dismissive comments and assumptions by considering the class politics of smell.

In many ways this chapter is less concerned with smell than with smelling. In particular, it examines evidence for the productive proboscis within European society since the early modern period. Throughout history a sensitive nose was clearly important to those who engaged in the scent trade, but perhaps it was most crucial of all to creators of perfumes, more commonly referred to as “noses” within the industry to this day. Most doctors similarly kept their noses attuned to their localities and patients in order to detect diseases before more sophisticated medical tests were developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, because recent histories of smell deal with those years that coincided with industrialization, the nose generally appears out of place during more recent epochs. For example, rarely do studies of smell suggest that the nose was used productively in the age of manufacture. While the laboring classes are to have driven economic growth, this appears to have been the result of visually aided manual labor. Though smell has been described as a lower sense and of little use since man began to walk upright, it is also a sense that mysteriously seemed to improve as one moved up the social ladder. Having grown sensitive with their rise in status, only middle-class noses appeared to possess the potential to serve their communities, most often in the work of sanitarians and medical officers, who cleaned up urban centers and sniffed out disease, respectively, while those of the ordinary masses remained untrained and indelicate. In an effort to challenge this notion, the final section of this chapter discusses some workers who clearly relied on their sense of smell to fulfill key functions in a variety of industries. Not surprisingly, many of these laborers were linked to the production of food and drink, but not exclusively. Moreover, the chapter concentrates on those industries in which workers were required to respond to very subtle scents and not simply the foulest odors that would have been noticeable to even untrained noses. In this way the chapter aims to recover some of the smells associated with class and labor and to construct smell as a skill wielded not only by perfumers and disease hunters but also by laborers in some unlikely settings.

Royal and Aristocratic Pleasures

Smell and royalty have historically gone well together, particularly on the strength of religious links to divine fragrances. Like gods, royal leaders were periodically honored and anointed with fragrant oils and unguents, almost certainly at their coronations as well as subsequent ceremonies.⁸ Histories of perfume and smell regularly refer to “royal perfumes,” often comprised of a great number of expensive ingredients, which emphasized and amplified a ruler’s splendor.⁹ Royal families also had perfumers attached to their courts; Darius III, king of Persia, for example, retained fourteen perfumers and forty-six garland makers for special occasions.¹⁰ The perfumes he commissioned became famous throughout the ancient world and extended courtly presence into new spaces.¹¹ The sole perfumery in the Sumerian city of Mari during the reign of Zimri-Lim was located in the royal palace.¹² Occasionally confining themselves to a single scent, royal leaders were also known to apply different perfumes to different parts of the body, such descriptions occasionally amounting to an “olfactory wardrobe.”¹³ Perfumes were also used on an enormous scale on state occasions and important entertainments, periodically being distributed to the population directly from royal palaces but more often to members of strategic or intimate networks.¹⁴ At other times royal processions carried fragrances into the public sphere, as occurred when the barges of Egyptian kings and queens were washed with scented waters.¹⁵ The more familiar practice of embalming upper-class bodies in ancient Egypt may have been designed not only to preserve them from putrefaction until burial but also to imbue them with an odor that reflected their virtues and exalted status in life. Perfumes were also placed in the tombs of elite dignitaries, infusing living and dead bodies with fragrant scents previously associated with divinity (see chapter 1). Medieval burial practices reinforced similar ideas. The funerals of the wealthy, as in the ancient period, were sensuous affairs, involving the scattering of flowers and incineration of inordinate amounts of incense.¹⁶

Modern royalty were faithful to traditions that emphasized their divine origins and were dedicated users of scents to enhance themselves and their surroundings. The inventory of goods prepared for the executors of Henry V’s will is the first for a king of England to include significant evidence for the use of cosmetics and perfumes.¹⁷ Purchases of flowers for the English royal household in the late Middle Ages are themselves indicative of a modest spice trade.¹⁸ The crowning of British royalty was undertaken with full



Aristocrats smelling flowers on the steps of an ornamental garden, representing the sense of smell. Engraving by A. Bosse after himself, c. 1650. Wellcome Library, London, L0006896.

Christian rites since the time of Charles I, a ceremony that involved anointment with “rose, orange blossom, jasmine, cinnamon, benzoin, civet, musk, ambergris, and sesame oil.”¹⁹ Henry VIII’s rose perfumes, according to Dugan, “allowed him to perform a perfect amalgamation of his earthly and kingly bodies,” linking “the divine right of kingship to Protestant definitions of royal power.”²⁰ Accordingly, the greatest success for those engaged in the fragrance industry, whether in early modern or modern times, was achieved by those who could describe themselves as *perfumeur* to royalty.²¹ One of the most influential authors of the late seventeenth century was Simon Barbe, Louis XIV’s perfumer, who published *Le parfumeur français* (The French Perfumer) in 1693 and *Le parfumeur royal* (The Royal Perfumer) in 1699.²² It was, of course, during the reign of Louis XIV, the Perfume King, that the associations between royalty and perfume peaked, with fragrances being used, for example, to scent some two dozen fountains at the palace in Versailles.²³

Royal privilege seemingly guaranteed perfumers increased sales among the wealthy, who emulated kings and queens in their use of fragrances. Per-

fume also represented an ideal of luxury and beauty that the aristocracy used to differentiate itself from “small’ and wicked people,” if not equally to protect them from the stench of commoners.²⁴ The homes and possessions of the well-to-do were often perfumed as thoroughly as their persons, with herbs and fragrant waters splashed on floors and bedclothes.²⁵ Within ancient societies where perfumes, unguents, and scented oils were used by all social classes, the elite simply acquired more costly perfumes—namely, those comprising ingredients from the most distant lands—and embellished scents by decanting them into glass and alabaster vials rather than cheap ceramic containers. The less well-off used scents sparingly, while the superrich lived in very fragrant atmospheres. In what might be regarded as an early form of conspicuous consumption specific to the use of fragrances, color was periodically added to perfumes by wealthy users in order to reveal exactly how much scent had been splashed on their attire.²⁶

The use of perfumes clearly paralleled the emergence of elites, who distinguished themselves through new forms of consumption and ever more elaborate rituals. Public entertainments organized by the wealthy could be lavish and fragrant events, with perfume fountains and incense trails masking the unpleasant odors that often accompanied public spectacles.²⁷ As Classen, Howes, and Synnott have noted, “Putting on a good show in antiquity . . . involved putting out a good scent.”²⁸ Guests at the most sumptuous events in Greece and Rome were literally suffocated by showers of floral scents or even buried under flower garlands.²⁹ Perfumes were drunk by the cupful, and incense was burned at the conclusion of sumptuous banquets.³⁰ This, as much as the actual spectacle could impress the populous, but, as importantly, effectively “establish group solidarity.”³¹ So widespread were these practices in the wealthiest of Roman households that even domesticated animals were scented with an owner’s favorite fragrances.³² Of course it was no surprise that Christians and moralists openly denounced the perfumed high life of the Roman elite; the “barbarians” had no patience for such upper-class Roman luxuries as perfumed clothes and fragrant banquets.³³

Washing Away the Odors

Standards of personal cleanliness, of course, varied greatly in past centuries. Bathing, as Classen reminds us, was more of a sensual pastime in the late medieval period, often regarded as decadent, and not just a means to cleanse oneself.³⁴ It was also potentially dangerous, as it rendered the body moist and soft and thereby vulnerable to disease and other impurities in the air; thus,

bathing regimes could be very elaborate affairs involving numerous perfumes, special equipment, and considerable time. The object of washing was not necessarily cleanliness for its own sake, but as a mark of gentility. Whereas dirt had previously carried various other meanings, including holiness (see chapter 1), it now came to represent denigration. Most people, however, restricted washing to the hands, face, and clothes, the latter serving to cleanse the remaining less visible parts of the body. The growing adoption of elaborate domestic hygiene practices in the early modern period, like perfumes and expensive fragrances, served to increase social stratification and widened divisions between the wealthy and the ordinary citizen. According to Somerset Maugham, until at least the 1930s “the daily morning bath” continued to divide people “more effectively than did birth, wealth, or education.”³⁵ The novelist went so far as to claim that the invention of domestic plumbing was nearly “as responsible for class hatred as was monopoly of capital,” in which case “plumbing is [perhaps] more essential to democracy than parliamentary institutions.”³⁶ Either way, the lower orders had to wait some time for liberation from the moral stigma that came with repellent odors.

While hygiene practices may have demarcated social status, the denigration of filthy individuals was never a universally accepted custom. Early Christian writers regularly criticized their brethren for the disgust they openly displayed when mixing with lower classes in places of worship. Theodore of Sykeon had famously castigated the Christians of Constantinople in the seventh century for heading straight to the baths after attending the Eucharistic liturgy, evidently to wash off the unsavory smells acquired from their proximity among the congregation.³⁷ Appropriately, Plato once described cleansing as the science of division, “the kind of division that retains what is better but expels the worst.”³⁸ However, as hygiene historian Virginia Smith reminds us, “Distancing yourself from poisons, dust and dirt is one thing; but distancing yourself from invisibly ‘unclean’ people and objects is quite an achievement of the imagination.”³⁹ As in seventh-century Constantinople, surplus wealth in many civilizations before and after allowed grooming to become a high art and distinguished those uppermost on the social scale from those lower down. The importance of personal cleanliness to elites, especially those who lived in urban environments, is indicated by the quantities of grooming equipment they possessed.⁴⁰

Although the use of perfumes was restrained in certain cases by religious practices, a strong market for perfumes, cosmetics, and related materials gradually emerged among the European aristocracy in the Middle Ages. This is perhaps most evident in an examination of the rituals surrounding

the aristocratic bath, as described by Woolgar. In late medieval England this aromatic ablution was prepared with attention to the four seasons and drew on spices and herbs that suited the bather's particular humoral makeup. The seat in one's bath might also be wet with rose water, produced in household stills that were employed to distill a variety of scented waters. Like garden produce, bathing products varied with season—Saracen ointment, a mixture of mercury and fat, being used in spring and summer, myrrh and spinach in winter. Other scented waters might also be employed for rinsing hair or were simply imbibed. While the upper classes may have possessed brass bowls, jugs, and rooms for bathing purposes, the lower orders dunked themselves in streams and household tubs. On the Continent, censuring was also a customary part of the bathing ritual.⁴¹ Peripatetic, or moveable, baths feature in royal accounts, but specific bathhouses were also common among the upper classes. Soap, both soft and hard, usually made of wood ash, is listed in thirteenth-century accounts and cost upward of four pence per pound. By the fifteenth century, fine lathers had become more affordable and were more frequently employed in the upper-class lavage.⁴² However, evidence for the use of high-quality perfumes and cosmetics is much less ample for England, though upper-class women also had homemade preparations from at least the thirteenth century.⁴³ Among the vain refinements reported of a duchess in a fifteenth-century English text was that, unlike her peers, she would not wash with ordinary water, only the dew of summer mornings, which her staff arduously collected.⁴⁴ Odd extravagances aside, the upper classes in sixteenth-century continental Europe expected nothing less than to use spice preparations when bathing.⁴⁵ By the seventeenth century this culture of perfuming reached its apogee, with the wealthiest families establishing not only complex cleansing regimes but also scenting everyday objects, including letters and lapdogs, and every room adorned with decorative potpourri vases.⁴⁶ The fashion for the latter is said to have emerged from a fascination with royal pleasure gardens, the appeal for which had spread to the middle classes.⁴⁷ Not only was the literature of the period "rich in olfactory verse,"⁴⁸ but large gatherings of the poor were now more regularly regarded as particularly dangerous, given their potential to generate and spread infectious diseases, such as plague.⁴⁹

Besides leading local authorities to keep a closer eye on the lower orders, fear of contamination led to the careful regulation and purification of the home on a daily basis. In upper-class households, armies of staff had long been engaged in cleaning, sweeping, dusting, and washing; changing floor coverings of straw, grass, and rushes; and probably the use of herbs. Wealth also allowed

the replacement of anything that was regarded as old, unattractive, and difficult to clean. Royal servant John Russell's *Boke of Nurture* (c. 1440) enjoined the aristocratic chamberlain to keep the privy "fayre, soote [or sweet], & clene," presumably with regular maintenance or even placing scents, such as musk, in the latrine.⁵⁰ Perfuming bed linens and clothing were also commonplace in aristocratic households, as was sprinkling fragrances such as rose water throughout the home using a casting bottle.⁵¹ The most laborious of such tasks could even be undertaken by professional perfumers.⁵²

The smell of the domestic environment was controlled by a number of measures aimed at cleanliness more generally. Since the Middle Ages the five principal feasts of the year—Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the main patronal feast of the house—saw an intensification in domestic cleaning practices.⁵³ An increase in such practices was also noticeable in the spring, when a more thorough cleaning was ritualistically undertaken in many households. In most cases it was women "who patrolled that dangerous frontier between dirt of the street and the cleanliness of the home, who set the maids scrubbing or who plunged themselves into the daily ritual of banishing compromising grime from the premises."⁵⁴ Such grooming naturally extended to the family, and especially the children. Efforts to avoid pollution were made all the more difficult for the less well-off, as the size of the majority of homes did not allow for a clear separation between cooking and living spaces. Changes in room proportions and "the replacement of the traditional hole in the roof to draw out smoke by the more efficient chimney in the sixteenth century" would have reduced the unpleasantness of smoke in the domestic environment,⁵⁵ although smokeless ceramic tile ovens were already being introduced to a number of upper-class homes in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the same time, perfuming rooms by burning aromatics became domestic practice in England. Fumigation in rooms otherwise had a medicinal aspect—not just to counter bad smells but also as a prophylactic and a control against epidemic disease. Bay leaves and other herbs were used to scent the homes of the wealthy, but much less is known of the use of scents among the lower classes, although the traditional lore that applied to garden herbs and wild plants may have extended to a basic perfumery.⁵⁶ Whether these were fragrant enough to eliminate the musty odors of the damp home or cover those of the animals with whom the average country family shared this space is another matter.

If a hygienic Renaissance occurred, it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the Protestant Reformation spreading the gospel of health and purity and the idea of purging, both politically and personally, entering

discourses of the time.⁵⁷ Cleanliness was next to godliness, but heavily scented individuals remained suspect in the eyes of the Church (see chapter 1). This phenomenon has been best summarized perhaps in Simon Schama's history of the Dutch in the Golden Age. No visitor to Holland during the seventeenth century and after "failed to notice the pains that the Dutch took to keep their streets, their houses and themselves . . . brilliantly clean."⁵⁸ This was, of course, in great contrast to most other European cities, and their inhabitants, which were more often undifferentiated dirty and grimy places. Following cleansing regimes with "military precision," the Dutch were "perfect slaves to cleanliness," exposing their "distinctness through rigorous cleansing rituals."⁵⁹ Unpacking the moral overtones of domestic chores, Schama regards the early modern Dutch home as "a microcosm, and a permitting condition, of the properly governed commonwealth."⁶⁰ Nevertheless, despite the efforts of even the most meticulous Dutch housewife, poor families' homes were recognized as smelling different from those of higher status. Martial, the Roman poet and satirist of city life, characterized the smells of the poor household as made up of chamber pots, fish, cheese, some herbs, and basic cosmetic products, including resin.⁶¹ Others might have defined them based on the trades undertaken by their inhabitants, or perhaps the greater number of people who crowded under their roofs. Even the servants of the upper classes, extracted from their poor environments, continued to exhale a lower-class odor that was described as "faintly unappetising" and occasionally life-threatening.⁶²

Of course, smelling foul was not only an attribute of the poor; the middle and upper classes "reeked just as much as anyone."⁶³ For example, the popularity of purple dye, particularly fashionable among royalty and aristocrats in the Roman period, was made from shellfish and smelled horribly. However, this also gave it a certain amount of distinction; some status-conscious citizens wore the hue for its smell, not necessarily its color.⁶⁴ Luxurious living environments were far from being perfectly hygienic. Most homes, after all, were without indoor plumbing until the nineteenth century, making cleaning more difficult and, at the very least, leaving bedrooms smelling of chamber pots. The pages of Samuel Pepys's diary also indicate that it was not just the ill-mannered who relieved themselves in fireplaces or the corners of a room. Finding himself in his friend Mr. Glanvill's house without a chamber pot under his bed when "troubled with a looseness" in late September 1665, Pepys was "forced to rise and shit in the chimney twice."⁶⁵ The halls and rooms of the French monarch at Versailles, "for all its visual splendours, stank of urine and excrement," and even the livestock defecated in the palace's great

gallery.⁶⁶ However, its stench might have inspired a covetous member of the upper classes to order “his servants to urinate around his manor so that his home would acquire the same aristocratic aroma as that famed court.”⁶⁷ Jonathan Swift’s verses, especially his most popular scatological poem, “The Lady’s Dressing Room,” equally highlight the “foul underpinnings of the outwardly elegant lady of fashion” and ultimately her mortality.⁶⁸ Interestingly, the propensity of the author to dwell on “degrading and disgusting subjects, from which men, in possession of healthful taste and sound faculties, turn with abhorrence,” was interpreted as a sign of some “insipient disorder of the mind” and led many members of the upper classes to condemn the author.⁶⁹ Even though it was permissible for persons of respectability to concern themselves with perfumes and fragrant scents, it was “not a refined habit” to address anything offensive or, as Swift appears to have done, hold a foul-smelling object up for all to sniff.⁷⁰ So, while many people would have occupied filthy environments, it was one’s propensity to discuss dirt that also set the elite apart from the lower orders. A man of taste was a man of smell, and this reluctance to address filth likely served to deodorize their environments as effectively as any cleaning practices.⁷¹ By referring to the “unspeakable” scents, authors like Swift “flaunted their unwillingness to be bound by the sterile social conventions of the bourgeoisie” but also offer us a hint of the plethora of smells that never made it into the archives.⁷²

Though reputedly possessing a more refined sense of smell, members of the upper classes also potentially endangered their very ability to smell through their lavish lifestyles. Luxury, according to William Buchan, was highly injurious to the senses of taste and smell. The nose and palate, for example, were already closely tied in their function but were also thought to lose their power to distinguish tastes and odors “with any degree of nicety” when stimulated by “fragrant and poignant dishes.”⁷³ Neither were their habits more hurtful to the sense of smell than when taking great quantities of snuff.⁷⁴ In general, the sense of smell across classes could deteriorate or be destroyed by diseases; the compression of nerves serving the organs and the collection of fetid, or any other matter, in the nasal cavities was commonly experienced during a bout of the common cold. When smell suffered due to the nasal cavities being too moist, doctors attempted to evacuate the nose gently before subjecting its passages to the vapors of amber, frankincense, gum mastic, and benjamin; when they were too dry, doctors stimulated them with snuff made of leaves of marjoram mixed with oil of amber, marjoram, and aniseed. Should the nerves have been involved in the diminished power of smell, volatile salts or strong snuffs were used to stimulate sneezing, and so, too, the nasal nerves.

Changes in Fashion

Just as fashions might have influenced the ability of the upper classes to smell, most notably in the case of snuff, perfume preferences have changed since the ancient period. Pliny noted that “the first thing proper to know about [perfumes] is that their importance changes.”⁷⁵ The Corinthian iris scents, for example, were supplanted by the Cypriate vine–flower perfumes, which eventually gave way to another vine scent from Adramytteum, in the northwest of Asia Minor, before ancient trendsetters embraced marjoram from Cos.⁷⁶ Interest in that scent, too, quickly faded and quince-blossom unguent became all the rage.⁷⁷ Since most early scents were associated with their cities of origin, one can accurately chart these changes in fashion simply by documenting the names of fragrances noted in historical documents.⁷⁸ During the Renaissance, the wealthy were very fond of animal scents, most notably musk, civet, and ambergris. Many trends were set by royalty, such as the blend of rose and musk favored by the English regent Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth.⁷⁹ At the court of Louis XV, otherwise known as “*la Cour parfume*,” the fashion was for a different perfume to be worn each day of the week, and many aristocrats blended their own scents.⁸⁰ By the end of the eighteenth century, perfumes became associated with aristocratic excess, with Queen Marie-Antoinette expressing a new fondness for fresh and flowery scents, including rose, lily, and carnation.⁸¹ The scents of tropical flowers and plants added an additional note of exotic sensuality to perfumes, while animal scents now betrayed their wearers as common.⁸² As spoken by an aristocratic character in Elizabeth Gaskell’s *My Lady Ludlow* (1858), “No scent derived from an animal could ever be of a sufficiently pure nature to give pleasure to any person of good family.”⁸³ Its royalist associations led perfume such as Eau de la Reine to be rejected during the revolution for fear that scent might link one to the old regime. Though Samson pomade, more redolent of the commoner, was used to assert one’s patriotic convictions,⁸⁴ spending great sums on fragrances was equally regarded as frivolous and wasteful.⁸⁵ When the market for perfume recovered, heavy animal scents were regarded by most European elites as too strong and a tendency for lighter floral essences emerged, partly because they were more subtle and their detection required a more “refined” sense of smell. Styles in clothes also became more subdued, and floral scents continued to dictate fashion until the twentieth century. “The modesty and prudishness of the mid-nineteenth century,” Stamelman says, “dictated that women of good taste and standing wear only simple floral scents.”⁸⁶

At the level of the perfume counter, these changes were apparent throughout the twentieth century. By the 1950s, for example, Elizabeth Arden, once the pinnacle of North American fashion, was regarded to cater to the tastes “of the group of extremely dowdy women who were the wives of the Republican hierarchy.”⁸⁷ Like many trendsetters before her, in her old age Arden was seen to have fallen behind the times. Though prepared to accommodate new trends and styles, even industry leaders, like their perfumes, begin to fade. In her case Arden “questioned the wisdom of changing her entire point of view to suit the fancies of a youth-oriented society.”⁸⁸ Yet there are certain “classics” in the scent industry that experienced peaks in sales and continue to be regarded as staples in the fragrance world, most notably Chanel’s No. 5 (see chapter 2). In addition, while there is a tendency in the industry to push for new fragrances and changes in fashion, there is another strand that argues for personal scents.

Though potentially eclectic, taste in perfumes has been determined by scents and marketing, but icons have been influential, too. Just like royal scents of the ancient period, celebrity scents tend to have a lifespan that is dependent on that star’s ability to make headlines. To this day, people buy perfumes named for celebrities, if not hoping that their particular talents will rub off, at least embracing these figures as part of their own identities. Sales, of course, are guaranteed only as long as these figures remain in the public eye. They also appeal to different audiences, some celebrities attracting a particular demographic, either because of age or even class background. Others, such as the Usama [*sic*] Bin Laden cologne, sold on the streets of Lahore in Pakistan, equally illustrate how politics can just as easily transform a scent into “a disagreeable odour.”⁸⁹ On rare occasions, celebrities are even involved in the design stages of a scent, but this tends to be the exception to standard design practices.

Smell and Occupation: Perfumers and Beyond

Perfumers who have sufficiently elevated their status to be compared to celebrities are an even rarer breed. Though their scents may become world famous, perfumers themselves tend to be less well known, with the odd exception in each age, including, for example, Megallus, a noted creator of scents in Roman times. In general, celebrities in the world of perfume tend to be designers whose names are used to market fragrances. Like many perfumers, several also come from particularly impoverished class backgrounds. For example, born Florence Nightingale Graham and daughter to a Canadian

farmer, Elizabeth Arden transformed herself during a successful career in high fashion, despite not finishing high school. After training as a nurse, working as a cashier, and employed in a string of other beauty salons, Arden gradually built her own fashion empire.⁹⁰ As her biographers note, “She had been born into the chaos of poverty and had created the order of wealth.”⁹¹ The public familiarized themselves with her name, which adorned all of her shops, and she set herself apart from the crowd when her cosmetics carried her name as well, the first to do so.⁹² Like an earlier generation of itinerant patent medicine peddlers, she boasted that her European clients were “royalty and women of the highest social standing,” a claim that appealed to her social-climbing customers.⁹³ Only at the very outset of her career did she aim to lure customers through competitive pricing.⁹⁴ Like many makers of luxury goods, her products came to stand for quality and shunned the mass market, helping her to achieve an elite reputation. She elicited sales from those in the top 3 percent income bracket, focusing not on the women who spent \$150 a year on beauty products but on those who spent that same amount each week.⁹⁵ Arden salons in later years were decorated with her habitual disregard for cost, as they were viewed as product showrooms. When her sister, Gladys, married the Vicomte Henri de Maublanc, she became the first lady from the cosmetics industry to marry into the aristocracy. Arden herself also married aristocracy, a Russian prince. Her interest in racehorses gave her access to the world of high society, and she was famously declared by *Time* magazine to be the queen who ruled the “sport of kings.”⁹⁶ Appropriately, at her funeral in 1966 the cosmetics and perfume mogul was given “a royal sendoff.”⁹⁷ Similarly, each biography of Coco Chanel, “the illegitimate daughter of itinerant market traders,” emphasizes the designer’s dramatic ascent from desperate beginnings to celebrity stardom.⁹⁸

While the success achieved by François Coty is equally remarkable, more interesting is that his ascendancy depended on making prestige products available at accessible prices.⁹⁹ Though he received no formal training as a perfumer,¹⁰⁰ Coty knew how to cultivate an interest in his products among a wide audience. In 1924 he claimed that his dream was for “each woman to have her own subtle fragrance.” Over several decades, he “seduced . . . women with the kind of enticements usually reserved for the very rich; an elegant presentation and an air of refinement,” concentrating on the design and packaging of bottles, which he made smaller (and thereby more affordable),¹⁰¹ as well as their contents.¹⁰² Beginning with the middle-class woman “who could afford, yet for whom it was still a self-conscious, special purchase,”¹⁰³ the company’s vast portfolio by the end of the twentieth century included

scents to suit nearly every taste, whether eccentric or sophisticated. Though some of the world's most expensive perfumes are definitive luxury products, sold in diamond-studded and gold-plated limited-edition Baccarat crystal flacons,¹⁰⁴ thus affordable only to an elite, over little more than a century perfumes have nevertheless been democratized.

In earlier eras perfumers tended to be tradesmen whose work was a cross between that of a grocer and a pharmacist. The term “perfumer” was a generic one that covered the activities of liquor makers and merchants, distillers, glove makers, and, of course, specialist creators of scents.¹⁰⁵ Whether Mesopotamian or Mycenaean, perfumers were tradespeople who worked in workshops,¹⁰⁶ and the cultivation and trading of aromatic substances, even in Arabia, was not a “noble” activity.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, some perfumers revealed themselves to be master craftsmen, as was the case in ancient Egypt, where very intricate compositions of scented oils, fats, or fruit pastes were achieved, and perfumers were also often priests.¹⁰⁸ Their primary skill was not necessarily a strong sense of smell, for verifying the identities and origins of the products in which they traded was often as much a visual exercise as an olfactory one.¹⁰⁹ The status of perfumers tended to improve on an individual basis, especially for those with royal connections. It could also improve collectively, as was the case in seventeenth-century France when they were permitted to refer to themselves as “master perfumers.”

However defined, the perfumer's work was distinct in the way it relied on a refined sense of smell. The nose of the perfumer is no different physiologically than that of anyone else. It is only “consciously trained,” rendering it as reliable as, if not better than, a gas chromatograph. The perfumer has also developed a special language to describe and manipulate the world of odors.¹¹⁰ By the late eighteenth century, perfumers more regularly applied modern chemistry to their art. Today's perfumers work with an average of some four hundred natural odors and nearly double that number of synthetic odors. Databases are being developed to catalog the twenty-five thousand identified odors on earth and potentially trap new scents from which to create new ones.¹¹¹ Interestingly, despite their technical training and scientific knowledge, those in the profession continue to emphasize their status as artists.¹¹²

Given the wealth of references to the smell of food and feasts in histories of smell (see chapter 3), the near absence of discussions of the sense in histories of cooking comes as a surprise. While gums and resins were used in ancient cookery, the sense of smell was always relied upon at every stage of food production. Histories of food refer to the use of smell in sourcing and sorting ingredients. Cooks in the ancient Shang Dynasty, for example, used

smell to sort meats into the categories of “fishy,” “gamey,” and “goaty.”¹¹³ The increase in trade between Europe and Asia, which was responsible for the introduction of new fragrances (chapter 2), also brought new products and scents to European recipes. Spices became more common across Europe during the medieval period after initially becoming staple ingredients in upper-class cooking and dining. While a medieval craving for highly flavored foods is to have emerged soon after, seasoning was also used to disguise decay.¹¹⁴ In warmer climates the heavy use of spices and even onions and garlic may have prevented putrefaction.¹¹⁵ Lastly, any dish was judged on completion using smell, before taste, whether by cook or consumer. While this may appear obvious, the detail and skill involved in making such assessments in the past is remarkable. For example, it has been said of Louis XVIII that his knowledge of wild rabbits was so acutely developed that he could “smell a rabbit fricassee and say that the animal had been killed in such and such part of the country.”¹¹⁶ Although this might be an exaggeration, it is to be expected that during times when adulteration was more common people would have relied more heavily on smell in order to detect the substitution of ingredients. On a day-to-day basis, housekeepers and homemakers relied on smell not only when they purchased foodstuffs but also when they were preparing food. This shared domestic culture may be more difficult to research, but some sources do offer descriptions of the role of smell in the home. Mrs. Beeton’s *Book of Household Management*, for example, includes numerous references to how smell might have aided the middle-class Victorian housewife. Smell was relied upon to determine whether a ham was good or bad,¹¹⁷ to differentiate mushrooms from toadstools,¹¹⁸ as well as to distinguish apoplexy from opium poisoning.¹¹⁹

As the latter reference suggests, smell was also central to the work of medical practitioners. Since the earliest eras, doctors have expressed an enduring belief in the regenerative and debilitating effects of odors. Aromas could both transmit disease and promote well-being. Regarded as a material substance by ancient, medieval, and early modern thinkers, smell could be directly drawn into the brain and have an effect on the body by either heating or cooling it. Rose garlands in the Roman period, for example, could both relieve headaches and cool the body.¹²⁰ Disease might be conveyed through contact with odiferous and infectious individuals, objects, or, more simply, bad air. “To ingest fetid smells,” as Jenner has indicated, “was to introduce poison . . . to the brains.”¹²¹ The miasma of odors, whether the result of accumulating rubbish or putrid vapors emanating from within the earth or pestiferous zones, was regularly used to explain outbreaks of disease and epidemics. Perhaps

most famously, the accepted cause of plague in the medieval period was “foul odour caused by putrefaction”;¹²² the unbearable stench of plague victims served only to strengthen such beliefs. Standing water, described as corrupt and “stinking,” whether encountered in marshlands or the metropolis, was also to be avoided, for it could transmit diseases such as malaria and cholera (chapter 6). Air could also change the body and cause existing wounds to deteriorate. For example, medieval practitioners claimed from experience that it was evident that the breath of a menstruating woman could potentially irritate a wound.¹²³ Equally, to control infection, the malodorous, including lepers, sufferers from venereal disease, and plague victims, were isolated from their wider communities.

Prevention and cures by means of odors, as Le Gu er has reminded us, “are merely the logical consequence of such beliefs.” Most commonly, fumigants were used to counteract disease, and good smells tended to counteract the bad. Municipal leaders from ancient to modern times erected bonfires in city streets in order to purify the atmosphere during epidemics. During epidemics like plague, churches and other communal buildings were transformed into enormous instruments of fumigation. Daniel Defoe’s *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), for example, notes that “the whole church was like a smelling bottle; in one corner it was all perfumes; in another, aromatics, balsamics, and a variety of drugs and herbs; in another, salts and spirits.”¹²⁴ The fumigation of homes was simply an extension of such public health measures on a domestic level. Purifying substances included incense and vinegar along with the smell of goats and other livestock.¹²⁵ Infected homes, usually those of the wealthy, were occasionally disinfected by professional perfumers.¹²⁶ Venturing outside the home often required the possession of a prophylactic device such as a pomander or a handkerchief perfumed with vinegar or herbs. The gold-headed canes and walking sticks of the eighteenth-century doctor often possessed hollow handles in which camphor, musk, and other pungent substances could be stored. “Violent” odors, such as gunpowder, quicklime, and ammonia, were required to neutralize plague vapors, because, as a seventeenth-century physician noted, one did not “tame the force of a lion with that of a lamb.”¹²⁷ The most pernicious infection after the plague was the smell of the jail. For the safety of the judges, jury, and lawyers, even into the twentieth century the air in the Old Bailey, like many courtrooms, was regularly sweetened with herbs in order to neutralize the odors of prisoners brought to trial.¹²⁸ Prisons themselves, it goes without saying, were regarded as cesspools, the smell in the cells and central courts, especially in the mornings, being enough to “knock you down.”¹²⁹ The stench of Newgate

Prison permeated the neighborhood in which it was situated, despite the installation of a ventilation system and regular rinsing of the prison walls with vinegar.¹³⁰

While smells were thought to convey information about identity, character, and moral state, they were also indicators of very specific physical conditions and were therefore employed diagnostically by medical practitioners since antiquity. Galen and Avicenna both encouraged this practice, as the odor of the breath indicated the balance, and possible corruption, of the humors in the patient's body.¹³¹ And as mentioned earlier, Christian writings also refer to the common medical practice of diagnosing illness through smelling a patient's breath.¹³² From the thirteenth century, it has been argued, smell was increasingly used as a tool of discrimination in practitioners' diagnoses.¹³³ It is clear from existing medical writings that some practitioners had developed complex diagnostic procedures that were determined by slight variations in scent. For instance, medieval surgeons used smell to distinguish putrid ulcers and cancer from ordinary wounds.¹³⁴ The putrid ulcer had "its own stench," which was difficult for surgeons to put into words but was noticeably different from other odors once a practitioner had become familiar with cancers.¹³⁵ Later centuries saw descriptions become more accurate. Plague, according to Francis Bacon, was said to possess the smell of a "mellow apple."¹³⁶ Perhaps indicating the widespread acceptance of such notions, this particular scent was described to act upon Goethe like a poison, though, as a reminder of how personal such aversions could be, his literary compatriot Friedrich Schiller claimed to be unable to live without the scent.¹³⁷ The smell of typhus, as one would expect in the case of disease, is to have had a "close mawkish odour." Acute rheumatism had an acid smell, while acute nephritis was to have smelled of chaff.¹³⁸ Smell of mice was said to accompany the skin disease known as favus.¹³⁹

Providing direct access to the brain, the nose was an alternative route for the administration of remedies (see introduction).¹⁴⁰ Ancient therapies reliant on smell almost promised miracle cures for afflictions such as prolapsed uteri, or "wandering wombs."¹⁴¹ The use of odor in treatment is readily illustrated by the medieval manner of treating a wandering uterus. In order to "suffocate" a uterus, pungent smells such as burnt cloth or feathers were placed near the female patient's nose in order to drive the uterus downward to its correct position. Another way to attract the organ downward was a "suffumigation," comprising pleasant-smelling herbs and spices placed close to the woman's genitalia to literally attract the uterus; in the case of a prolapsed uterus, the opposite course would have been employed.¹⁴² Other smells were deemed

to be particularly suited to assist conception and childbirth. Perfumes were similarly applied to burns and inflammations, promising at the very least to eliminate the odors of festering wounds.¹⁴³ Other odorous illnesses were treated by purging the patient of prevailing corrupt humors. Stench from the armpits, for example, necessitated the consumption of chestnuts and celery followed by wine and asparagus.¹⁴⁴ Epileptics were treated with the scent of thyme.¹⁴⁵ The danger for the patient in all of these cases, at least before the thirteenth century, was that with time the persistence of stinking symptoms could be reinterpreted as evidence of an individual's immutable nature or flawed moral character.¹⁴⁶

The importance of smell in medicine declined by the late nineteenth century as the medical community began to focus on microbes (see also chapter 6). Such a significant change may have been an attempt by doctors to consolidate their professional diagnostic powers, which, when it came to smell, had been more widely shared with lay members of the middle classes. New instruments, however, had been developed that allowed practitioners to determine disease causation with greater certainty. Nevertheless, people continued to rely on smell to revive those who were in an insensible state from fainting or even drowning. Smelling salts, or carbonate of ammonia, for example, offered immediate relief to many eighteenth-century ladies suffering from the vapors.¹⁴⁷ Interest also emerged in diseases associated with changes in patients' abilities to smell, albinos, for example, having been congenitally anosmic.¹⁴⁸ Most often, however, fragrant and pungent odors were employed as a form of preventive medicine in order to ward off illness before disease struck. By the turn of the century, fumigation as a means to control disease was more often regarded as a waste of time and money and replaced with formaldehyde or alternative disinfectants. While smell might still have been used to locate diseases, such as diabetes,¹⁴⁹ or the drunkard in the emergency ward, sight and more sophisticated diagnostic tests were now almost always necessary to confirm the existence of an illness.

A Plea for Common Scents

Apparently the thought that laborers and members of the working classes possessed keen senses of smell was rarely considered throughout past centuries; the more commonly held belief was that they emitted smells. From ancient times, individuals within local populations were stigmatized and categorized because of their social status or because their occupations were

associated with dirt, detritus, and disgusting odors. Interestingly, some writers, such as Socrates, even argued against the use of perfumes because they had the potential to disguise the differences between freeborn citizens and slaves.¹⁵⁰ The most obvious division that olfaction underscored in most societies was that between rich and poor, or those who could afford to clean and perfume themselves and those who could not. In antiquity the trades of the tanner, fishmonger, and fuller were already characterized as foul and therefore often spoken of with disdain.¹⁵¹ In attempts to overcome such discrimination, some of the lower classes wore cheaper scents that were considered equally “vulgar” by the middle and upper classes.¹⁵² Cleaning more regularly, however, did not automatically ensure respect. As Le Guérer has suggested, disgust inspired by smell in such cases appears invincible.¹⁵³ Just as important, even the smelliest plutocrat would have been described as fragrant by admirers who simultaneously reinforced a symbolic hierarchical structure through language. Metaphorical good odor depended on far more than actually smelling of roses.¹⁵⁴

In medieval times, for example, occupations ranging from cook to scullion and dyer to tanner were stereotyped because of the smells linked to these trades. Malodorous industries remained subject to condemnation into the twentieth century. Sometimes the offensive environment was confined to a single process or a room within a factory. For example, the sizing rooms of cotton mills were described as particularly objectionable environments. Occasionally this was perceived by the operatives themselves, as evidenced by the fact that few of the girls employed in these spaces remained in their post for more than a few weeks at a time.¹⁵⁵ Habituation, however, was more common and led most laborers to tolerate even the smelliest employment. In general, such occupations were regarded as degrading and were avoided for the sake of both honor and physical contamination. Tainted trades like prisons and isolation hospitals, therefore, concentrated in particular pestiferous zones because of the smells they generated. The homes of the poor were equally characterized by their offensive smells. Over all other observations and inequalities, sanitary reformers of the Victorian period who regularly poked their noses into poor households chose to point to “putrescent exhalations,” often said to be generated by “the faecal remains which are commonly retained in the rooms.”¹⁵⁶ The apparent willingness for some families to continue to live in filthy environments appeared to lend some support to the belief that, despite having noses, the lower orders “smell not.”¹⁵⁷



A London Board of Health relying on smell to hunt cases like cholera. From the *Looking Glass or Comical Journal*, Wellcome Library, London, Slide Number 5152, 10006896.

Such remarks appeared to apply particularly well to sewer men. In his article “On the Clerical Character” (1818), the English critic and essayist William Hazlitt made the assumption that any individual employed in odorous occupations either lacked a sense of smell or quickly lost it in order to be able to tolerate his unpleasant work.¹⁵⁸ In particular, he suggested this was the case of all those “persons who undertake to pry into, or cleanse out all the filth of a common sewer.” Whether in India, New York, or Paris, those individuals whose chief employment involved the removal of waste traditionally became the “other” and most certainly were considered untouchables. This is just one example that underlines what historian Donald Reid refers to as the otherness of sewer men, which served to remove them from the normative public discourse on the working class and subject them to the obsessive concern of reformers and local authorities. While the numbers of potentially dangerous and revolutionary laboring classes increased as the populations of industrialized cities swelled, the marginal figure of the sewer worker was unusual, as he also possessed the potential to cleanse the city of the forces that threatened to destroy it.

This was not, however, how most people would have regarded these tainted operatives. To most members of the middle classes, it seemed

self-evident that anyone working in a filthy and putrid environment must take on some of those features themselves. As Anthony Trollop and other novelists argued, one could expect such laborers to become more refined only once they abandoned their former milieu and started living in a less corrupt environment. Even in an age predating the construction of wide networks of sewers and cesspools, designated workers were employed to collect the chamber pots that urban residents left outside their doors at assigned hours, usually at night. For many centuries afterward, individuals who occupied these posts found it difficult to shed their insalubrious identities and lived on the margins of society undertaking work that was clearly essential for the survival of urban populations but that few others willingly undertook.

Since 1530 in France, royal ordinances required the construction of domestic sumps or cesspools. Most cesspool cleaners subsequently performed their integral yet furtive roles under the cover of night. Skimming waste off the top of household cesspits using ladles, buckets, and pulleys, and digging out solid dreck every three to four years, this army of cleaners carried away their fecal harvest to designated disposal sites, such as Montfaucon in Paris.¹⁵⁹ Even though they were organized in a guild and regulated by the police in eighteenth-century Paris, cesspool cleaners were more regularly regarded as desperate laborers who paid for their thankless employment with their lives. While an earlier ordinance in 1350 threatened to fine anyone who insulted a cesspool cleaner, the public seemed equally aware that from the time of Emperor Trajan to Louis XIV this duty was regularly carried out by convicts.¹⁶⁰ In general, the “drunken, rowdy, noisome cesspool cleaner disgusted most Parisians.”¹⁶¹ Bumping along the Parisian cobblestone streets, the cleaners’ carts sounded like “musket volleys” or a cavalry charge and were averted.¹⁶² Moreover, those people who came into contact with the contents of sewers or cesspools were themselves frequently regarded as pollutants, or even as filth generators, rather than waste removers. Less often described as a group embodying civic spirit and lauded for their selfless sanitary efforts, these “infected” individuals were more often valued in direct correlation to the material with which they worked.¹⁶³

Despite working at night and thereby removed from ordinary public life, cesspool cleaners attracted much interest from medical thinkers. As Reid has suggested, the focus of doctors on the health of cesspool cleaners “encouraged a view of these workers which was internal to (and in some sense exemplary of) the functioning of society.” In fact, the very field of

occupational health appears to have emerged as a result of the Italian physician Bernadini Ramazzini fortuitously observing the deleterious effects of sewage on a laborer who collapsed after attempting to clear a particularly filthy cesspit across the street from the doctor's home in Modena. That said, Ramazzini's entire approach to the dangers associated with work centered on the contemporary notion that bad smells bred disease, which ultimately explains his choice of dangerous trades in his best-known publication, *De Morbis Artificum Diatriba* (*Diseases of Workers*). Unlike the hazards withstood by other workers, however, those faced by cesspool cleaners were those confronted by an urban population inhabiting a polluted and mephitic environment, only in microcosm, and perhaps in more concentrated doses. Despite occupying the lowest rungs on the social ladder, one could compare the cesspool cleaner with doctors, as both came into close contact with the harmful wastes of the human body, although few observers made such comparisons during the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁴

Throughout the Victorian period, differences in status continued to be registered by way of smell. After examining some eighty Victorian novels published during the 1860s, Janice Carlisle confirmed that "olfaction is the sensory modality in which such discriminations are most reliably cast."¹⁶⁵ While referring to fictional characters, Carlisle's research is important for it refers to the "lived experience of inequalities" as understood by Victorian readers and writers who recognized such "comparative encounters" in print and used them on a day-to-day basis quickly and seemingly unproblematically to identify the class status of literary characters.¹⁶⁶ In Carlisle's selected texts, intrusions of the working classes in various domestic settings and even outdoors are easily detected by others through the scents they carry on their persons. Such distinctions suggest that the middle classes would not only have been able to recognize tanners and knackers, or anyone engaged in equally odoriferous work for that matter, but would also have been adept at registering far more subtle scents. For example, in Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend* (1864–1865), Eugene Wrayburn ascertains the invasion of his London chambers by the destitute tailor Mr. Dolls, relying on scent alone. Such responses appear automatic, and noses, Carlisle suggests, sometimes appear to know more about what matters than their owners would ordinarily be able to articulate. Others, like Esther Lyon, the lively and fastidious heroine of George Eliot's *Felix Holt* (1866), devised their own detailed scent codes, through which they secretly condemned or sanctioned all things and persons with whom they came in contact.¹⁶⁷

Whether employed in sewers or tainted trades, to most middle-class observers the working classes simply smelled differently. The narrator of George Hughes's *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861) goes so far as to conjure up for his readers the smell of the cotton fabric fustian that they would have perceived had they traveled in a third-class train carriage. The scents associated with the laboring classes further provided olfactory traces of the food they ate, the work they undertook, the clothes they wore, and the homes they inhabited. More accurate than a fleeting glance, a single sniff was often enough to confirm that a man was in actual fact a gentleman. Such class distinctions in Victorian culture were frequently experienced in the terms that Mary Poovey employs to define "the binary logic that governed the Victorian symbolic economy."¹⁶⁸ Olfactory encounters, according to Carlisle, suggest why class might have seemed "to hold priority over other measures of inequality" when used to distinguish the refined from the raffish, posh from plebeian. Whether such distinctions actually existed is beside the point. Echoing Raymond Williams, Carlisle reminds us that such simplified class distinctions as exist in Victorian fiction work "to promote superficial comparisons and prevent real ones."¹⁶⁹

By the 1860s the smell of British fiction, like that of that society's cities, had seemingly been sanitized. High Victorian fiction cataloged almost exclusively only those emanations stemming from relatively innocuous sources, provoking at most faint distaste. While the novels of the 1840s, like Edwin Chadwick's famous sanitary survey (see chapter 6), contained working-class characters reeking of decay and death, as portrayed in Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848), such rank odors are rare in High Victorian literature and appear only in attenuated forms. The aroma of the poor, when occasionally described by middle- and upper-class characters, is more often likened to "stale pie-crust and peat smoke," or even "apples and corduroy," not sewage and diseased flesh.¹⁷⁰ As represented in various literary texts this change attests to the success of mid-century sanitary campaigns, or such descriptions might more directly reveal, as Carlisle suggests, a change in perception effected by that most famous of hygienic movements. It is, she continues, "as if Chadwick's campaigns, having taken hold of middle-class imaginations, made it more difficult for novelists to attend to the evidence of the unsanitary problems around them."¹⁷¹ The novels of the 1860s consequently turned away from the more blatant and disgusting stench associated with poverty in order to apprehend fainter, though often equally distinct and distasteful, odors that were nevertheless

as effective when it came to indicating the values that underwrote “the osmology of high-Victorian fiction.”¹⁷² The intensity of fictitious aromas may have declined, but the significance of smells in defining the subtle distinctions charted in everyday literary encounters seems to have increased. Victorian noses, Carlisle finds, were very refined indeed, and such olfactory sensitivity was not confined to the middle classes.

More often dismissed as smelly themselves, some laborers nevertheless relied on their sense of smell on a daily basis in order to undertake their work, even when toiling in the most unhygienic of conditions. Take, for instance, Gervaise, the laundress protagonist whose decline is charted in Émile Zola’s *L’Assommoir* (1877), the seventh novel in the French author’s Rougon-Macquart series. Though a fictional character, Gervaise has been included here to acknowledge Zola’s contribution to the study of smell, but, equally, her use of smell in the workplace gains some credence because of the meticulous way the author researched his subjects before commencing his novels. In the case of Gervaise, Zola “details the techniques, the machinery, and the economics of washing clothes, as well as drawing richly on their metaphorical weight as figures of disease and degeneration.”¹⁷³ She, like the hygienists who cleaned up nineteenth-century European capitals, searched out filth in the finery of her clientele, using her sense of smell to sort the mountains of laundry her small business handled. Unfortunately, by this time laundering was no longer conducted outdoors and had become dangerous with urbanization and industrialization. As a consequence, Gervaise is eventually overcome by the “moral and sexual pollution of the laundry.”¹⁷⁴ Rules for the management of public washhouses aimed to control the dirt and dampness with which the laundress came into contact, suggesting, for example, that the clothes of dirty and less polluting customers were not to be laundered together. Unfortunately, these same records do not indicate how this was actually determined by washerwomen. Neither is the subject clarified in histories of the laundress and her trade, despite her “access to [the home’s] most intimate forms of dirt,” which simultaneously “makes her a figure tainted by a moral and social lack of cleanliness.”¹⁷⁵ Patricia Malcolmson’s study of the English laundress notes that many laundries smelled of beer and urine, the latter of which was often used when sufficiently stale in order to get whites their whitest, because it contained ammonia. Even in the sixteenth century, the extraction of dirt from underclothes involved “smearing the clothes with mud or scouring them with dung,” a practice that, according to one English contemporary, gave them “such a savour that I cannot abide to weare them on my bodie.”¹⁷⁶ While typical of much smell historiography, which stresses such extreme scents, Malcolmson’s study is

useful in another respect, for she argues that many medical officers at the time mistakenly believed the smell of laundry was the result of the wearer's filthy state rather than the solution in which it was being washed. Though Malcolmson does not identify any specific cases of such misunderstanding, a reasonably well known medical report—namely, Edwin Chadwick's report titled *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842)—substantiates her claim. In this case the testimony is provided by John Liddle, one of the medical officers of the Whitechapel union, and, once again, condescendingly refers to the deplorable condition of the working classes in the neighborhood. In particular, Liddle laments the lack of water for any purpose, especially laundering. When referring to washing practices in his district, he suggests, "When I have occasion to visit their rooms, they have only a very scanty supply of water in their tubs. When they are washing, the smell of the dirt mixed with soap is the most offensive of all the smells I have to encounter. They merely pass dirty linen through very dirty water. The smell of the linen itself, when so washed, is very offensive, and must have an injurious effect on the health of the occupants."¹⁷⁷

Corbin has demonstrated that people in other professions at this time, including policemen, worked alongside medical officers, directly assisting these professionals as part of the movement to purify the urban environment of nineteenth-century France.¹⁷⁸ However, and somewhat surprisingly perhaps, he does not suggest they may have used their senses of smell on other occasions—for example, in order to fight crime. Consequently, although he refers to "smell" prints, which the French chemist Jean-Pierre Barruel (1780–1838) offered as an alternative to fingerprints, this discovery remains an unknown page in the history of identification.¹⁷⁹ Another study, however, permits further elaboration on this topic. Drawing on the correspondence of Thomas Southern Burman, an English medical student who traveled to Paris in the 1830s, my own research has described an episode that captures an instance of olfactory crime fighting.¹⁸⁰ Visiting the French capital to improve his anatomical knowledge, Burman regularly took organs and limbs to the lodging house where he resided in order to continue his studies into the early hours of the morning. While Burman does not disclose in any of his correspondence how he disposed of those body parts for which he no longer had a use, in one of his letters home to his parents he devotes many lines to the antics of a close friend who also took specimens out of the classroom. On this occasion his young colleague is said to have obtained an arm of a woman, which he dissected for a number of days in his pension, or lodging house. When finished with this particular study, the student searched the building for a means to dispose of the limb. Eventually the pupil decided to

deposit the arm through a hole in the wall at the end of the hallway outside his room. Given its great height, however, he was unable to see where the opening led before actually discarding his homework. Nevertheless, he managed to pass the arm through the pension's damaged wall and successfully launched it from the building. Unfortunately, the decaying limb dropped through a skylight of the neighboring house and ended its flight in a kitchen, where a servant was preparing soup. The distressed cook immediately communicated with the local police, who quickly came to investigate what appeared to be an unusual case of murder. Since there had been no witnesses, however, the police were forced to rely on other clues in order to track their felon. Given the advanced state of decay the arm had reached, one brave officer decided to familiarize himself with its scent and proceeded through the neighboring lodging house, tracking the offender like a bloodhound, relying on his sense of smell alone. His remarkable efforts eventually paid off, for when he reached the upper floors the scent was quickly identified and led him straight to the medical student's room. No other evidence was discovered, but the strength of the smell in the room was deemed sufficient to convince the police of the young man's guilt (likely only of property damage). In this case the student was issued a fine and a strong warning, and the police were satisfied with the outcome, convinced that a murder had not been committed. Finally, the tale also gives some credibility to accusations made by a landlady in Corbin's study, who regards the stench emanating from cesspools near her Parisian lodging house to be the result of decaying body parts buried there by medical students.¹⁸¹

Presumably, the police officers involved in these cases were not trained to use their sense of smell, despite Barruel's attempt to develop a theory of smell prints based on tests applied to blood found at crime scenes. Many workers, however, were competent in this respect. For example, a number of guide books produced in the Victorian period refer to the importance of smell in carrying out certain industrial tasks. More important, such advice continued to be of use long after the advent of diagnostic tools that had led to a decline in the importance of smell among medical practitioners and other professionals. While Hazlitt suggested that sewer men's noses could not have been of use to their employment, this was an erroneous premise, for scent regularly served to alert them of potential danger. Throughout the last couple of centuries, sewer workers have endured many real threats, including fires, explosions, chemical burns, eczema, and infections that could lead to blindness or incapacity.¹⁸² Like miners and other laborers employed in confined spaces, they often used their noses to warn them of the presence

of dangerous substances such as hydrogen sulfide and to avoid asphyxiation. Occasionally, historians of sewers have overlooked the importance of smell among these workers, merely suggesting that a poor sense of smell in such a malodorous occupation could only have been a benefit.¹⁸³

The sense of smell of all those individuals involved in assessing the quality of raw materials in the food industry not only surpassed those of the average consumer who aimed to sniff out adulteration but also provides additional examples of smell's use in employment. These include wine makers, as well as coffee and tea graders, among many other skilled laborers and salesmen. While most histories of the related industries omit any references to smell, inspectors of tea in the nineteenth century were known for "the acuteness of their smell."¹⁸⁴ Within the companies themselves, tea graders were valued for this skill. This particular point was discussed by a journalist employed by *Scientific American* who visited a wholesale teahouse in 1868 and wrote that "the testing of tea exhibits, in a more marked manner, the use of taste and smell in mercantile transactions." Observed drawing the cork from the side of a tea chest, a taster was described as he "takes a few grains in his hand, smells it, then pours it in a cup, pours a little hot water on it, tastes, and his judgement is formed, the character of the tea is fixed." Interestingly, the article's author concludes by noting, "Frequently the smelling is sufficient, and it is remarkable how absolutely and decidedly the taster declares the character of the article he has tasted. No less remarkable is the fact that there is seldom any marked disagreement between the estimate made by different individuals."¹⁸⁵ Again, my work has recovered additional evidence from early twentieth-century manuals that similarly highlighted a reliance on smell by those who purchased hops, for example, despite the existence of microscopes and other more "scientific" tests. In C. Oscar Grindely's *Hop Judging for Brewers* (1910), it is suggested that "with care and little trouble a buyer by rubbing hops down and using his sense of smell together with his sense of sight can, in most cases, become a sufficiently good judge of the intrinsic value of hops to be a guide for his purchases."¹⁸⁶ Additional material pertaining to related industries is of even greater interest, as it suggests smell was required of those in production, and not simply by buyers, who might also have been managers, or, in other words, middle class. Evidence from the English malt industry is potentially of greater importance to the history of smell, as it provides the sort of testimony that suggests workers possessed very sensitive noses and responded to the most subtle of scents, even when their most valued attribute was strength. This, more than any other documentation collected

here, appears to challenge the notion that laborers lacked a refined sense of smell.

Most descriptions of the malting trade suggest workers were recruited for their strength alone. Above all, histories of the trade suggest the malt house was a demanding environment.¹⁸⁷ The entire production process was labor-intensive, a fact that was used to justify maltsters' very generous ale allowances. Soon after being steeped in water and laid out on the malt house floors, germinating barley was turned frequently, often "violently tossed about," a practice that aided the evaporation of moisture over some ten days.¹⁸⁸ Thereafter, the layers of grain were reworked with special forks every two hours during the last four days of malting. After kiln drying, malt was packed into bags weighing at times well in excess of two hundred pounds. Based on previous histories of smell, one would assume that just this sort of laborer was implied by those who asserted that "strong arms precluded a delicate nose."¹⁸⁹ The author of the quotation in this case was referring specifically to sailors, but similar descriptions reappear in other historical texts. Nevertheless, although the entire malting process could not be measured as accurately as the average malting department's accounts, workers appear to have judged the quality of malt fairly accurately throughout production using only sight or even occasionally smell. For example, according to some maltsters and the editors of trade journals, the poorest malt smelled of rotten apples, while "good malting smell[ed] of cucumber."¹⁹⁰ Almost anyone might have been able to identify the plague-like scent of bad malt, but good malt seems to possess an unusually subtle scent, one that even many middle-class noses would have had some difficulty detecting. Presumably, given their links to agricultural communities, most workers in malt houses would have had less difficulty with such a description. It is much more likely that many of these workers' middle-class contemporaries would have been surprised at such a claim, as most clearly doubted the existence of such fine-tuned and delicate senses among workers who were generally known for their strength and stature.

A final example from the brewing industry will hopefully dispel any remaining doubt that smell was not only an important part of production but could also at times be central to a laborer's particular post. In some respects smell might even be thought of as a neglected skill, surviving into a period more often characterized by de-skilling. Just as hops and malt are key ingredients of ale, so, too, was smell important to the success of provincial breweries. Whereas most histories of the trade note the characteristic yeasty aroma associated with brewing districts, very rarely is it anything more than

a by-product of the production process. However, smell was crucial to the distribution of ale, whether sold locally or shipped worldwide. After all, in order for quality ale to be delivered to customers, the casks in which it was shipped had to be kept pure and in good condition so as to avoid secondary fermentation, wastage, or outright spoilage. At even a midsize provincial brewery this involved approximately twenty coopers maintaining nearly sixty thousand casks.¹⁹¹ Not only did coopers construct new casks, but they were also responsible for the maintenance of every vessel in circulation. For example, after its contents had been consumed, a cask that returned from customers was first handled by a cellar man and examined for cleanliness and any obvious damage. Few casks were ever lost or damaged, but all had to be cleaned, since most came back to breweries “covered in filth and mud.”¹⁹² At some of the more modern nineteenth-century breweries, casks would have been transported to a scalding shed after their identity numbers had been recorded by junior members of the cask department. Once in the shed, individual casks were lowered onto a nozzle and their interiors were blasted with steam. At the average provincial or country brewery, however, laborers continued to clean all casks by hand well after mid-century. Despite the efficacy of both methods, barrels, kegs, and firkins required more than a simple rinse before they were refilled. Occasionally, gravel or chains and other metallic objects were deposited in casks in order to remove hardened waste. Violent action was needed “to work off the yeasty stuff left in the cask.”¹⁹³ Those that stood longest in the cellars of public houses or in alehouse yards before being returned to breweries often reached more serious states of decay. As a result most nineteenth-century brewers struggled with infected, rotten casks, generally referred to in the trade as “stinkers.”¹⁹⁴ The only way to deal with these was to shave off an eighth of an inch from the inside of the cask.¹⁹⁵

The task of diagnosing any vessel as rotten was that of the brewery “smeller.” Even though technology had clearly been introduced to the cleaning of casks, diagnosis required less-advanced hardware. Contemporary descriptions of the smeller, reminiscent of Nicolai Gogol’s most absurd writings, appear to minimize his role in the brewery, but the importance of a good smeller is stressed in most contemporary descriptions of brewery cooperages. Sometimes it was the very unusual nature of his work that led him to feature in accounts outside of trade publications.¹⁹⁶ Visitors to Guinness, the Irish brewers, in the late 1920s, for example, might have seen up to twenty-five men outside the brewery “putting their noses to the bung-holes of empty barrels.”¹⁹⁷ Most smellers were senior and therefore highly paid members of staff. In general, smellers were to have developed their skills over time, and

few were recruited from a cooperage's youngest members. Moreover, most men who worked in this capacity did so day after day, for it enabled them to overcome a recognized "critical period."¹⁹⁸ For example, citing an article on brewery cooperages, my research has recounted the work of a smeller employed at a London cooperage in the early twentieth century. Interestingly, the testimony suggests smellers were made and not born, a fact that I have used to highlight smell's status as a skill. One particular cooper's description of the work begins with his earliest recollections of the job, when "he could feel the muscles of his nose getting sore and his smelling power gradually diminishing."¹⁹⁹ As he kept on with it, however, his nose became stronger and much more sensitive. Naturally, when he took his holidays his skills decreased somewhat but gradually returned again. As a result, many brewers, eager to prevent the infection of ale, believed it was in their best interests not to change their smellers. Only when brewers turned away from wood and began to ship their products in steel or aluminum in the interwar period would the skills, like so many manual laborers previously in the employ of brewers, become devalued and gradually disappear. The skill's survival, however, was ensured with a growth in the use of bottles, whether used for beer or other beverages. That it would be recognized as a skill, however, was even less likely, as generally most bottling plants were staffed entirely by women, who were regarded as unskilled labor throughout and beyond this period.

Conclusion

Nearly every history of smell has demonstrated how scents have divided groups by erecting concrete boundaries. As noted in previous chapters, odor reputedly distinguished blacks from whites, men from women, and, as recounted in this chapter, laborers from the leisured classes. Without a doubt, fragrant scents distinguished the elite in the ancient period, largely due to the cost of perfumes and scented articles. Perfume was a luxury beyond the means of ordinary laborers. Smells were associated with those who worked and, of course, with those members of the poor who were not employed. In nineteenth-century England, as in much of the rest of Europe, the working classes were regarded to stink, while the middle classes and their social betters set themselves apart from the lower orders through regular bathing, the use of fine soaps, and, of course, perfumes.

Many occupations required a certain amount of olfactory expertise. Perhaps the most obvious example was the perfumer. Doctors also relied on smell to a greater extent in the years before germ theory was developed, but

the smells detected in consultations could still lead to an initial diagnosis throughout the twentieth century. Working in a filthy environment or mundane trade did not keep one from developing a keen sense of smell; moreover, the sense even had a productive purpose in various industries. Coopers, for example, known for their strength and manual skills, sniffed out infection in the casks they repaired. Many of these occupations that relied on smell involved the production of foodstuffs, including beer and wine, as well as the day-to-day work of cooks, both commercial and domestic. A strong sense of smell was equally crucial to the work of those who bought and graded raw material, whether tobacco, coffee, tea, or hops. Some of these trades, of course, were crucial to sustaining the wealth and well-being of whole towns, cities, and regions, whose inhabitants became familiar with the specific smells of industry. In some cases these districts, like the incense regions of Arabia, were perfumed by the scents of particular aromatic trades. In Winston-Salem, as in North Carolina's other tobacco towns, the musky odor of cured tobacco wafted across the city for many generations.²⁰⁰ Brewing towns were similarly marked by a distinctive scent, in this case roasted malt,²⁰¹ while the manufacture of chocolate scented those neighborhoods located nearest to those factories.²⁰² Even when such smells were overwhelming and more likely to be described as "sickening," as was the case with fishing villages, pig farms, and chemical factories,²⁰³ these odors were almost unanimously missed when industries waned or production ceased entirely. It is with these and other components of urban smellscape that the next chapter engages.

6

Mapping the Smellscape

Smell and the City

Since the publication of Alain Corbin's and Patrick Süskind's very different but equally influential and inspiring volumes, the predominant discourse in histories of smell has focused on filthy cities and the coming of modern urban sanitation.¹ In fact, Alain Corbin began his own study of past scents with a discussion that focused on Jean-Noël Hallé, the first incumbent of the chair of public hygiene established in Paris in 1794. It was apparently while reading the French sanitarian's memoirs that the idea of writing a book about the perception of odors first came to Corbin.² Indeed, in the first pages of *The Foul and the Fragrant*, Corbin follows Hallé through three episodes of his long and tireless skirmish with stench, beginning with February 14, 1790, some six months after the Bastille had been stormed. On this mild day at the end of winter, Hallé, accompanied by his friend Monsieur Boncerf, was out on one of his many smell excursions along the banks of the Seine, this time near the asymmetrical Pont de la Tournelle. With a breeze detected from the southeast, their journey started at the Pont Neuf, in the heart of Paris, and continued along the right bank up to the quai de la Rapée. They crossed the river, which had reached a height of some five feet, almost opposite the sewer of the Salpêtrière, the gunpowder factory that had been transformed into the world's largest hospital. They then returned on the left bank to their point of departure.³ The meticulous record of their ten-kilometer walk provides an accurate picture of the variety of odors that European reformers sniffed out on innumerable public health tours organized during this era. Most intriguingly, there is no reference to the visual, which was soon to dominate such investigations, no mention of washerwomen or noisy dockers active on

the quai Saint-Bernard. The document records nothing but odors, ignoring those parts of the river where structures were built directly into the water and no stench could be perceived, but carefully mapping scents on a walk that favored rubbish above all else. Moreover, such sanitary surveys were essential because of the perceived dangers posed by the filth that accumulated in capital cities and centers of trade. An incident on this outing clearly reiterated the hazards posed by accumulated refuse and urban detritus. On this occasion Hallé's amateur companion, while facing the breeze and walking along the edge of the black mud of the dreadful Gobelín tributary, was literally assaulted by an unsuspected stench.

Monsieur Boncerf, who at this point had turned more directly into the southeasterly breeze and had descended to the riverbank, was overcome by a biting, alkaline, stinging, and stinking odor. It affected his respiratory system so badly that his throat began to hurt within half an hour and his tongue became noticeably swollen. Affected by these poisonous vapors, he warned me to return to the road straightaway; because I had remained at the easternmost point of the bank that had been infested by these sediments, and hence with my back to the wind, I myself did not experience anything unpleasant.⁴

While Hallé most certainly had been similarly debilitated by such overpowering scents on previous outings, such descriptions are not as unusual as one might think. A careful reading of texts contemporary to this account reveals a collective hypersensitivity to odors of all sorts. While pleasures at the sight of landscape and architecture, for example, are also noticeable at this time, they are regularly paralleled by a horror of the city air, which was periodically infested by disease-causing miasma. This is perhaps most evident in medical topographies from the early modern period, if not earlier. It is during the nineteenth century, however, that such epidemiological excursions and the odorphobia associated with sanitary crises reached a climax in European cities, including Paris and London, and developed into public health strategies that aimed to clean up and even rebuild cities. It is for that reason that this chapter, though touching on earlier eras, concentrates on nineteenth-century Europe and its public health movements. While it could simply recount extracts from an endless list of sanitary surveys, it centers on London and Paris, as the most innovative work on smell has concentrated on these two European capitals. Like Hallé's reports, it focuses less on the washerwomen and dockers who populated these landscapes, and are examined elsewhere in this book, than on the wider urban landscape. Moreover, as Corbin and others have argued, it is evident that something changed in

the way city smells were perceived and interpreted at this time. Although a victory over stench was claimed by century's end with the rise of germ theory in the 1880s, concerns with odor did not disappear entirely but were merely redirected. Therefore, the second half of the chapter examines the reemergence of smell in the bacteriological era and in the context of the colonies. Even abroad, a change in public responses to filth was perceptible, despite the fact that specific responses varied according to local circumstances. Nevertheless, public tolerance of smell, whether in Brazil, the Philippines, or New Zealand, noticeably declined with the rise of the modern state and subsequent sanitary campaigns. Efforts to eradicate smells only increased in vigilance throughout the twentieth century when most urban environments were subjected to meticulous cleansing strategies on the orders of authorities who at times appeared obsessed with creating odorless utopias. Ultimately, this reduced tolerance for smells in the urban environment is mirrored and reinforced in the place assigned to smell within the historiography, and more generally within society in the present day, and it is with these thoughts that the final section deals.

The Smell and Lay of the Land

Scent historians Classen, Howes, and Synott briefly explored the "Scents of the City" in their cultural history of smell, *Aroma* (1994). In this influential and interdisciplinary text, they first drew attention to the rich mélange of olfactory sensations offered by the cities and towns, especially those of the ancient world.⁵ They also note how certain parts of cities were identified by the characteristic scents associated with the activities carried out there, including the markets, gymnasiums, barber shops, and the districts occupied by butchers, known traditionally in English-speaking countries as the shambles.⁶ Inevitably, similar discussions concentrate on those places that were particularly known for their foul odors, such as slaughterhouses, tanneries, laundries, and hospitals.⁷ Occasionally, historians have referred to less putrid urban smellscape, which, from the seventeenth century, also comprised bakeries, perfumeries, and aromatic gardens.⁸ Collectively, these different odor locales created, in effect, an olfactory map, enabling city inhabitants to conceptualize their environment by way of smell, with notable concentrations of aromas around markets, food vendors, religious buildings, gardens, and other green spaces.⁹ Usually, as diverse as these sites may appear, such scent catalogs have further encouraged scholars to think of smells in terms of binaries, most famously the foul and the fragrant.

By the early modern period, the most notable spatial distinction appeared to be between the stinking insalubrious urban environment and the healthier countryside, with important differentiations already being made by ancient writers between city dwellers and “country bumpkins,” the latter stereotypically having smelled of “goats and garlic.”¹⁰ That is not to say that the countryside was always described as a source of unpleasant odors. “In general, cultivated and controllable nature—fields, gardens, woods, and so forth,” as Classen has suggested, was thought to have “a pleasant, refreshing smell.”¹¹ The odors of organic waste were also more easily tolerated when encountered in rural districts, because they seemed “a natural part of the cycle of life.”¹² Dirt in such settings possessed a tangible economic value, which subsequently resulted in even a mountain of manure being rarely regarded as a nuisance, or, to use Mary Douglas’s terminology, seeming “out of place.”¹³ From the farmer’s perspective, “the odours of excrement were tolerable, and even desirable, because they turned into the scents of harvest.”¹⁴ By the twentieth century, the language of perfumes regularly evoked other, more obvious products of what was now regularly conceptualized as the fragrant countryside, most commercial scents being compared to gardens and meadows, not cities.¹⁵ As a result, urban inhabitants more regularly claimed to be fleeing “the stultifying air of the cities” for the pure, uplifting countryside.¹⁶ Histories of smell, too, have concentrated on civic scents rather than suburban ones, the result being a plethora of publications addressing urban cleaning campaigns throughout history.¹⁷

From the medieval period and throughout the early modern period, European cities were regularly described as filthy or “smelly places.”¹⁸ Streets served as conduits for food remains; human, vegetable, and animal waste; and the blood and entrails of slaughtered animals, if not the dead animals themselves.¹⁹ Waste products mixed with dirt transformed streets into a “sticky and malodorous muck,”²⁰ while refuse, whether dumped or washed there, generally ended up in nearby canals and rivers. Thus, the watercourses of most early modern European cities already resembled little more than open sewers, and a clean water supply was commonly regarded as a luxury.²¹ One of many environmental disasters captured in verse is the seventeenth-century poet Ben Jonson’s “The Famous Voyage,” a poem recounting a boat trip down the River Fleet taken by two companions who encounter a succession of foul items, many deposited directly in the river from overhead toilets. As populations increased dramatically in the eighteenth century, conditions only worsened, famously transforming the most sizable and sprawling urban

centers into olfactory landmarks. In the case of Paris, “the sense of smell gives notice that you are approaching the first city in the world, before your eyes could see the tips of its monuments.”²²

A century earlier London had been called “the monstrous city,” English pamphleteer and farmer William Cobbett memorably describing it as the “great wen.”²³ Already in 1617, Orlando Busino, chaplain to the Venetian ambassador, quipped that “the city should be renamed Lorda, or filth, rather than Londra.”²⁴ Such observations appeared less amusing after outbreaks of epidemic disease, as occurred most famously when plague struck London in 1665. Then, as in other European capitals before, the city filled with diseased air as lanes and streets regularly “vomit[ed] their ‘undigested dead.’”²⁵ Often overlooked is that perfume simultaneously filled the air as various fumigations were employed by communities to combat the dangers of diseased air. Memories associated with such traumatic times were perhaps rekindled with each subsequent accumulation of urban waste but surely also tainted the meanings of many pleasant fragrances. Not surprisingly, a century later the city was condemned as being diseased and parasitic, infecting all it touched and, according to some early medical demographers, responsible for this perceived “Waste of Mankind.”²⁶ Roy Porter famously reassessed these negative views in his study of public health in eighteenth-century London, “Cleaning up the Great Wen.”²⁷ In doing so, he perceptively drew attention to the neglected subject of medical topographies, which he regarded as a highly promising and entirely uncharted subfield for urban, medical, and even sense historians.²⁸

This particular medical subgenre stems directly from the work on airs, waters, and places as articulated in the works comprising the ancient Hippocratic corpus. Medical topographies also have their antecedents in the surveys and “political topographies” undertaken by rulers and regents in an age of mercantilism in efforts to discover the resources at their disposal.²⁹ Rediscovered in the seventeenth century for medical purposes, adherents of this early environmental creed emphasized that the peculiarities of place directly influenced disease and that illness often originated from the filth that accumulated in an individual’s habitat. With the development of scientific instruments, eighteenth-century environmentalists collected vast pools of detailed measurements relating to air purity, for example, and often constructed grand theories to explain diseases at the local level.³⁰ Though not part of the “Great Tradition” in medicine, geographical surveys or medical topographies represented a “Little Tradition,” which rarely assured its authors any lasting prestige but often assisted them in reaching more prominent positions in

local medical hierarchies.³¹ Facilitated by the rise of a European provincial medical press, the process of writing, rather than enhance their intellectual reputations, inevitably provided local doctors who investigated the existence of potential pollutants a certain importance in their communities. Like the great public health surveys of the Victorian period, these earlier sanitary reports provided their authors with considerable political influence. That said, the medical ethnographer, as Josep Comelles reminds us, also wrote for himself.³² Provincial practitioners were also convinced that many benefits would result from comparing the incidence and character of disease in one locality with that in another. The genre was therefore encouraged by a number of medical societies that emerged between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, many pages in medical journals being devoted to such epidemiological reports. In mapping his locality the health topographer imposed some order on the chaotic world of epidemic disease, against which so many doctors appeared to be impotent. It should also have endeared them to historians, for their surveys offer a wealth of detail relating to local conditions and environmental change, not just the location of dirt, dungheaps, and cesspits, during past centuries.

Drawing on such sources for the English capital, Roy Porter reexamined London's deteriorating physical condition in the eighteenth century. During this period, he claims, the city appears to have experienced a falling death rate and shed its reputation as "the great wen." Partially attributable to better urban conditions and medical initiatives, London ceased to be a sink of humanity and had become a spring by the century's end. The city may have lacked a public health movement, but it certainly possessed what Porter coined "a public sickness movement."³³ Of course, these improvements did not last long. Nevertheless, Porter's study is important in other respects. First of all, he reminds us that every society's battle with a deteriorating urban environment is cyclical in nature. While it is possible that some urban districts always smelled horribly, and the perceived threats posed by these stench waxed and waned with changes in political leaders and the emergence of competing interests, the inhabitants of some urban districts may actually have enjoyed cleaner, less smelly times in the past. Most European cities did not discover hygiene in the nineteenth century, but often, from at least the sixteenth century onward, had armies of attendants at their disposal to help clean their administrative districts. Renaissance Florence, Douglas Biow reminds us, was "notable for its extraordinary cleanliness. Indeed so clean is Florence that no other evolved urban center in the history of civilization,

from ancient Greek city-states to imperial Rome, had ever been so clean, both within the individual houses and outside of them.”³⁴ In most historical studies, however, the reverse was emphasized. Consider, for example, the English Romantic poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s reference to the “eau de Cologne” while traveling on the Continent in the eighteenth century.

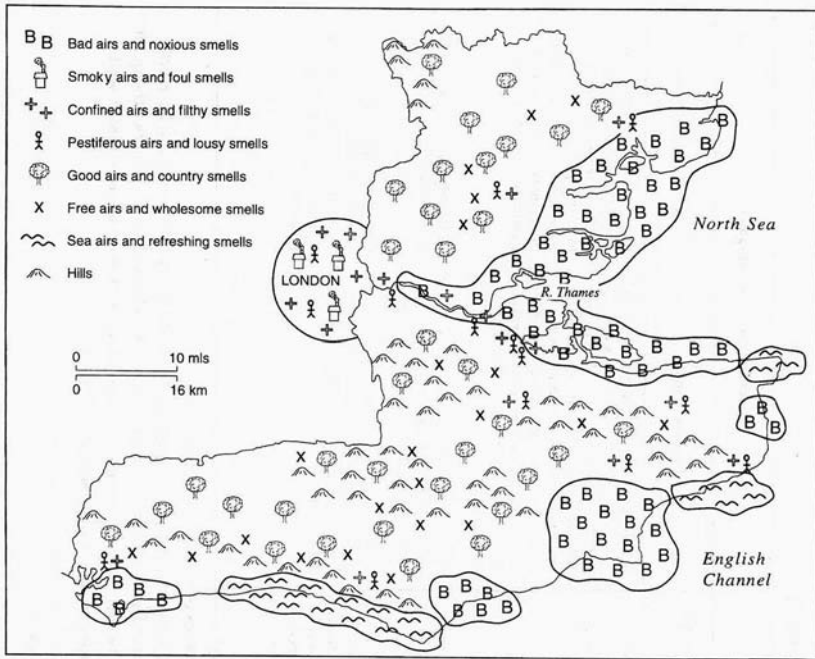
In Koln, a town of monks and bones,
 And pavements fang’d with murderous stones
 And rags, and hags, and hideous wenches,
 I counted two and seventy stenches,
 All well defined, and several stinks!
 Ye nymphs that reign o’er sewers and sinks
 The river Rhine, it is well known,
 Doth wash your city of Cologne:
 But tell me, Nymphs! What power divine
 Shall henceforth wash the river Rhine?³⁵

Two years later English novelist W. M. Thackeray confirmed the city to be “in smell odious.”³⁶ A century earlier the English cleric John Wesley, in a letter to his wife, Susanna, described it as the “ugliest, dirtiest town I ever yet saw.”³⁷ However, less than half a century after Coleridge’s pungent verse, the city seemingly shed all except perhaps its heavenly scents, visitors commenting primarily on its monumental cathedral. Strangely, in most cases when cities underwent such miraculous transformations, descriptions of smells tended to disappear entirely. While historians must try to sniff out more than just urban dirt and decay, investigating “clean” cities also involves more than simply identifying and cataloging pleasant scents. Cleanliness, like dirt and filth, is a complex term and was not always employed literally, as has been argued previously. For example, Biow recognizes that Renaissance Florence may have been “architecturally clean,” but visitors nevertheless often found it “socially dirty.”³⁸ Reputations of salubrious towns might equally change at the first sign of social or political disorder, whether or not visitors or inhabitants encountered pollution in the streets.

Sometimes smells do not disappear from testimony as effectively as they did in the cases of Cologne and Florence. More often, urban odors recede into the background of popular consciousness only to reemerge with new fears and anxieties, such as an outbreak of plague or cholera. An inevitable consequence of organic matter, decay was contemplated by most urban inhabitants on a daily basis, and not just in pestilential times. Even a roomful of roses,

sociologist Zygmunt Bauman reminds us, gradually gives way to malodorous rot as the flowers deteriorate, exposing what he has termed “modernity’s ‘hidden truth’ of mortality.”³⁹ The emergence of such fears seems to have periodically encouraged civic leaders to overcome a generalized ignorance of its alienation from biological processes. Faced with similar situations, most urban inhabitants were provided an opportunity to reconnect with their cities’ inherent, but often obscured, “cycle of smells.”⁴⁰ By underlining this phenomenon in his article on London,⁴¹ Porter may have secured his invitation to pen a preface to the English translation of Corbin’s study of smell. In his brief foreword to the volume, Porter addressed another key issue in the field of sense scholarship, observing, “Today’s history comes deodorised.”⁴² Although we often know what the past looked like, historians rarely offer us a chance to hear, feel, taste, let alone smell, the past. Researchers have been all too silent, repelled, it seems, by modern hygienic sensibilities even from contemplating the stench of former times. In this respect, Corbin’s book did not shy away from the challenge and clearly put smell on the map.

Another historian who firmly linked the sensory and olfactory environments of the early modern period is Mary Dobson. Her impressive tome *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England*, clearly inspired by the medical topographies that proliferated in the early modern era, explores the contours of death that bound the stagnant marshes of southeast England during the period when Hippocratic ideas were revived among British practitioners of medicine. In previous eras the lay of the land, smell of a place, and, in this case, the proximity of stagnant water all “impinged on the health and well-being of a locality and its residents.”⁴³ Most striking of these environmental images was the concept of “bad air,” or malaria. And marshlands were regarded among the most unhealthy, stinking places. English writer Daniel Defoe described the English Fens as “a horrid air for a stranger to breathe in,” while agrarian traveler Arthur Young identified them on his agricultural tours as places not gratifying to the senses;⁴⁴ so, too, did an apparently endless array of unknown writers, travelers, and medical men at the time. Using a vast collection of medical topographies, Dobson follows dozens of these hypersensitive individuals along their tours of this fatal terrain. Along the way we are presented with a remarkably rich vocabulary of odors and their associated disease patterns. Dobson reminds us of “a pot-pourri of dangerous stench and smells, an archaeology of miasmas, an itinerary of excrement, a hierarchy of fetid emanations, a mass of oozing muckheaps, a rhythm of daily and nocturnal poisons and an amalgam of deadly vapours. We are confronted



Mary Dobson's olfactory map of early modern southeast England. The map was based on a wide spectrum of topographical and medical writings in the early modern world describing the "foul" and "fatal" and the "fresh" and "healthy" airs and waters of the villages and towns of the area. Source: Mary Dobson, *Contours of Disease and Death in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 14.

with places of 'a thousand stinks,' airs of overpowering nastiness, waters of stagnant and stinking mud, hovels of putrefying decay, cities of foul and filthy fumes, effluvia of rotten human and animal flesh, streams of sickly stenches, alleys of corruption, and noisome corners of festering filth.⁴⁵ Overwhelmed with this list of scents and smells, Dobson offers the reader a visual aid to situate the various pestiferous places she identifies. Like Corbin, she places smell on the map, quite literally in this case.⁴⁶

Unlike the smells described in Dobson's work, the particular type of map she has included in her study is rare and has not been reproduced in subsequent histories of smell. Emily Cockayne's recent book, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise, and Stench in England, 1600–1770*, similarly leads its readers through the

streets of London, Manchester, Bath, and Nottingham, simply cataloging the seemingly endless nuisances encountered by a select group of cantankerous protagonists in chapters titled “Ugly,” “Dirty,” “Grotty,” and so on.⁴⁷ Perhaps for this reason Cockayne’s volume has been described as a “multidimensional rocket attack on the senses,” lacking clear boundaries of chronology and place.⁴⁸ A map might have helped situate some of her stenches, which undeniably collected in certain pestiferous zones, usually on the polluted periphery of towns and cities; historically, early attempts by sanitarians to map these perhaps begin to make more sense at this point, many having employed this technique in efforts to explain what otherwise appeared to be random patterns of contagion.⁴⁹ The absence of such a visual aid in Cockayne’s study, however, also underlines the point that characterizing, classifying, and labeling scents is problematic. The diversity of odors, as listed in Dobson’s and Cockayne’s books alone, holds language at bay. The vocabulary of smell is highly personalized and varies with culture and even the age of the sniffer, to name just two variables. Scents are also episodic, many of them dissipating just moments after they have been encountered, blown further afield and therefore resistant to attempts to represent them diagrammatically. As a result, plotting them on a map, as ambitiously attempted by Dobson, may appear to be a futile exercise. Nevertheless, scent maps may evoke memories or emotions associated with a particular place and provide a more meaningful experience of an environment beyond its immediate spatial structure.⁵⁰

Learning and recall of details in complex maps might equally be improved with the introduction of smells. “A scented cartography,” as claimed by the innovative geographers Tracey Lauriault and Gitte Lindgaard, could also “provide greater access to knowledge about abstracted environments and qualitatively enrich maps” by revealing previously hidden elements of space and place.⁵¹ “Scents are geographically associative,” with “regions, countries, urban and rural areas, neighbourhoods and household” each possessing “characteristic smells.”⁵² Anthropological literature also relates many examples of non-Western cultures, such as that of the Andaman Islanders, whereby scents, though changing with time, are an important means of spatial orientation (see chapter 3). In the Andamans, and elsewhere, “configurations of odours constitute [a shared] olfactory smellscape.”⁵³ “Such patterning of smell follows the medieval division of cities by crafts and guilds,” not to mention “the later ghettoization of cities according to immigrant communities.”⁵⁴ Even if inaccurate, smell maps would, like so much other scented scholarship, encourage us to rethink the past and lived experience more generally. In any case, for such exercises to be

successful and not simply rehearse existing prejudices, it is clear that map users and creators must check their olfactory biases at the door and “endeavour to perceive the world from the ‘point of smell’ of the other.”⁵⁵ Unfortunately, Dobson did not provide any other clues on how historians might achieve this objective. Besides her remarkable volume and its innovative map, she has continued to research and publish work on the history of malaria, or “bad air,” and its relationship to the miasma theory, as well as the history of antimalarials, malaria in East Africa and the Global Malaria Eradication Program. She may also leave the field with a more lasting legacy by encouraging a future generation of historians to take smell seriously. As the author of the scratch-and-sniff books for the Smelly Old History Series, published by Oxford University Press, she has produced such memorable titles as *Roman Aromas*, *Reeking Royals*, *Tudor Odours*, and *Victorian Vapours*, which may goad prospective students to ask very different questions of their archives.⁵⁶

“Early Victorian Britain, as every good schoolchild” (or as readers of Dobson’s more popular series, for that matter) knows, “was filthy, or parts of it were.”⁵⁷ Whether it was any filthier than previous eras is debatable, but the relationship between filth and disease was clearly emphasized by sanitarians active at this time in order to mobilize what has been described as the first public health movement in history. Unlike the early modern period, when fear of plague and fever drove the introduction of urban reform measures, this initiative was largely driven by a new and foreign disease: Asiatic cholera. Shortly after the arrival of cholera on British soil in 1832, a group of doctors, including Neil Arnott, J. P. Kay, and Thomas Southwood Smith, set out to discover the cause of fever in the East End of London; their investigations led them, like an earlier generation of sanitary reformers, to focus on the role of filth and foul odors in the generation of epidemics. Edwin Chadwick, secretary of the Poor Law Commission, who coordinated their mission, placed their findings at the center of his famous report on *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population* of 1842. While there were clearly many explanations for the conditions in which British laborers lived, Chadwick’s report expressed little doubt about the causation: filth. The report’s focus spurred many other social investigators through similar dingy streets, into laborers’ homes, prisons, hospitals, and eventually into the highest government offices, which then called for ambitious and seemingly overdue structural reform. Over successive decades, writes public health historian Christopher Hamlin, this “first generation of sanitarians took on the big problems, the ‘filth diseases’ that could be conquered by sound sewers and good water.”⁵⁸ Over

the next century these hygiene strategies were exported throughout Europe, North America, and the British colonies and, where wealth permitted, led to the extensive reconstruction of urban environments.⁵⁹ As such, their lasting legacy was the transformation of cities and the very way in which successive generations would sense the urban environment.

The template for Chadwick's sanitary campaign was the prison reform movement led by its own Chadwick-like figurehead—namely, the English philanthropist John Howard—who toured the principal lazarettos of Europe in the last decades of the eighteenth century and endured endless tours of institutions, starting with prisons, in his efforts to improve public health. His extensive travels reputedly not only left him with a constant headache but also resulted in his death after he contracted “jail fever” in 1790 while inspecting a prison in Kherson, Ukraine.⁶⁰ Although some prison and hospital administrators heeded his suggestions for improving their institutions, others did not, even when improvement seemingly required little investment. The rooms he visited at the main isolation hospital in Venice, which had not been properly cleaned for half a century, were transformed with scarce apparent effort. Though opposed by officials when he suggested they wash the lazaretto's walls with lime, they eventually acceded to his call to rinse a room with boiling water. This treatment reputedly left the room so fresh he “could drink tea in it.”⁶¹ In time his work brought the issue of quarantine to a new level of public awareness, and the rules of all lazarettos in Europe were eventually based on those in Venice.⁶² When reform came, in most cases it was through the introduction of better ventilation, which dispersed any lingering contagion. A crowded or confined atmosphere, on the other hand, would continue to generate poison, as in the case of the infamous “Black Hole of Calcutta” and many other jails throughout British territories.⁶³ While Howard's memory is still alive among prison reformers, it is Chadwick's report that is regarded as the foundational text of the modern public health movement.

Chadwick's claim that “all smell is disease” has earned him a special place in the history of scent.⁶⁴ Following his premise, water and waste technologies went on to exemplify development and decency to an extent that leads many of us to continue to judge places on similar sanitary grounds. As Christopher Hamlin argues, “Be the inhabitants dull, rude, even brutal, so long as they have proper restrooms, they are civilized.”⁶⁵ The sanitarian's gaze, on the other hand, belies our stereotypical Victorian's refinement, for it was firmly fixed on excrement, the odor of which, according to French psychoanalyst Dominique Laporte, became “the absolute negative reference

for olfactory apprenticeship.”⁶⁶ “Excremental issues are at the heart of [the sanitarian’s] accounts, memoirs, observations, reports, letters, essays, bulletins, etc.”⁶⁷ Joseph Prichard of the Wigan Working Classes Public Health Association, to draw on the work of just one of Chadwick’s many acolytes and collaborators, classified his district according to the degree of privy accommodation provided and proves this point definitively in one report he provided to Chadwick’s survey. Of the latrines he observed on his tour of Wigan’s poorest districts, two were regarded as “rather filthy,” ten “filthy,” forty-five “very filthy,” seven “exceedingly filthy,” and twenty-six nothing less than “disgustingly filthy.”⁶⁸ Sharing similarities with Dobson’s smell map, his system of classification leaves us pondering how he ranked these overworked facilities. The narratives of the period, however, overflow with indescribably filthy and unhygienic privies and stinking, stagnant pools and similar attempts to categorize these nuisances. Hector Gavin, in his *Sanitary Ramblings* through Bethnal Green, for example, similarly scoured a single district in East London in an effort to document its miserable conditions, with every street, road, and alley either covered with refuse heaps or flooded by stagnant pools of “most offensive and filthy slime,” “present[ing] an aspect as offensive to the sight, as the smell was repulsive.”⁶⁹ Conditions also determined responses, and sanitarians gradually came to dominate discussions of public health. Moreover, as Hamlin has persuasively argued, besides controlling the day, they controlled histories of this period, leading the Victorian public, as well as historians, “by the nose” down the only logical answer to the sanitary nightmare they faced: “the small bore pipe sewer.”⁷⁰ The sanitarians were in many respects “our only witnesses,” often serving as our eyes and noses into society and living conditions at this time. At the conclusion of their investigations, Chadwick and his supporters rejected work, education, wages, and diet when devising policies aimed at dealing with poor living conditions. Instead, they focused on the “politically innocuous” themes of water and filth, which resulted in the implementation of what Hamlin has described as “the greatest technical fix in history.”⁷¹ As such, a broad vision for British public health lost out to technological measures that concentrated on dirt, water, and the working classes.

Regarded as the foundational text of modern public health, Chadwick’s report is remarkable in the extent to which so little of the publication actually deals with disease. It was the urban poor, not their diseases or problems, that especially interested sanitarians. While modern epidemiologists count cases, it appears that Chadwick’s team counted latrines and polluted pools

of stagnant water. Hamlin has commented on the irony that a monumental sanitary inquiry, apparently “dedicated to making a set of common decencies universally available, should so strongly reinforce social distance.”⁷² It was the humans in the filth and not the filth itself that fascinated the reporters. Moreover, wherever they traveled, middle-class sanitarians transferred the filth from physical environment to human inhabitants in passages that exhibit the revulsion-fascination dichotomy that characterized their inquiries. Like the eminent nineteenth-century French hygienist Alexandre Jean Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet, whose moral approach to sanitation led him to compare prostitutes and sewers (see chapter 4), Chadwick and his collaborators employed similar narrative strategies when writing about the urban poor in Britain (see chapter 5). Accordingly, the environments inhabited by the poor and destitute literally transformed large sections of the urban population into lower animals, evidenced by “naked arms and haggard figures, and sinister looks . . . hideous aspect . . . [and] hoarse and ferocious cries.”⁷³ “The theme of filth-bred life,” as Hamlin so aptly states, “was stock in trade of the armchair explorer of social exotica.”⁷⁴ Endless confirmations of their degraded condition are offered by random observation from endless witnesses: “I have seen them take a bone from a dung heap, and gnaw it while reeking hot with the fermentation of decay.”⁷⁵ By “endlessly repudiating its denigrated other,” public health campaigners at once justified their measures for monitoring and controlling society’s poor while also “consolidating bourgeois identity itself.”⁷⁶ Although dirty habits appeared to threaten the social order, through such a careful discriminatory exercise as a sanitary survey, authorities maintained a sense of their elevated status in the world and, as Biow has rightly stated with reference to Renaissance Italy, “their right to rule literally above others, by appearing clean.”⁷⁷ “Civilisation,” however, then as in Chadwick’s day, “was no stronger than the thin wall of the pipe sewer” and did not guarantee protection against disease even in Europe’s capitals.⁷⁸ Together, such observations forced local leaders to take responsibility for the health of the less well-off.

More recent work has engaged still further with the writings of individuals involved in local public health campaigns in an effort to explain the origins of theories that focused on filth’s role in the spread of epidemic disease in the urban environment. In order to attempt an answer to this question, historian Michael Brown has specifically examined the work of two key figures in British epidemiology: Charles Maclean, the radical East India Company surgeon who has been attributed with “the introduction of ‘anticontagonist’ ideas of disease causation into Britain,”⁷⁹ and English sanitarian Thomas Southwood Smith, Chadwick’s associate and the sole medically qualified member of the

first General Board of Health.⁸⁰ Maclean was influenced by his army service and direct experience of epidemics while abroad, and Southwood Smith is generally regarded to have popularized the existing contemporary literature, including Maclean's anticontagionist views. Many of their arguments were in fact identical, which Brown demonstrates through his close reading of some of their key published works.⁸¹ Despite much overlap in their writings, Southwood Smith also contributed an important original element to contemporary debates—namely, the specific corruption of the atmosphere—thereby assigning an important role to filth rather than climate alone, as Rush and many other medical professionals steeped in the Hippocratic tradition had suggested. While Maclean believed yellow fever resulted from filth, other diseases he encountered during his colonial work were still thought to be dependent on “atmospheric influences,” “local causes and winds,” or miasmas.⁸² Rather than demolish the established faith in contagion, Southwood Smith argued that filth offered the basis for a more workable epidemiological model than did weather.⁸³ Moreover, rather than being grounded in Benthamism, Brown argues that these beliefs were grounded in Southwood Smith's spiritual beliefs, his Unitarianism rather than utilitarianism. While scholars have pointed to his faith in explaining Southwood Smith's commitment to sanitary reform, few other than Brown have considered the role of spirituality in structuring his influential medical ideas.⁸⁴ Harking back to equally ancient notions of disease, Smith formulated a cosmological link between the sin of filth and the punishment of pestilence (see chapter 1).⁸⁵ Moreover, he stressed that all earthly afflictions were remediable, for God would not chastise without the possibility of redress; therefore, in his opinion, what can be improved must be improved. By emphasizing a local corruption of the atmosphere caused by decaying matter, Southwood Smith also allowed for direct intervention of public authorities in the prevention of epidemic disease. However, centrality of filth in his epidemiological model cannot entirely be explained in this way. In his *Treatise on Fever* (1830), Southwood Smith completely inverted Maclean's theories and promoted filth as the *only* necessary cause of fever. This alone, Brown states, would have supported Chadwick's famous assertion that all smell is disease. By 1830 Southwood Smith had accrued considerable knowledge of epidemic disease among the urban poor, and it is his immersion among the social conditions of East London that is seen to have resulted in the more dispirited tone of his later work. “Happy insects,” a recurring religiously inspired motif in his earlier writings, had transformed over time into “dead locusts,” and “disgust and repulsion,” Brown observes, “now formed his principal lexicon for the natural/social environment of his

practice.”⁸⁶ Southwood Smith produced two reports for Chadwick, and by the 1840s the impact of filth on their communities had grown to the extent that it no longer simply made the poor sick, but it also made them morally corrupt. Ultimately, this accumulation of urban filth, and their associated metaphors, as employed by Smith, Chadwick, and others, “robbed [the working classes] of their humanity.”⁸⁷ Similar rhetorical strategies were employed by contemporaries who contemplated European colonization of tropical regions, with many predicting that their seafaring compatriots “would ‘gradually degenerate,’ morally and physically” in their warm and humid destinations.⁸⁸

Just as these prophecies gained credibility with every European death in the colonies, Chadwick’s concerns with filthy and disease-inducing environments were vindicated not only by periodic escalations in the numbers of deaths from epidemic disease but also by the Great Stink that afflicted the English metropolis in the 1850s. Neither was London the only European capital to have experienced such a rank episode in the nineteenth century. For this reason, London and Paris have figured centrally in histories of smell, as both cities famously experienced effluvial escalations during this period. The Great Stink of London lasted for about two weeks in 1858, while that of Paris lasted for two and a half months in 1880. Interestingly, responses to the stenches differed in the cities. As historian David Barnes, who has documented the French episode in detail, claims, “The aggrieved English engaged in a brief period of lamentation, accusation, and recrimination before dealing with the task at hand. Within weeks a plan had been approved and, shortly thereafter, ground had been broken on an unprecedented public works project to rid London of its shit. The odors never recurred.”⁸⁹ In Paris, on the other hand, accusations and disputes raged on long after the stench had dissipated. “Commissions were appointed, conclusions were drawn, resolutions were adopted . . . and nothing was done.”⁹⁰ What came to be referred to with exasperation as “the odors of Paris” continued to revisit the city periodically through the last decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. According to Barnes, “the chief culprit in the French failure to act” could be identified as scientific progress—more specifically, “the nascent germ theory of disease.”⁹¹ Rather than mobilizing sanitarians, this specific theory of disease causation actually may have hindered public health efforts in the French capital.

In 1858 London the bodily waste of the city’s inhabitants flowed through sewers directly into the Thames. Under the old regime, crews periodically emptied cesspits underneath residential buildings and transported the contents to more or less distant depots. The new system displaced the problem

from a multitude of collection points to a single location, the Thames. However, a prolonged dry spell left the river unusually low, and a heat wave in June “ripened its contents to a peak of pungency.”⁹² The effect was catastrophic, if contemporary accounts are to be believed. While attempts to describe the smell led to some creative hyperbole, various accounts reassured those at a distance that the “reality rather surpasses the representation of the nuisance.”⁹³ Based at a normally picturesque riverside location, the members of Parliament in this instance experienced the problems firsthand, their sessions postponed due to the insufferable odors. A month later, Benjamin Disraeli, calling the Thames “a Stygian pool,”⁹⁴ introduced a bill giving the Metropolitan Board of Works the resources and authority to undertake a sewerage project of unparalleled magnitude. The new law empowered the Board of Works and its chief engineer, Sir Joseph Bazalgette, to begin the construction of eighty-three miles of sewer mains, enclosed in the Thames Embankment and evacuating the city’s waste far downstream at high tide. The project was completed in 1875 at a cost of £6.5 million.

Twenty-two years later, and across the English Channel, a very different reaction was generated in response to an olfactory crisis. Paris had gained a new system of sewers in the 1850s and 1860s as part of the rebuilding plan of Emperor Napoleon III and the capital’s prefect, Baron Haussmann, who, according to Chadwick, found Paris stinking and left it sweet.⁹⁵ If the old sewers of the July Monarchy immortalized in Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables* represented the city’s underbelly of transgression and disorder, the 630 kilometers (1,014 miles) of new sewers built during the Second Empire reassured the bourgeoisie that “their order reigned below” as well as above ground. Beginning with the international exhibition of 1867, guided tours through the city’s new sewers “became an all-but-mandatory stop on the itineraries of visitors to the capital city,” who marveled at their “enchanted, otherworldly aspect,” as well as their remarkable odorlessness, which is easily explained.⁹⁶ Given the lower water pressure and pipes, all refuse and runoff went into the sewerage system, except human waste, which continued to accumulate in cesspits.⁹⁷ These were regularly emptied, their contents carted to sewage treatment plants in the suburbs. The plant at Nanterre was notorious for spreading odors through its locality and generated considerable opposition among residents. As a result of complaints, its permit was suspended in May 1880. During this suspension, complaints about intolerable odors also began to arise in Paris, with concentrations in the ninth, seventeenth, and eighteenth arrondissements, especially in the evenings; interestingly, on this occasion no one specifically identified working-class residential districts or

their inhabitants as sources of odors.⁹⁸ By the end of August, newspapers regularly reported on the “Odors of Paris” or “The Parisian Infection.” An eleven-member commission, including Louis Pasteur, was convened in September to study the “infection.” Through their deliberations, lasting until the following June and resulting in twenty-one plenary meetings,⁹⁹ an array of potential sites and sources of the odor, which had lost none of its intensity with the arrival of the cooler weather,¹⁰⁰ were identified by the commission, which also admitted that the “odors can pose a threat to public health.”¹⁰¹ Unlike in London, however, where absolute certainty prevailed regarding the sources of the odors, those in Paris were harder to pin down, or, more specifically, impossible to map. These invaded disparate districts of the city seemingly at the same time, often disappearing without warning, resurfacing after brief respites. Confronted with this bacteriological neo-miasmatism, Pasteur favored the construction of a hermetically sealed pipeline that would carry the filth to the sea. The prohibitive expense of such a project ensured that outside the committee it would remain a dead letter where opponents held sway. The imperial regime’s political opponents were now in power and had established their reputations by contesting Haussmann’s autocratic style. Few looked back to his regime for inspiration. They were less hesitant to return to the past when searching for a link between smell and disease. A noteworthy feature in both London and Paris was the continuity of the belief in disease-causing odors. In a consummate irony, it is possible that the advent of germ theory actually hindered the case for significant sanitary reform in 1880. Pasteur’s own theory just as easily supported the case of his opponents. As a result, for all the outcry, the French essentially did nothing. The odors returned several times in subsequent decades with enough intensity to provoke complaints and further commissions. In 1895 a stench reminiscent of that in 1880 again hit Paris. In many ways the public’s reaction was much the same as it had been fifteen years earlier. However, now one element of the earlier response was missing: the belief that smells could spread disease. All of those encountering the nuisance agreed that the stench was revolting, horrible, and uncivilized, but it was no longer a health hazard. Excrement and other accumulations of filth could still cause disease, but they did so in a more narrowly circumscribed fashion that involved germs, not just offensive odors.

Despite some interesting variations, and the similar emotions provoked, each of the Great Stinks clearly represented a raw affront to the civilization and the cultural stature of a great metropolis. As if the physical sensation were not horrendous enough, the stench flouted the civilized pretensions

of the worldly and urbane in the worst fashion imaginable. The editors of the *London Morning News*, like so many French journalists, asked indignantly, “Is this atrocious state of semi-barbarous age to continue?”¹⁰² The grandeur of the setting only made these afflictions more unbearable for London’s inhabitants. In Paris, too, the image of the city as a paragon of world culture and civilization made the disgusting odors especially difficult to endure. The reputation of the world’s cultural capital was endangered, voiced journalists at *Le Siècle*, among others. The facelift given the City of Light in mid-century had begun to sag, threatening the model of beauty and order that made Paris an unparalleled symbol of modern civilized life. “Our great and beautiful city . . . [is being] turned into an immense cesspool, which soon . . . will be uninhabitable.” As important, the daily physical presence of the stench led many inhabitants to transgress accepted rules of “rhetorical decorum” by regularly discussing the putrid environment.¹⁰³ The filth was not only present in the air, but it also punctuated and polluted conversation with base scatological references.

The olfactory landscapes of London and Paris, as well as other cities, were depicted similarly in the novels of the period. In these cases, however, the dirt and the stench of accumulating waste and filth at least appeared to be where it belonged, as far as most middle-class readers were concerned. The literary works of Hugo, Balzac, Zola, and Dickens record numerous subtle scents but also much of the detail contained in the graphic reports of the sanitary reformers of their age. This naturalistic element of olfactory detail gave their writings “the pungent scent of truth,”¹⁰⁴ smell lending their work a “final mark of authenticity.”¹⁰⁵ In fact, subsequent studies have revealed the efforts to which some of these authors, most notably Zola, went in order to compose their novels, undertaking site visits and interviews in addition to much of the usual research.¹⁰⁶ Some authors have also observed that such pungent literary references multiplied just as the greatest nuisances of the industrial period had been conquered by ambitious public health campaigns and engineering projects. Classen and her colleagues, for example, have suggested that “once odours were disempowered by science, they were free to be empowered by the imagination.”¹⁰⁷ While there are some problems with this argument, in the works of certain nineteenth-century authors there is a heightened emphasis on smell that does not stand out as prominently in other periods. Balzac in *Père Goriot*, for example, obsessively describes the “stuffy, mouldy, rancid” smells of Madame Vauquer’s lodging house, which appears less a home than “backstairs, scullery, workhouse.”¹⁰⁸ As difficult as Balzac says it is to describe the building’s nauseating exhalations, it could

only hereafter be called “odeur de pension.” Like Balzac, Zola attempted to capture the whole life of the period, including its scents. While his literary works record a symphony of scents, which have been explored elsewhere, they also make the general distinction between the healthy aroma of the countryside with the stench of the city, where, in the case of Les Halles in Paris, “everything seems dead and rotting.”¹⁰⁹ Of course, it is important to remember that such renderings are imagined landscapes and not ethnographies, even if they were based on careful research. The features of contemporary life included in Zola’s and Balzac’s novels, like those that appear in sanitary surveys, were employed selectively in order to make existing “moral conflicts palpable, visible, smellable.”¹¹⁰ While this has been evident in the smellscape considered thus far, it becomes even more apparent when considering the scents of cities outside of Europe.

Colonial towns and settlements in the New World may appear to have had an advantage over the smoky and polluted slums of imperial London and Paris, but endless numbers of settlers were dismayed at the speed with which their colonial arcadias declined into the filthy industrial slums many migrants thought they had left behind. As Pamela Wood has demonstrated in the case of Dunedin, New Zealand’s first city, during the nineteenth century the existence of “stagnant sewage-filled swamps, defective drains, putrid meat and stinking piles of decomposing waste” quickly revealed to the town’s inhabitants that “even paradise could decay.”¹¹¹ At the conclusion of her study into the polluted and putrid pockets of colonial Dunedin, Wood divides the town’s “chronology of dirt” into four sections, the first spanning from 1848, when the first settlers of the Otago settlement arrived, until the gold rush of 1861. During this period, swamps, mudflats, and the overall muddy state of the early settlement were the most common forms of dirt that challenged settlers’ lives on a daily basis.¹¹² Although numerous other colonial settlements had reached more decrepit states before this—Auckland in 1847 reputedly had “enough filthy lanes and dirty drains to keep up a perpetual plague, had it been situated in a less airy country”¹¹³—this general categorization offers scholars a framework in which they might consider how settlers sought to understand their individual struggles with dirt and decay in efforts to create “civilized” communities in various New World settings. While the early condition of Dunedin was clearly associated with the general difficulties of establishing a new settlement in virgin lands with minimal infrastructure, such as houses, roads, and bridges, the second stage, from 1861 to 1865, saw the unsanitary state of the town, not to mention the “natural advantages of the environment,” gradually worsen as a result of rapid population growth. In

the case of Dunedin, the overcrowded miners' shanties encouraged a replication of the "filthy conditions of 'Home'" as well as similar responses by local leaders, who undertook their own sanitary surveys and quickly established boards of health.¹¹⁴

Although the local gold rush was largely at an end by 1865, Dunedin, now a substantial industrial town by New World standards, continued to struggle with the problem of sewage and the arrival of new waves of settlers. The issues identified by the existing sanitary commission would continue to vex the municipal authorities for as long as the town's constituent boroughs refused to enter into "combined enterprises" willing to undertake expensive projects, including a comprehensive sewage system able to deal with the excrement produced by their "incontinent city-body."¹¹⁵ These projects became a feature of the fourth and final period, covering the years 1876 to 1900. Although faced with economic depression and no longer New Zealand's largest settlement by the turn of the century, Dunedin, as the nation's industrial center, continued to deal with the problems that came with a strong manufacturing sector. Seepage of sewage into the harbor in 1889, for example, led Dunedin to be renamed "Stinkapool" by the authors of a satirical journal.¹¹⁶ By this time, even if such stenches were difficult to abate, the belief that the town's greatest threats were easily sensed was beginning to decline. While in previous eras the dangers of dirt were said to be visible and easily sniffed out, scientific and medical responses to the town's unsanitary state had gradually begun to shift and now focused on microbes. As Pamela Wood perceptively notes, "Where once the problem had lain in the large and visible bogs, refuse piles and cesspools, it was now in gutters rather than roads, in cracks *between* paving stones, in crevices in the walls of hospital and slum, and in the cavities of sick and dead bodies."¹¹⁷

As in Dunedin, the medical community in other colonial settlements left smells behind during the last years of the nineteenth century, and the gaze of early sanitarians and other public health reformers "moved on to microbes."¹¹⁸ The change brought by the emergence of bacteriology in terms of smell—or the history of the senses, for that matter—is immediately discernible in the literature produced by a number of colonial doctors and scientists writing during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. For example, it is evident in the reports compiled by Dr. Adolfo Lutz, the Swiss-Brazilian director of the Bacteriological Institute of São Paulo. According to historians, modern bacteriological research and sanitary medicine in South America started in São Paulo, where a vaccine institute was established in 1892.¹¹⁹ For this reason alone it holds an important place in historical studies of public health outside Europe and North America. The following year, however, a Bacteriological

Institute was set up by Lutz, whose first investigation involved the cholera epidemic that broke out in that city in August 1893. It is this episode that offers further lessons on the place of smell in this emerging history.

South America initially escaped earlier onslaughts of cholera that devastated communities in Europe and North America. While this led some Brazilians to speculate that their climate protected them from the disease, their illusions were shattered in 1855.¹²⁰ By the time the epidemic ceased in 1856, cholera had claimed more than two hundred thousand lives.¹²¹ As in Europe, practitioners writing about the epidemic associated the disease with “dirty and unhealthful places, and individuals debilitated, poorly fed, badly dressed and of irregular life,” and suggested that further visitations were inevitable, given the “shameful, lamentable and nauseous state” of many towns and cities.¹²² Not surprisingly, additional cholera deaths resulted from further outbreaks, the first in the northeast of the country in 1861–1863, then among the army during the Paraguayan War from 1865 to 1870, although the province of São Paulo was only slightly affected until the cholera epidemic of 1893.¹²³ Its experience of the disease could only be different, given research into the disease’s transmission carried out in the years between outbreaks. Most important, in 1883 cholera’s causative agent was discovered by the German bacteriologist Robert Koch and Frenchman Louis Pasteur, the latter having been consulted by planners prior to the establishment of São Paulo’s Bacteriological Institute.

The 1893 cholera epidemic in São Paulo initially seemed short-lived when it first struck, but it erupted more vehemently the following summer, when several regions of the state were affected.¹²⁴ At first Lutz’s accounts appear much like those produced by an earlier generation of shoe-leather epidemiologists who reported from European slums, working-class neighborhoods, and industrial centers, identifying specific insalubrious sites that potentially spread the disease more widely throughout communities. This should hardly be surprising, since Lutz was undertaking his research during a period of great social change in Brazilian society, and, along with triumphant germ theory, ideas of racial determinism were readily absorbed by a local elite that wished to impose “civilization” on fellow Brazilians.¹²⁵ Slavery had recently been abolished (1888), thereby ending the personal accountability of masters over slaves and removing a major obstacle to increased urbanization.¹²⁶ Many former slaves had now abandoned the country’s sugar and coffee plantations, where they had toiled in servitude, and migrated to nearby towns and cities. Given that Brazil was only beginning to industrialize, the majority of this new laboring class fluctuated “between legitimate, stable employment and the less respectable world of the street.”¹²⁷ Initially finding themselves with

no legitimate social place in their new surroundings, their presence became a growing concern for the petty bourgeoisie in Brazil's cities. Often conflicting with the middle classes over the allocation of urban space, many former slaves found themselves designated to and marginalized in poorly serviced and maintained enclaves or shantytowns on the polluted peripheries of urban centers. Despite a great influx of potentially problematic populations to these areas, civilization in South America was regarded to lie in its cities. Rio and São Paulo, like other South American conurbations, took pride in their "Parisian-inspired avenues and buildings," and the republican government that came to power in Brazil in 1889 was committed to transforming its cities into showpieces.¹²⁸ Urban districts may have displayed the characteristics of "barbarity with the varnish of wealth," but it was the "disease-infested" suburbs and rural districts, in marked contrast to the European continent, where the greatest threats were perceived to exist.¹²⁹

Despite the country's increasing wealth from its sugar and coffee industries, many Europeans still regarded Brazil as backward, and the country's medical community played a crucial role in challenging this image. In the second half of the nineteenth century, medicine, often regarded as a mere imitation of the Western medical tradition,¹³⁰ became an important tool in managing the disease threats that South American society continued to face. Better placed than many, Adolfo Lutz was able to demonstrate the practical usefulness of the São Paulo laboratory he directed from the early 1890s until 1913. Like Hallé in Paris a century earlier, Lutz carried out numerous investigations in districts both proximate and distant from his institute during outbreaks of epidemic disease. One of his many personal reminiscences of the 1893 cholera—published in 1943, by which time the São Paulo Bacteriological Institute had been renamed in Lutz's honor—involved a small town on a tributary of the Parahyba River in the northeast of the country, where the riverside population habitually rid itself of the mattresses and bedding of cholera patients by dumping them in the stream. It is here that Lutz's physical description of the site ends and we are left to imagine the state of the river. Previous accounts of such outbreaks at the very least would have attempted to capture the offensive nature—namely, the stench—of such locations. Not unsurprisingly, the outbreak was initially traced to a local immigrant hostel.¹³¹ Unlike in previous decades, however, laboratory diagnosis was now possible and further encouraged medical staff to represent the disease visually rather than simply record an olfactory phenomenon, a decision that validates the observation of Classen and her colleagues that "in the scientific paradigm of the universe, odours had become inessential."¹³²

Lutz now employed what he described as "the cholera-red test."¹³³ This involved adding a few drops of pure hydrochloric or sulfuric acid either to the

cultures if they were liquid or to a suspension in water if they were solid. If the cultures were fairly pure, after five hours of incubation a rosy tinge developed and deepened gradually. Microscopic examinations were made by drying the flakes of mucus or drops from the surface of stools on slides or cover glasses and staining them with Ziehl's fuchsine solution.¹³⁴ Cholera's characteristic comma-shaped bacilli, if present, stained a vivid red. The diagnosis was ultimately confirmed by comparison with descriptions in the literature and with a culture labeled "Cholera de Calcutta," the city where the disease is regarded to have originated, sent from the Institut Pasteur in Paris.¹³⁵ If Lutz wished to avoid suggestions of error in diagnosis, disinterested experts, such as Professor William Dunbar, director of the Institute of Hygiene in Hamburg, were called upon to undertake further tests. As a final note of interest in this particular instance, some of Lutz's suspected cases that tested negative comprised samples originally taken at the suspect immigrant hostel. An increase in intestinal disorders there at the time, although suspicious, coincided with a spell of hot weather when two thousand out of five thousand residents became seriously ill simultaneously six hours after they had eaten salt codfish that had been soaked for twenty-four hours in rather impure water during Christmas Eve celebrations.¹³⁶ Had a similarly insalubrious site been encountered by investigators in a pre-laboratory age, more than likely it would have been recognized as a "fever nest," a "dirty and unhealthful place," or some similar seat of physical depravity; become the target of sanitarians; and figured centrally in subsequent campaigns to clean up the "dirt" and "filth" that reputedly generated such outbreaks of disease. Like Calcutta, the hostel may have been linked with the outbreak's origin, at least locally.

Although the immediate risks posed by reeking slums may have declined in the eyes of some investigators, such examples of urban filth continued to be sought out by urban reformers, and not just because they threatened to embarrass local leaders. For instance, poor living conditions were still regarded to contribute to the physical and moral degeneracy of city inhabitants and were used to both depict certain groups as problematic and justify measures that would curtail any activities regarded as unhealthy to other members of communities. As a result, the presence of this new germ-centered and more overtly visual discourse did not entirely eliminate smell from subsequent descriptions of the urban environment. Scientific medicine has rarely been shown to operate in such a cultural void. "Beneath the language of medical objectivity and the talk of 'sanitary science,'" writes colonial historian David Arnold, "European medical attitudes often remained highly subjective, embodying the social and cultural prejudices of the age."¹³⁷ Adolfo Lutz, in fact, appears exceptional in the rational approach he adopted to subjects that

many others continued to moralize. With the eclipse of the zymotic theory of disease, which presumed that smells themselves caused illness, the threat evoked by odors more often transmuted into social rhetorics that continued to justify racism, exclusionary politics, and the stigmatization of others (as discussed in chapter 3).¹³⁸ While already evident in some of the sanitary rambles compiled in Victorian England, this continuation of racial stereotyping is most apparent in twentieth-century colonial discourses addressing immigrant bodies.

Only a few years after Lutz's investigations, following the defeat of Spanish forces in the Philippines in 1898, American colonial authorities eagerly took up the burden of cleansing their newly acquired part of the Orient, aiming to purify not only its public spaces, water, and food but also the bodies and habits of the inhabitants, efforts recently documented by Warwick Anderson in his *Colonial Pathologies* (2006). More than just the subject of a detailed study of the importance of hygiene for establishing biomedical citizenship in the colonial project, the American colonization of the Philippines from 1898 to the 1930s was arguably the first public health program implemented outside a Western imperial homeland. Similar efforts to introduce health education and modify personal conduct were not introduced in French Indochina, British Malaya and India, or the Dutch East Indies until the 1920s and 1930s.¹³⁹ Furthermore, such programs not only influenced similar efforts throughout the colonies but also determined later public health campaigns in U.S. cities to which the associated American medical officers eventually returned and settled.

While concerns about the threats posed to whites by the tropics originally centered on climate, by the late nineteenth century views on the subject more often reinforced existing fears concerning racial contact. In the Philippines, as in other colonial contexts, the chief threat to the health of white colonists appeared to come from direct contact with the "potentially pathogenic local 'fauna'" or "disease-dealing natives and insects."¹⁴⁰ When considering these "hazards" in the context of India and Africa decades earlier, Florence Nightingale and David Livingstone both regarded Western medical intervention as the most effective means to impose "a more 'civilised' social and environmental order."¹⁴¹ In the case of India, David Arnold, quoting Nightingale, claims this involved "nothing less than 'creating India anew.'"¹⁴² While Filipinos were perceived to have the potential to contaminate occupying forces, American scientists, doctors, and bureaucrats similarly aimed to rescue the Filipino people from themselves, transforming them from natives into citizens.¹⁴³ An appreciation of supposedly insidious cultural practices soon supplemented the emerging biological understanding of disease transmission and acquisition, thereby deepening European suspicions of the indigenous population.

In the case of the Philippines, Anderson reports, the colonial health officer was also especially obsessed with native excrement. Unlike Americans, the officer claimed, Orientals seemed to lack control of their orifices, regularly relieving themselves in a variety of public spaces. In particular, this image of the “promiscuous defector” was used by American medical officers in the Philippines to construct racial and social boundaries as well as to indicate just how porous and imperiled these distinctions could be.¹⁴⁴ Through much of the nineteenth century, medical officers demonstrated special sensitivity to excremental odors, and their twentieth-century successors, although discounting the morbidity of stench in favor of the danger of germs, continued to identify human waste as a rich store of pathology. “Only now, with the development of a bacteriological frame of mind,” Anderson writes, “the dire consequences of feces would seem to derive more from direct physical contact than from any noxious emanation, that is, from any olfactory action at a distance.”¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, even where no asymptomatic carriers were detected upon laboratory investigation, health officers played on increased existing fears of contamination in order to justify reduced social contact with natives and to create separate European residential areas. In the Philippines such initiatives began with the issue of orders forbidding natives “to sleep under barracks” and “prohibited them from touching or eating from any dish used by [American] soldiers.”¹⁴⁶ More important, often finding themselves without bacteriological tests to fall back on, medical officers relied on descriptions of smell and filth to justify their discriminatory measures. Nevertheless, surrounded by native populations, occupying American forces also recognized that sanitary measures “could not end at the barrack gates.”¹⁴⁷

In the past, prevention of disease usually required avoidance of morbid sites or their cleaning and deodorization. Faced with pathogenic foreigners and “supposedly insidious cultural practices,” however, prevention usually meant behavior change, improving personal cleanliness, and avoiding indiscriminate contact. “Thus,” Anderson says, “physicians extended their power to inspect and regulate the personal cleanliness and the social life of naturally erring Filipinos, whose toilet practices in particular seemed to require ceaseless supervision and discipline.”¹⁴⁸ Should they have desired recognition from members of the occupying public health department, “Filipinos were expected to confess their uncleanness, to voice their barbarity, and make themselves available for hygienic salvation.”¹⁴⁹ While many refused to do so, the majority, Anderson suggests, appeared to go along with this “racialized performance of abjection.” “After their confessions of rottenness,” he remarks, “Filipinos might eventually be raised and perhaps admitted to a sort of probationary sanitary citizenship.” In this respect, he states, “the colonising process would resemble a

civilising process, a training of ‘childlike’ Filipinos in the correct techniques of the body, rationalised as hygiene.”¹⁵⁰ And clearly in the case of the Philippines the people learned their lessons well. By the time Manuel Quezón was elected the first president of the Philippines Commonwealth, these ideas seemed fully internalized, as evidenced by his government’s continued investment in state medicine and boasts that it had constructed more than one hundred thousand latrines.¹⁵¹ “By the 1930s,” Anderson concludes, “the privy was nowhere more firmly affixed to the nation.”¹⁵² Not only had the country’s occupiers reordered the local environment and refashioned the indigenous priorities, but the work of these medical officers equally sanitized the country’s colonial past. Subsequent nationalist writers in the Philippines, for example, though condemning the colonial war and subsequent pacification campaign, continued to enjoy the sanitary regime established in their country by “competent American doctors and public health officers.”¹⁵³

According to Anderson, urban health services in America that targeted immigrants and minorities were in part legacies of these imperial episodes.¹⁵⁴ The colonial experience underlined the need for authorities to intervene more vigorously and reform the personal and domestic hygiene of those on the margins of society, to propel them into civic and medical trajectories. Civic authorities and the ordinary members of the public in North American cities learned to disparage the hygiene of foreigners and similarly issued warnings of their innate propensity to spread disease that would threaten white communities. The country’s health officers, Anderson argues, had fabricated this stigma years earlier in the colonies and later exported it back to the home country, where it might be applied to all immigrants. Filth, according to historian Alan Kraut, frequently linked immigrants and epidemic disease, “especially filth resulting from the unsanitary habits and personal hygiene of newcomers in the eyes of their hosts.”¹⁵⁵ In extreme cases this elicited calls for exclusion and repatriation. More often it led to a previously unmatched antipathy toward smells and an array of vigilant deodorization projects, which have already been touched on in chapter 3. Twentieth-century reformers who explored urban immigrant neighborhoods regularly recorded among their impressions “the filthy appearance and fetid odor of both places and people.”¹⁵⁶ The tenement buildings and working-class neighborhoods of cities like New York, not to mention the slums of European capitals, were often the focus of campaigners who, through their efforts, aimed to cleanse the “poverty-smell which breathes from the open doorways” of working-class housing (see chapter 5).¹⁵⁷

More recent research has demonstrated that odorphobic discourses continue to be “generated by urban residents resistant to the influx of immigrants

and changing neighbourhood demographics.”¹⁵⁸ Nostalgic accounts of lost communities are often recounted as “symbolically pure,” “healthy,” and less polluted, even if such a reality never existed.¹⁵⁹ What is being expressed, of course, is a sense of disgust “that the borders of the past neighbourhood-based community had been breached by polluting elements,” whoever these might be.¹⁶⁰ “Smells, especially the aromas of culturally-specific cuisine,” argues smell scholar Jim Drobnick, “materialise as markers of difference, and offend mainstream sensibilities by virtue of being uncontainable, unfamiliar and representative of the supposed refusal of new citizens to assimilate and conform to majoritarian standards of odorlessness.”¹⁶¹ “Already struggling with the upheavals involved in relocating to a new culture and environment,” the smells of ethnic cooking create what scholars have referred to as a “quotidian dilemma”: “the aromas celebrate the sensorial knowledge of one’s heritage and preserve cultural continuity, yet they also mark one’s residence and body as distinctly ‘other’ and thus vulnerable to being targeted. Finding ways to accomplish the former without invoking the consequences of the latter becomes a challenge requiring ingenuity and constant self-monitoring.”¹⁶² “Struggles around odors and aromas,” writes Martin Manalansan, “are not just part of quotidian life.”¹⁶³ Because they have the potential to diminish property values and “quality of life,” they have become central to neighborhood and borough politics in many North American cities. This process, like that identified by Roy Porter in his study of eighteenth century London, is also cyclical; with the removal of each odor, attention always turns to the next odorous affront to public sensibility (see also chapter 3).

With the elimination of sanitary nuisances in most European and American cities, reformers and legislators often turned to industrial stench throughout the twentieth century, including, most notably, smoke. Previously regarded as an antidote to pestilential airs or even a rough measure of economic prosperity, by the late nineteenth century coal smoke was more often regarded as a nuisance.¹⁶⁴ The prevalence of dense smoke-filled skies and streets in many European and American cities instigated the emergence of a smoke-control movement, those in Britain, America, and Germany having been the subject of considerable historical study.¹⁶⁵ Escalating concerns with urban pollution once again distinguished rural regions as more salubrious than urban centers, and the introduction of initiatives were regarded as necessary by authorities eager to stem the flow of people out of stinking, smoky cities.¹⁶⁶ Serious air-pollution episodes recurred throughout the twentieth century, including the smog disaster that afflicted inhabitants of the smelter town of Donora, Pennsylvania, in 1948 and the killer smog that descended on London in 1952.¹⁶⁷



**Timberline. Because who wants
to smell like the city!**

Timberline® toiletries for men. After Shave, Cologne and gift sets.

Timberline Cologne advertisement, c. 1976. MEM Inc.

As the worst of environmental challenges in the Global West were addressed, minor scents became the concern of progressively more purified and smell-conscious populations. Quality-of-life campaigns more recently have only taken this further, initially with the designation of smoking and nonsmoking sections in many restaurants and more recently with bans of smoking in all public buildings. At face value these directives, laws, and ordinances may appear to be benign attempts to rid cities of dirt and garbage and lewd conduct, including urinating in public; however, they have also been interpreted as part of attempts “to foist disciplinary regimes to control the foreign, the queer, the poor and visible minorities.”¹⁶⁸ Despite such ordinances, lawsuits, and individual effort, smells continue to abound in city streets, subways, and other public places. That said, Paris, the city known for its stench in the eighteenth century, is more often invoked to sell perfume. Even the city’s subway system has recently been perfumed by the French transit authority using a specially commissioned scent named Madeleine (no doubt to invoke Proust’s cherished scent), which is mixed into the wax used to clean station platforms.¹⁶⁹ While the subway system of New York is also known for its scent associations, the city is also used to market perfumes.¹⁷⁰ The inauguration of similar local perfuming campaigns is unlikely, however, given that sections of the city’s population are apparently “fed up with fragrances,” which have newly joined lists of recognized pollutants.¹⁷¹ Alongside smoke-free zones, quality-of-life campaigners now discuss similarly extending “fragrance-free zones” (see chapter 2).

Despite the fragrant reality of urban landscapes, cities are always visually represented by images of odorless skylines. Since the eighteenth century, the impulse of urban planners has been not only to literally clean up towns and cities but also to sanitize them by way of aesthetic means.¹⁷² Initially this involved the strategic location of townships in healthy environments and then delineating urban space in ways that segregated potential contaminants into peripheral zones as these conurbations grew. Equally, it involved employing materials, designs, and architecture that projected a desired “odorless look.”¹⁷³ Geometric regularity and proportion were important components of model or “ideal cities.”¹⁷⁴ While such design strategies have regularly been traced to the eighteenth century, they are evident in descriptions of orderly and “architecturally clean” Renaissance cities, such as Florence.¹⁷⁵ In such cases, attention was devoted to “superficial” or surface aspects of the built environment; “only the visible counts,” French historical sociologist Georges Vigarello reminds us, when it comes to constructing “the concept of cleanliness.”¹⁷⁶ Sanitary coatings, stone, plaster, glass, and glazed tiles, for example, were progressively incorporated into streets, buildings, and walls, among other surfaces, forcing “dreaded ‘emanations,’” much like sewage, into the “porous depths.”¹⁷⁷ The

reflectivity of polished surfaces suggested impermeability and salubrity, while the white wall “gradually gained a universal appeal” and translated “the olfactory condition of odorlessness into an image.”¹⁷⁸ This odorless quality is a key element of modernity. “Odorlessness, which is the basis for the utopic myth of the modern city and the visual dimension of the skyline,” anthropologist Martin Manalansan reminds us, “masks a more complex arrangement or logic of things.”¹⁷⁹

Though such results were not always the result of conscious deodorization plans or designs, there is evidence that some towns and cities are actually losing their smells. Occasionally, as in the case of the Philippines, this can be attributed to public health campaigns, but other times it is the result of more complex global processes. Even Calcutta, once the epitome of the dirty city, not just because of its association with cholera, appears to have been cleaned up but lost much else in the process of modernization. Think only of Kipling’s “City of Dreadful Night” (1891).

[H]as any one thoroughly investigated the Big Calcutta Stink? There is only one. Benares is fouler in point of concentrated, pent-up muck, and there are local stenches in Peshawar which are stronger than the B.C.S.; but, for diffused, soul-sickening expansiveness, the reek of Calcutta beats both Benares and Peshawar. Bombay cloaks her stench with a veneer of assafoetida and tobacco; Calcutta is above pretence. There is no tracing back the Calcutta plague to any one source. It is faint, it is sickly, and it is indescribable; but Americans at the Great Eastern Hotel say that it is something like the smell of the Chinese quarter in San Francisco. It is certainly not an Indian smell. It resembles the essence of corruption that has rotted for the second time—the clammy odour of blue slime. And there is no escape from it. It blows across the *maidân*; it comes in gusts into the corridors of the Great Eastern Hotel; what they are pleased to call the “Palaces of Chowringhi” carry it; it swirls round the Bengal Club; it pours out of by-streets with sickening intensity, and the breeze of the morning is laden with it. It is first found, in spite of the fume of the engines, in Howrah Station. It seems to be worst in the little lanes at the back of Lal Bazar where the drinking-shops are, but it is nearly as bad opposite Government House and in the Public Offices. The thing is intermittent. Six moderately pure mouthfuls of air may be drawn without offence. Then comes the seventh wave and the queasiness of an uncultured stomach. If you live long enough in Calcutta you grow used to it.

At the recent fourth Jaipur Literature Festival (January 2009), the largest literary festival in the Asia-Pacific, four well-known Hindi writers lamented this less articulated consequence of globalization.¹⁸⁰ Towns like Jaipur and

Calcutta are no longer what they used to be, they claim. Globalization and modernization have combined to rob them of their art, history, and culture, of which smell appears a central component. Calcutta, once compared to world cities like New York and Paris, has steadily lost ground, losing its status as India's industrial capital in the 1950s.¹⁸¹ Despite the recent growth of Jaipur and Calcutta's near complete stagnation, whole districts are silent or have disappeared. But that is not all they and other cities have lost. In much of the rest of India, markets and bazaars have been replaced by sanitized, air-conditioned malls and multiplexes. While European buildings are kept in constant repair, in every lane old buildings and the *gandh* (smells) with which they are associated are giving way to the new order. Nostalgic reflections on the disappearance of smells in Western cities have also appeared in recent years. Michael Meighan, a Glaswegian author, for example, laments encountering little more than the memories of smell on a return visit to the neighborhood of his youth.¹⁸² While such transformations might have been reported as public health triumphs a century ago, the Hindi authors reporting from Jaipur regard this outcome as a cause for concern. Interestingly, in their final assessment, they link smell directly with history, claiming, "It's become very difficult to take care of one's roots today. Once we forget our 'gandh,' we forget our roots."¹⁸³

Conclusion

Warwick Anderson, like these Indian authors, identified these sanitary campaigns as a legacy of empire. Other scholars, like Roy Porter, would suggest that the general historical approach to smell might equally be part of this legacy, given that history has progressively been deodorized throughout the period covered in this chapter. Laporte suggested that the ideal hygienist's dream contains a compulsive need to eradicate human smell and the "olfactory animal" that once was. This extended to language, which was purified alongside city streets and squares in Renaissance Italy, eighteenth-century London, and nineteenth-century Paris. Civilization evidently despises odor and will oust it with increased ferocity as power strives to close the gap between itself and divine purity. This ferocity reached a peak when imperialism punished color. The olfactory sense, at any rate, has been relegated to the shadows.

Conclusion

Beyond the Foul and Fragrant

In a foreword to Corbin's *The Foul and the Fragrant* (1996), the historian Roy Porter claimed that "today's history comes deodorised."¹ This long-acknowledged neglect of smell by academics, as outlined in the introduction to this volume, is credited to a reordering of the senses that occurred some three centuries ago. Enlightenment thinkers regarded the contribution of smell to everyday life as negligible, therefore situating the sense at the lower end of traditional sensory hierarchies. This decline in recognized importance has also been attributed to the reality of contemporary urban life. Aromas previously encountered in cities like London and Paris, including fragrant markets and gritty manufactories, disappeared with sanitary campaigns, deindustrialization, and urban redevelopment. Although the previous chapter lends some credence to claims of urban deodorization, most inhabitants of cities identify such pronouncements as an exaggeration, or at least premature. People continually detect scents in public spaces, sometimes pungent, most often less aromatic, and sometimes imagined; more than likely, they always will. However, behind this exaggeration, like all others, lies an element of truth.

Public health campaigns, whether in London or Paris, fundamentally and irretrievably altered communities from the middle of the nineteenth century into the modern era. In fact, cleansing or even obliterating old markets and neighborhoods in industrializing countries such as modern-day China often heralds the disappearance of ancient districts and a traditional way of life, including its associated aromas.² "In our postmodern world," it has been noted, "smell is often a notable (or, increasingly scarcely noticed) absence."³

Not only are exhalations suppressed in public places, but also the digitalized worlds of television and the Internet significantly extend odor-free environments.⁴ The deodorization of society therefore potentially begets “nostalgia for lost scents,” spurring contemporary observers of change, much like the French author Marcel Proust, all the more to savor those olfactory markers that instantly trigger memories or the “atmosphere, of bygone days.”⁵ More than likely, most of us will be spared the “Brave New World” depicted by Aldous Huxley, where “civilization is sterilization”; despite the introduction of thorough purification rituals, neither cities nor their inhabitants will ever lose their smell. Scents continually change, sometimes in pungency but also more fundamentally with developments in industry or the living environment, the introduction of new products and materials, or indeed the direction of the wind. Even when perceived odors endure unchanged, their meanings significantly alter. History, too, already appears more fragrant since Porter first penned his foreword to Corbin’s book.⁶

The historical study of smell was launched only recently, albeit with a rich and pungent bang. This research was commenced shortly after an initial reading of Alain Corbin’s *The Foul and the Fragrant*. However, it has continued to develop after subsequent and more critical rereadings of this unique piece of historiography. When it first appeared some three decades ago, Corbin’s study filled an important gap in our understanding of past senses. Not surprisingly, other studies followed. Most of these similarly employ a binary model when considering smells, particularly when addressing the urban industrial environment. Because of this, much research into the history of smell comprises studies of extremes, documenting primarily pleasant scents and pungent odors. As the English translation of Corbin’s title declares, his work is essentially a list of the most foul and fragrant odors to permeate the social imagination of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France. A similarly conceptualized history of sound or hearing might have been titled “Shouts and Whispers,” not *Village Bells* (1999), as the English translation of Corbin’s study of auditory culture in France during a similar period is actually titled.⁷ One might also have expected it merely to document the most noticeable outbursts and episodes of seduction and intrigue, at the risk of overlooking normal conversation entirely. Though that is not the case, histories of smell have tended to document those odors that were considered to pose the greatest dangers to the social order and fragrances that signified a more stable society. Very rarely have historical studies of smell concentrated on more subtle scents encountered daily and on a regular basis.

Criticism of a groundbreaking piece of historical research on the subject of smell will always appear unjustified, especially given the new terrain opened by Corbin's unique and inspiring study. And it does not appear fair to suggest that Corbin could have considered each aspect of the history of olfaction in a single text. Nevertheless, these initial shortcomings immediately stimulated additional research into this topic, with equally productive results. Annick Le Guérer, like Corbin, addressed the repression of smells in society and demonstrated that this predated the eighteenth century in France;⁸ for centuries, smell was denigrated, yet it remained intricately tied to magic, memory, love, and sex in the social imagination. Often employing a binary model of smell, Le Guérer's research mapped scents across a broader chronological period than in Corbin's study. Perhaps most usefully, her publications have documented the way writers, philosophers, and physicians have typically thought about and explained the power of smells and the physical act of smelling. Moreover, she has demonstrated that the perceived impairment of smell that afflicts contemporary society is not new. Readers of Le Guérer's book *Scent* (1992) were encouraged to "set aside the belief that there was once an olfactory past in which the sense of smell reigned triumphant in all things."⁹ The combined efforts of subsequent authors, including Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott, expanded the scent agenda dramatically and took research on smell into very new directions, largely by introducing historians of the senses to social science approaches and anthropological case studies. Besides mapping the role of scent in various cultural "smellscapes," *Aroma* (1994) and subsequent research undertaken collectively and individually by the members of this trio helped define a number of the themes that have been used to structure this study, including gender, class, and race.¹⁰ More recent studies, most notably that compiled by art theorist Jim Drobnick, have significantly augmented our understanding of these and other neglected themes in smell culture. Compiling the views of historians, architects, perfumers, and even artists, *The Smell Culture Reader* (2006) is a work that reflects the views of a diverse community of scholars and practitioners who work with scent while demonstrating the richness and breadth of this topic.¹¹

Others have contributed to this field of research by delving deeper into areas omitted by, or perhaps only alluded to in, earlier studies. Religion, for example, was a notable absence from Corbin's pioneering volume. Thus, urban historians incorporated his approach to their studies of the early modern town, but historians of religion continued for much longer to adopt a mono-sensory approach. Discussions of revelation, for example, were primarily

constructed around “visions” and text. Similarly, Christians were endlessly advised in religious writings to “look” forward to the first “sight” of the heavenly city. As argued persuasively by Classen, vision was long privileged in histories of religion, despite smell’s association with “essence and spiritual truth.”¹² With the appearance of Susan Harvey’s work, however, scholars have begun to recognize this oversight; to forget smell was to lose an important part of religious knowing. Like Corbin, Harvey, more than any scholar to date, lifted the cloak that obscured the sensory imagery of Christianity and mapped this specialist subfield. As has been demonstrated in the first chapter of this book, when this “cloak of invisibility” was lifted, “the cosmos blaze[d] forth in multisensory splendor.”¹³ “What Christians sensed was God, known through every aspect of the believer’s existence, body, mind, and soul, here and hereafter.”¹⁴ Religious scents, whether incense, holy oils, or perfumed relics, were a fundamental component of daily life for the late-antique Christian. Smells “maintain[ed] a persistent level of religious awareness” and linked the biblical world to their present and future lives.¹⁵ As Harvey herself concludes in her work, “Holy fragrance carried the Christian memory of the breath of life received from God by his first creation, and renewed by Christ for the next.”¹⁶ To the minds of the devoted, “every smell found its meaning and value, for good or ill, in relation to that memory.”¹⁷ Like Corbin’s initial study, Harvey’s work influenced research outside the sensory realm and has inspired fellow historians of religion. Deborah Green’s *Aroma of Righteousness* (2011) appeared when this manuscript was nearing its final stages of preparation, thus its findings concerning scent in late Roman and Byzantine Jewish literature, even if only the most pleasant, could only just be incorporated into the text, albeit superficially.¹⁸ However, the role of smell in other religious contexts, including Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, remains to attract similar sustained attention. In the case of Buddhism, for example, this will not involve simply restating the obvious presence of incense in temples but, rather, very close reading of religious texts to demonstrate how scent references evoke meanings and deepen interpretations. This task has been undertaken even more recently by James McHugh, whose examination of South Asian religious literature has uncovered various theoretical discourses that reveal more than a simple binary aesthetics of odor.¹⁹ It also provides evidence for the existence of alternative smell “hierarchies,” or “orders,” and the way in which such classifications could radically change depending on sectarian context.²⁰ Admittedly, McHugh describes his study as a preliminary survey that will inspire even more detailed and nuanced readings of

South Asian texts beyond those of the first millennium, when the simple binary classification of smell appears to have become standard.²¹ Harvey's and Green's studies will no doubt provide a comprehensive plan for future research should scholars wish to follow their lead and chase these lines of inquiry into either earlier epochs or more recent centuries. An investigation into saints, tracing the decline of smell in cases justifying beatification, for example, would make a valuable contribution to the field, as would investigations into the physical absence or metaphorical presence of scent in certain nonconformist religious sects. After all, Martin Luther was not the only church reformer whose pronouncements left an unavoidable "stench" that left several generations of religious authorities uneasy.

As in religious texts, dominant groups in society often ascribe pleasant or neutral odors to themselves within recognized systems of olfactory classification. Consequently, studies of smell have repeatedly emphasized the links between "inodorateness and power."²² Just as gods and kings reputedly smelled sweet, the scent of the poor was believed to correspond directly to their degraded physical and moral condition. Reduced to the "great unwashed" by George Orwell, the ordinary masses, whether sick or not, were regularly defined as contaminated bodies said to contribute to the deterioration of urban districts rather than economic production, and to generate miasma that threatened the health and well-being of reputedly respectable, and more fragrant, classes. Not surprisingly, the question of sanitation and hygiene took on a particularly pressing significance when authorities considered the condition of the poor, especially because the city very quickly became the focus for these concerns. While baths and ablutions eventually became habitual in the Western world over the last century, class distinctions were not easily washed away. Perfumes may have concealed natural odors, but the choice and employment of scents was still regarded to vary with class, as fragrant materials were costly, placing the finer aromatics beyond the reach of ordinary citizens until only very recently. Cleaning and washing, on the other hand, depended on access to water but varied depending on the products available, affordability, and the time individuals could reasonably set aside for what must have frequently seemed tedious grooming rituals. Interestingly, in the contemporary world the embodiment of stability, or society's "strong man," once assumed to be the perfumed aristocrat, has gradually morphed into the image of the inodorate, clean-cut businessman.²³ Even so, the meticulous grooming habits of today's business leaders have not reduced their tendency periodically to offend the smelling public.

Despite not being alluded to in most histories of the sense, smell does appear to have had a productive purpose, and not only in the perfume industry. Most famously, middle-class members of nineteenth-century sanitary committees relied on their noses to sniff out the filthiest waste in order to cleanse urban environments, public buildings, and private dwellings. The work of doctors and, perhaps most obviously, perfumers also depended on cultivating a heightened ability to smell. However, members of the working classes, against expectations, have been shown by historians to have possessed equally refined noses, able at times to detect even the most subtle scents. Members of cooperage departments, like sanitarians, for example, detected contaminants, even if only in the microcosm of the beer barrel and presumably any other container used to ship foodstuffs. Many other laborers involved in food production, including cooks, sorters, and purchasers of raw materials, relied on their sense of smell to undertake the duties associated with their employment. Perhaps the few examples included in chapter 5 will inspire further research into both the coffee and tea industries and also reveal highly sensitive proletarian noses in less obvious trades. Taken together such studies might become as influential as those that initially differentiated the classes very crudely by way of scent. Besides revealing smell as a valued skill, and not solely the possession of the middle and upper classes, such evidence might potentially help scholars dismantle the rigid class boundaries that have so unproblematically been incorporated into historical studies more generally.

There are, of course, other equally powerful binary models, harboring similar implicit assumptions, which have been written into the historical record and accepted as truisms, however undeserved. As indicated in the last chapter, filth, disease, and their associated aromas were equally powerful metaphors in the imperial context, used to highlight, among other things, supposed problems of moral and political order. Like their middle-class contemporaries at home who were concerned with the squalid slums of the poor, Western observers in various colonial settings were particularly sensitive to the perceived indifference of subjected indigenous peoples to matters of hygiene. As a result, public health campaigns and the idea of urban cleanliness became increasingly associated with the colonial modernization project. Even after the discovery of the microscopic causative agents of disease, the rhetoric of hygienic aesthetics figured centrally in colonial public health discourses. As outlined in chapter 3, travelers from the ancient period already regarded filthiness to be a defining trait of the foreigners they encountered. Integration into another culture therefore similarly required newcomers to adapt, usually by adopting new and more rigorous hygiene codes if not actually shedding

any distinguishing odors. In some cases such transformations were regarded as impossible, given the unyielding, prevailing belief in racial smells. More than any other historian working on race, Mark Smith has demonstrated the important role played by smell in locating racial identity, especially in those contexts where ambiguities might arise when using sight alone to distinguish between racial groups. In some societies where racial mixing became common, such as the American South during the early twentieth century, ascertaining racial identity gained added importance with the introduction of segregation. Difference for many Southern whites was biologically governed, and the senses, including smell, were racialized in efforts to maintain the artificial binary between blacks and whites. Whether such farcical episodes emerged in South Africa, where even more elaborate attempts were made to classify race in the period of apartheid, would be worthy of investigation, as would other cultural contexts where ideas of race were so obviously socially constructed.

While the strategies used to mark blacks as irretrievably different have a long lineage, other groups, including the Jews and Chinese, were similarly distinguished by scent. Anthropological studies in the twentieth century eventually directed the attention of researchers away from purely derogatory, invented stereotypes and toward the different olfactory codes and classifications existent among different cultural groups. For example, studies have revealed more highly developed cultures of smell among the Andaman Islanders and Dassanetch herders of Ethiopia. While members of these cultural groups, like those anywhere else, seem to have subjected individuals within their own societies as inferior due to odor alone, their often highly developed olfactory codes at the very least have encouraged Western scholars to imagine alternative osmologies. By engaging with such sensory protocols and practices, Classen suggests, “we are able to break the mould of our own sensory biases and experience radically different ways of making sense of the world.”²⁴ Nevertheless, excessive cultivation of the olfactory sense continues (when suitable) to be interpreted by Westerners in line with Enlightenment conventions, which regard heightened sensory perception to be a characteristic of lower mammals. Ultimately, racial outsiders have historically found themselves in a no-win situation. Whether living alongside livestock, crowded in slums, or demonstrating a refined sense of smell, they were invariably identified as both different and inferior.

While at once regarded as animal-like, the cultivation of olfactory sense was also regularly said to render one effeminate. Women were traditionally associated with the senses of smell, touch, and taste, while men were coupled

with hearing and sight, “the most ‘rational’ of the senses.”²⁵ Regarded to possess a more acute sense of smell than males, women were also more often defined by their odor. As covered at the outset of chapter 4, those who transgressed moral codes, such as prostitutes and witches, ostensibly smelled filthy, while virtuous maidens and nurturing mothers traditionally smelled sweet. In the case of the prostitute, moral concerns were underpinned with the “language of disease,” which further justified segregating and regulating sex workers and brothels during times of heightened moral panic.²⁶ Said to be used to excess by the seductress, perfume has always been central to courtship rituals, marriages, and relations between the sexes. Traditional gender divisions also map directly onto the organization of the scent industry, with women often featuring in advertisements and appointed to undertake seemingly less strenuous and subservient positions in fragrance companies. In contrast, laboratories and leadership in the trade have traditionally been masculine spheres. However, women in this industry, in contrast to other fields, have also succeeded disproportionately, with many women founding and managing leading luxury firms, including Chanel, Elizabeth Arden, and Fendi, among other global brands. Changes in gender norms have equally determined how scents are marketed, with noticeably stronger female role models appearing in product advertisements during feminist campaigns of the 1970s. The relationship between gender and the world of scent, however, has been discussed in less obvious ways, not least in its ability to confuse boundaries. Perfumes may have been depicted as masculine and feminine, but often these marketing strategies have failed. Still often sold with the “promise that they will bolster or awaken heterosexual desire,” scholars have at least begun to discuss “homonormative scent” and the sensual stereotyping of homosexual males.²⁷ Hopefully, further work will elaborate the ways smell figured historically in gay culture and, crucially, begin to address lesbian smell cultures. This is a notable omission, for, since ancient times, women have commonly been described as the perfumed sex. Numerous studies of aroma, perfume, and pheromones highlight this particular association, often discussing the most famous seductresses, but only in heteronormative contexts.

It is perhaps surprising that it has taken so long for some of these issues to attract the attention of scholars, especially as the history of perfume has been one of the best-documented fields linked to smell studies. However, in many ways the work in this area has been among the most traditional. Perfume histories, incorporating a sweeping perspective from Mesopotamia to modern times, have an ancient lineage, as chapter 2 conveys. The most general studies mirror one another very closely, with standard chapters on

Egyptians, Romans, the “aromatic” East, early modern Europe, as well as more lengthy coverage for the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, years when the European scent industry emerged. Focused studies of particular cultures, such as that undertaken on ancient Egypt by Lise Maniche, have greatly augmented our understanding of certain periods and regions,²⁸ while accounts of particular aromatic substances, including the former British political officer Nigel Groom’s classic *Frankincense and Myrrh* (1981), will no doubt continue to appear until we possess similar volumes to accompany each plant and animal product included in this global trade.²⁹ Histories of individual perfume houses have led the field in this respect, with many companies and founders, including Coty, Chanel, and Guerlain, spawning multiple biographies already. Unfortunately, many of these are commissioned histories or based on very limited archives that are still held by the firms themselves. As a result of these difficulties, not to mention the scope of such a study, the first scholarly history of the global scent industry, business historian Geoffrey Jones’s *Beauty Imagined* (2010), was relatively late to appear.³⁰ Though limited, *Beauty Imagined*, like Harvey’s *Scenting Salvation*, was essential in the overall organization of chapter 2. However, a companion volume on the history of the early modern perfume trade in Europe, Arabia, or China is as urgently required in the field, and further research into smell cultures in South America historically would be a welcome contribution as well. As a result, while aiming to summarize the growth of a significant and extensive global trade in aromatic products, chapter 2 merely represents the existing literature, which traces the routes of a limited number of products from Asia and Arabia to Europe (and America more recently). Though Jones has expertly described the evolution of the modern beauty industry in Europe and America, individual volumes on the development of the fragrance trade in particular regions, countries, and locations would be particularly well received, including studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Holland, where an early perfume industry emerged; nineteenth-century Grasse, Turkey, Persia, southern Africa, China, and Oceania; and many other places and chronological periods. The geographical focus of scent studies might improve simply by looking at specific aromatic products. A cultural history of sandalwood alone, for example, would redirect attention to Hawaii, Melanesia, and trade with China and India.³¹

Clearly, although much important historical work has focused on the history of past scents in the last three decades, much remains to be done in this field. Moreover, the other senses continue to overshadow smell, even in academic discourse. Rhetorically, scholars still attempt “to shed light on” various subjects of research and “touch on” new research topics. Rarely do they “sniff

around” subjects and “breathe in” all there is to know of a subject or period, although these particular metaphors might more accurately describe the way in which some academics work. While smell may have become “inessential” in the world of science,³² in the fields of humanities and social sciences it has only begun to show its potential to open vast new territories of exploration. At the very least, it has demonstrated its ability to inspire.

Notes

Introduction

1. C. Classen, D. Howes, and A. Synnott, *Aroma: A Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 2002), 3; emphasis in original.
2. C. Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and across Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1993), 7.
3. R. Stamelman, *Perfume: Joy, Obsession, Scandal, Sin: A Cultural History of Fragrance from 1750 to the Present* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 11.
4. A. Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the Social Imagination* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 195.
5. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 2–3; B. Martin and F. Ringham, introduction to *Sense and Scent: An Exploration of Olfactory Meaning* (Dublin: Philomel, 2003), 13; M. M. Smith, *Sensory History* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 59.
6. I. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis: A Scientific and Literary Study of Sexual Scents and Erotic Perfumes* (North Hollywood, Calif.: Brandon House, 1967), 261.
7. J. Drobnick, "Introduction: Olfactocentrism," *The Smell Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 3.
8. Corbin, *Foul and the Fragrant*, v.
9. Drobnick, "Introduction," 3–4.
10. *Ibid.*, 4.
11. D. Howes, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), xii.
12. M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology*, trans. J. Lloyd (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1977); S. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

13. C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006); S. G. Nichols, A. Kablitz, and A. Calhoun, eds., *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritage/Fascinations/Frames* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

14. A. Synnott, *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self, and Society* (London: Routledge, 1993); P. Rodaway, *Sensuous Geographies: Bodies, Sense, and Place* (London: Routledge, 1994); W. I. Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 24–25, 30–31, 36–37, 235–38; R. Jütte, *A History of the Senses: From Antiquity to Cyberspace* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 11; H. Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); J. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion: Smell in Indian Religion and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 8.

15. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 9–10.

16. C. Classen, “The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories,” *ETHOS* 20, no. 2 (1992): 133–66. See also J. Reinartz and L. Schwarz, “Introduction,” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 4 (2012): 465–68.

17. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 1.

18. *Ibid.*, xi.

19. R. Clay, “Smells, Bells, and Touch: Iconoclasm in Paris during the French Revolution,” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 4 (2012): 521–33; McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 7.

20. A. Le Guérer, *Scent: The Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), 142.

21. *Ibid.*

22. W. Buchan, *Domestic Medicine* (Newcastle, England: K. Anderson, 1812), 548.

23. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 144. See also Miller, *Anatomy of Disgust*, 66–79.

24. D. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul* (London: William Heinemann, 1923), 59.

25. N. Wourm, “The Smell of God: Scent Trails from Ficino to Baudelaire,” in Martin and Ringham, *Sense and Scent*, 93–95.

26. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 22.

27. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 3; Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 188.

28. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 7.

29. Smith, *Sensory History*, 1; M. S. R. Jenner, “Tasting Lichfield, Touching China: Sir John Floyer’s Senses,” in *Historical Journal* 53, no. 3 (2010): 647–70; see also “The Senses,” ed. Jonathan Reinartz and Leonard Schwarz, special issue, *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 4 (2012): 463–627.

30. Süskind, *Perfume*, 3.

31. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 147.

32. O. W. Holmes, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* (Boston: Tricknor and Fields, 1865), 88; Classen et al., *Aroma*, 87.

33. M. Meighan, *Glasgow Smells: A Nostalgic Tour of the City* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2008).

34. M. Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past* (New York: Random House, 1981), 50–51.
35. Smith, *Sensing History*, 120–21.
36. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 136–203; A. Le Guérer, “Olfaction and Cognition: A Philosophical and Psychoanalytic View,” in *Olfaction, Taste, and Cognition*, ed. C. Rouby, B. Schaal, D. Dubois, R. Gervais, and A. Holley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3–15.
37. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*.
38. T. Curtis, “The Development of Odour Language between Professionals in the Aroma Trades Industry,” in Martin and Ringham, *Sense and Scent*, 57–78.
39. C. Bradstreet, “Scented Visions: The Nineteenth-Century Olfactory Imagination” (PhD diss., University of London, 2008).
40. Le Guérer, “Olfaction and Cognition,” 3.
41. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 142; Le Guérer, “Olfaction and Cognition,” 4; Classen et al., *Aroma*, 48; Jütte, *History of the Senses*, 35.
42. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 48.
43. Jütte, *History of the Senses*, 44.
44. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 48.
45. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 105.
46. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 146.
47. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 105.
48. *Ibid.*, 108.
49. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 151.
50. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 51.
51. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 142.
52. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 2.
53. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 90.
54. M. Nordau, *Degeneration* (New York: D. Appleton, 1902), 502–3.
55. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 158.
56. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 5.
57. *Ibid.*, 23.
58. *Ibid.*, 14.
59. *Ibid.*, 2.
60. *Ibid.*, 117–18.
61. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 48.
62. *Ibid.*, 49.
63. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 14.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 13.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 21.
68. *Ibid.*, 24.
69. *Ibid.*, 25, 131.

70. *Ibid.*, 132.
71. *Ibid.*, 2.
72. M. Montaigne, "On Smells," *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958), 229; Drobnick, "Introduction," 7.
73. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 156.
74. *Ibid.*, 159.
75. P. Corsi, *The Enchanted Loom: Chapters in the History of Neuroscience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 93.
76. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 160.
77. *Ibid.*, 161.
78. *Ibid.*, 164.
79. *Ibid.*, *Scent*, 165–66.
80. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 3, 84.
81. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 174–75; H. J. Rindisbacher, *The Smell of Books: A Cultural-Historical Study of Olfactory Perception* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992), 149; D. Howes, "Nose-wise: Olfactory Metaphors in Mind," in Rouby et al., *Olfaction, Taste, and Cognition*, 67.
82. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 89.
83. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 177.
84. V. A. Harvey, *Feuerbach and the Interpretation of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 144.
85. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 182.
86. Bradstreet, "Scented Visions."
87. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 88; Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 182–83.
88. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
89. *Ibid.*, 89.
90. Howes, "Nose-wise," 67.
91. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 206.
92. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 182.
93. A. Bain, *The Senses and the Intellect* (London: J. W. Parker and Son, 1855), 164.
94. T. Curtis, "The Development of Odour Language between Professionals in the Aroma Trades Industry," in Martin and Ringham, *Sense and Scent*, 62–63.
95. E. Sagarin, *The Science and Art of Perfumery* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945), 145–48, 207.
96. S. Finger, *The Origins of Neuroscience: A History of Explorations into Brain Function* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 178, 185.
97. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul*, 102–3.
98. Curtis, "Development of Odour Language," 64.
99. *Ibid.*, 65–66.
100. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (New York: Random House, 1936), 4:52, 54, 56.

101. H. Henning, *Der Geruch* (Leipzig: Barth, 1916).
102. C. Burr, *The Emperor of Scent: A Story of Perfume, Obsession, and the Last Mystery of the Senses* (London: Random House, 2004).
103. Le Guérer, "Olfaction and Cognition: A Philosophical and Psychoanalytical View," in Rouby et al., *Olfaction, Taste, and Cognition*, 4.
104. Jütte, *History of the Senses*, 276.
105. McKenzie, *Aromatics of the Soul*, 109.
106. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 184.
107. Drobnick, "Introduction," 2.
108. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 31.
109. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 6.
110. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 175.
111. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 8.
112. R. A. Donkin, *Dragon's Brain Perfume: An Historical Geography of Camphor* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1999).
113. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 119.
114. *Ibid.*, 88.
115. Martin and Ringham, "Introduction," 17.
116. J. Fontanille, "Olfactory Syntax and Value-Systems," in Martin and Ringham, *Sense and Scent*, 44.
117. J. Carlisle, *Common Scents: Comparative Encounters in High-Victorian Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 27.
118. *Ibid.*
119. J. C. Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Man* (London: John and Arthur Arch, 1813), 53.
120. Fontanille, "Olfactory Syntax and Value-Systems," 46.
121. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 156.
122. M. Graham, "Queer Smells: Fragrances of Late Capitalism or Scents of Subversion," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 305.
123. K. Marx, *Capital* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 1:343.
124. Carlisle, *Common Scents*, 29.

Chapter 1. Heavenly Scents

1. C. Classen, D. Howes, and A. Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), 4.
2. S. A. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 1.
3. Y. Porter, "The Middle East and Asia *Ex Oriente perfumo*: Perfumes in the Muslim Orient," in *Perfume: A Global History*, ed. M.-C. Grasse (Paris: Somogy, 2007), 114; J. J. Steele, "Perfumeros and the Sacred Use of Fragrance in Amazonian Shamanism," in *The Smell Culture Reader*, ed. J. Drobnick (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 228–34.

4. L. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrances, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt* (London: Opus, 1999), 34.
5. J. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion: Smell in Indian Religion and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 129.
6. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 2.
7. *Ibid.*, 145; C. Classen, *The Colour of Angels: Cosmology, Gender, and the Aesthetic Imagination* (London: Routledge, 1998), 45.
8. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 1.
9. B. Caseau, "Euodia: The Use and Meaning of Fragrances in the Ancient World and Their Christianization (100–900 A.D.)," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1994).
10. B. Caseau, "Objects in Churches: The Testimony of Inventories," in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. Lavan, E. Swift, and T. Putzeys (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2007), 551–79.
11. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 46.
12. *Ibid.*, 38.
13. *Ibid.*, 58.
14. For a more robust discussion of this topic, see B. V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).
15. D. Green, *The Aroma of Righteousness: Scent and Seduction in Rabbinic Life and Literature* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 2.
16. *Ibid.*, 10.
17. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*.
18. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 3.
19. I. Strenski, *Theology and the First Theory of Sacrifice* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2003), 1.
20. C. Michel, "The Middle East and Asia: The Production, Transformation, and Use of Perfumes in Ancient Mesopotamia," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 59.
21. É. Taladoire, "The Americas: Hygiene, Body Care and Physical Appearance in Pre-Hispanic Meso-American Societies," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 24.
22. L. A. Roubin, "Fragrant Signals and Festive Spaces in Eurasia," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 129.
23. C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 120.
24. Green, *Aroma of Righteousness*, 178.
25. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 23.
26. Green, *Aroma of Righteousness*, 109.
27. J. R. Egge, *Religious Giving and the Invention of Karma in Theravāda Buddhism* (London: Routledge, 2002), 135–136n106.
28. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 228.
29. *Ibid.*, 49.

30. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 15.
31. Green, *Aroma of Righteousness*, 179.
32. C. Classen, D. Howes, and A. Synnott, *Aroma: A Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 2002), 14, 29.
33. V. Smith, *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 56–57.
34. *Ibid.*, 57–58.
35. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 19.
36. *Ibid.*, 14; A. Le Guérer, *Scent: The Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), 111.
37. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 37.
38. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 119.
39. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 14.
40. J. Drobnick, preface to Part II: Toposmia, in *Smell Culture Reader*, 87.
41. M. L. Satlow, *Creating Judaism: History, Tradition, Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 82.
42. *Ibid.*, 109.
43. William K. Gilders, *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible: Meaning and Power* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).
44. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 20.
45. *Ibid.*, 66.
46. K. Thomas, “Cleanliness and Godliness in Early Modern England,” in *Religion, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. A. Fletcher and P. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 61.
47. G. Largey and R. Watson, “The Sociology of Odors,” in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 38.
48. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 72.
49. E. Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 2008), 574.
50. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 219.
51. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 207.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, 207–8.
55. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 103.
56. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 7.
57. *Ibid.*, 52.
58. *Ibid.*, 119.
59. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 46.
60. H. J. Rindisbacher, “The Stench of Power,” in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 139.
61. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 119.

62. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 33.
63. Caseau, "Objects in Churches," in Lavan et al., *Objects in Context, Objects in Use*, 572.
64. P. Marinval, "Europe: Fragrances from Prehistoric Times to Ancient Gaul," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 35.
65. Caseau, "Objects in Churches," 567.
66. *Ibid.*, 573; Classen et al., *Aroma*, 19.
67. H. Janin, *The Pursuit of Learning in the Islamic World, 610–2003* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2006), 184.
68. Taladoire, "The Americas," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 24.
69. D. Robertson, "Incensed over Incense: Incense and Community in Seventeenth-Century Literature," in *Writing and Religion in England, 1558–1689: Studies in Community-Making and Cultural Memory*, ed. R. D. Sell and A. W. Johnson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 391–92.
70. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 30.
71. Robertson, "Incensed over Incense," 394, 397, 405.
72. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 29.
73. *Ibid.*, 31.
74. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 76.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, 77.
77. Le Guérier, *Scent*, 157.
78. L. A. Rubin, "Fragrant Signals and Festive Spaces in Eurasia," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 129.
79. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 99.
80. *Ibid.*, 7.
81. Rubin, "Fragrant Signals," 132.
82. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 7.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*, 48.
85. *Ibid.*, 55.
86. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 34.
87. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 45.
88. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 6.
89. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 47.
90. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 124.
91. *Ibid.*, 90.
92. T. McLean, *Medieval English Gardens* (New York: Viking Press, 1981), 129.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 90.
95. *Ibid.*
96. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 57.

97. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 121.
98. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 52.
99. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 119.
100. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 52.
101. *Ibid.*, 53.
102. C. Classen, "The Breath of God," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 379.
103. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 45.
104. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 53.
105. *Ibid.*, 89.
106. *Ibid.*, 129.
107. C. Classen, *The Colour of Angels: Cosmology, Gender, and the Aesthetic Imagination* (London: Routledge, 1998), 38.
108. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 129.
109. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 52.
110. *Ibid.*, 52.
111. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 121.
112. D. Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 119.
113. *Ibid.*, 160.
114. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 122.
115. Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam*, 10.
116. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 12.
117. *Ibid.*
118. *Ibid.*, 47.
119. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 53.
120. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 180.
121. S. A. Harvey, "Olfactory Knowing: Signs of Smell in the Vitae of Simeon Stylites," in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta after Bardaisan*, ed. G. J. Reinink and A. C. Klugkist (Louvain, Belgium: Peeters, 1999), 23–34.
122. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 190.
123. Harvey, "Olfactory Knowing," 29.
124. *Ibid.*, 30.
125. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 187.
126. *Ibid.*, 195.
127. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 118.
128. J. Crook, "The Physical Setting of the Cult of St. Wulfstan," in *Saint Wulfstan and his World*, ed. J. Barrow and N. Brookes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 208; Le Guérer, *Scent*, 149.
129. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 119.
130. *Ibid.*, 125; R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 98.
131. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 24–25.

132. D. E. Trout, *Paulinas of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 161.
133. E. G. Cuthbert and F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (London: Longmans, Green, 1909), 105.
134. Classen, "Breath of God," 378.
135. *Ibid.*, 381.
136. Le Guéerer, *Scent*, 124.
137. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 6.
138. F. Hitzel, "The Middle East and Asia: Istanbul, City of Roses, Jasmine and Other Scents of the Orient," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 160.
139. Classen, "Breath of God," 383.
140. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 127.
141. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 70.
142. *Ibid.*, 84.
143. *Ibid.*, 86.
144. Le Guéerer, *Scent*, 125.
145. H. Havlock Ellis, *Sexual Selection in Man: Touch, Smell, Hearing, Vision* (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1922), 62.
146. Le Guéerer, *Scent*, 126.
147. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 90.
148. Le Guéerer, *Scent*, 182–83.
149. B. Ruffin, *Padre Pio: The True Story* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visiting Publishing Division, 1991), 321; S. Bruhn, *Saints in the Limelight: Representation of the Religious Quest on the Post-1945 Operatic Stage* (Hillsdale, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 2003), 176–77.
150. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 45.
151. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 121.
152. Michel, "The Middle East & Asia," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 57; Roubin, "Fragrant Signals," 135.
153. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 45.
154. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 54.
155. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 130.
156. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 63.
157. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 11.
158. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 220.
159. Classen, "Breath of God," 384.
160. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 65.
161. Classen, "Breath of God," 382.
162. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 65.
163. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 122.
164. C. Classen, "The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories," *ETHOS* 20, no. 2 (1992): 150; McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 79.

165. Classen, "Odor of the Other," 149–50.
166. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 59.
167. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 60.
168. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 59.
169. J. B. Russell, *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 243.
170. Roubin, "Fragrant Signals," 135.
171. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 202.
172. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 112.
173. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 42.
174. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 112.
175. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 60.
176. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 121.
177. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 78.
178. *Ibid.*, 79.
179. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 31.
180. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 205.
181. J. Fisher and J. Drobnick, "In Noritoshi Hirakawa's *Garden of Nirvana*," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 323.
182. E. R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation: Damatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2004), 182.
183. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 209.
184. R. Clay, "Smells, Bells, and Touch: Iconoclasm in Paris during the French Revolution," *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 4 (2012): 521–34.
185. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 209.
186. M. Jenner, "Civilization and Deodorization? Smell in Early Modern English Culture," in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. P. Burke, B. Harrison, and P. Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 129, 143–44; see also C. Brandt, "Fume and Perfume: Some Eighteenth-Century Uses of Smell," *Journal of British Studies* 43, no. 4 (2004): 445.
187. L. Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Dominican Penitent Women* (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 2005), 103; Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 214.
188. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 213–14.
189. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 126.
190. G. Largey and R. Watson, "The Sociology of Odors," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 30.
191. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 155.
192. L. Peyron, "Perfumes and Odours during the Revolution," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 142.
193. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 41.
194. S. Ockley, *History of the Saracens: Comprising the Lives of Mohammed and His Successors* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1857), 63.

195. D. Ackerman, *A Natural History of the Senses* (New York: Vintage, 1991), 36.
196. M. Aftel, *Essence and Alchemy: A Natural History of Perfume* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2004), 190.
197. V. J. Cornell, *Voices of Islam: Voices of Tradition* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2007), 29.
198. K. Kueny, "Islamic World," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*, vol.2: M-Z, ed. J. S. Blocker Jr., D. M. Fahey, and I. R. Tyrell (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC Clio, 2003), 329.
199. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 58.
200. *Ibid.*, 15.
201. M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1977).
202. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 149–50.
203. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 51.
204. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 16–17.
205. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 151.
206. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 73.
207. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 141.
208. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 206.
209. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 151.
210. Classen, *Colour of Angels*, 53.
211. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 221.
212. *Ibid.*, 115.
213. *Ibid.*
214. *Ibid.*, 91.
215. *Ibid.*, 224.
216. *Ibid.*, 95–98.
217. *Ibid.*, 42.
218. *Ibid.*, 43.
219. *Ibid.*, 159.

Chapter 2. Fragrant Lucre

1. E. Rimmel, *The Book of Perfumes* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1865), vi.
2. See, for example, Frances Kennett, *History of Perfume* (London: Harrap, 1975); E. Morris, *Fragrance* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984); Marie-Christine Grasse, ed., *Perfume: A Global History* (Paris: Somogy, 2007); R. Dove, *The Essence of Perfume* (London: Black Dog, 2008).
3. G. E. Tidbury, *The Clove Tree* (London: C. Lockwood, 1949); N. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade* (London: Longman, 1981); R. A. Donkin, *Dragon's Brain Perfume: An Historical Geography of Camphor* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1999).

4. C. Classen, D. Howes, and A. Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), 13–50.
5. *Ibid.*, 13.
6. See, for example, D. Ackerman, *A Natural History of the Senses* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 56; Morris, *Fragrance*, 55–56; Grasse, foreword to *Perfume*, 15.
7. H. McCall, “Rediscovery and Aftermath,” *The Legacy of Mesopotamia*, ed. S. Dalley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 184.
8. Morris, *Fragrance*, 56.
9. P.R.S. Moorey, *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries: The Archeological Evidence* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 16.
10. G. Pierrat-Bonnefois, “Perfume in Ancient Egypt,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 71.
11. L. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrances, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt* (London: Opus, 1999), 7.
12. *Ibid.*, 10.
13. Morris, *Fragrance*, 27–29.
14. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 12.
15. *Ibid.*, 79.
16. *Ibid.*, 48, 56–59. Kyphi was also one of many ingredients in *tiryac*, which was used to treat mental disorders.
17. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 15.
18. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 52.
19. *Ibid.*, 110.
20. *Ibid.*, 77.
21. *Ibid.*, 10.
22. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 16.
23. J. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion: Smell in Indian Religion and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 165.
24. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 15–16.
25. *Ibid.*, 16.
26. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 63.
27. *Ibid.*, 71, 106.
28. *Ibid.*, 61.
29. C. Shelmerdine, *The Perfume Industry of Mycenaen Pylos*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 34 (Göteborg: Åström, 1985).
30. J. Bostock, ed., *The Natural History of Pliny* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1892), 3:135.
31. D. Ablafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 165.
32. J.-P. Brun, “Perfume-Makers’ Dispensaries in Antiquity,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 46.
33. *Ibid.*, 50.
34. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 21.

35. S. Harvey, *Sensing Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 55.
36. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 8.
37. *Ibid.*, 59, 61.
38. *Ibid.*, 84.
39. *Ibid.*, 97.
40. H. Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 32. Olibanum, on the other hand, comes from the Arabic word meaning “milk.”
41. H. J. Carter, “A Description of the Frankincense Tree of Arabia,” *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2, no. 11 (1847): 385.
42. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 125.
43. Carter, “Description of the Frankincense Tree,” 384.
44. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 88, 193.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, 116.
47. *Ibid.*, 154–55.
48. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 35; Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 160.
49. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 10.
50. D. Peacock and D. Williams, *Food for the Gods: New Light on the Ancient Incense Trade* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 11.
51. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 163, 209.
52. *Ibid.*, 136.
53. *Ibid.*, 122.
54. *Ibid.*, 126.
55. *Ibid.*, 121–22.
56. E. W. Anderson, L. D. Anderson, and I. M. Cool, *An Atlas of Middle Eastern Affairs* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2009), 169.
57. Interestingly, and surely not through coincidence, the fullest study of the history of this crystalline substance derived from the wood of the camphor tree was published with a green title page; see Donkin, *Dragon’s Brain Perfume*.
58. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 174.
59. I. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis: A Scientific and Literary Study of Sexual Scents and Erotic Perfumes* (North Hollywood, Calif.: Brandon House, 1967), 239.
60. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 186.
61. É. De Feydeau, *A Scented Palace: The Secret History of Marie Antoinette’s Perfumer*, trans. Jane Lizop (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 11.
62. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 93.
63. Morris, *Fragrance*, 19.
64. R. J. Forbes, *A Short History of the Art of Distillation* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1970), 31.
65. G. Jones, *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 15.

66. N. Thomas, "Perfumery in the Middle Ages: Distillation," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 106.
67. Forbes, *Short History of the Art of Distillation*, 167.
68. *Ibid.*, 188.
69. E. Pielkenrood, *Maison d'Essence: Een Huis met een Luchtje* (Wormer, Netherlands: Inmerc, 2002).
70. Forbes's *Short History of the Art of Distillation* is a particularly good source in this respect.
71. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 3.
72. Grasse, "Inventory of the Apothecary Tossanti in Grasse in the Fifteenth Century, Plants and Perfumes in the Middle Ages," in *Perfume*, 104.
73. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 16.
74. C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 137.
75. T. Morton, *The Poetics of Spice: Romantic Consumerism and the Exotic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 17.
76. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 136.
77. *Ibid.*, 137.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 44.
81. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 137.
82. *Ibid.*
83. Forbes, *Short History of the Art of Distillation*, 92.
84. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 16.
85. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 46.
86. *Ibid.*, 51.
87. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 140.
88. Forbes, *Short History of the Art of Distillation*, 92.
89. E. H. Ackerknecht, *History and Geography of the Most Important Diseases* (New York: Hafner, 1965), 3:13; Classen et al., *Aroma*, 73.
90. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 17.
91. *Ibid.*, 16.
92. De Feydeau, *Scented Palace*, 7.
93. R. Stamelman, *Perfume: Joy, Obsession, Scandal, Sin: A Cultural History of Fragrance from 1750 to the Present* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 29.
94. De Feydeau, *Scented Palace*, 8.
95. *Ibid.*
96. M.-C. Grasse, "Europe: A Potted History of a Guild," in *Perfume*, 95.
97. *Ibid.*
98. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 16.
99. De Feydeau, *Scented Palace*, 11.
100. *Ibid.*, 13.

101. Grasse, "Europe: A Potted History," 95.
102. *Ibid.*, 96–97.
103. A. Young, *Travels during the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789: Undertaken More Particularly with a View Ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the Kingdom of France* (London: J. Rackham, 1792), 186.
104. De Feydeau, *Scented Palace*, 75.
105. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 17.
106. De Feydeau, *Scented Palace*, 81–82.
107. É. De Feydeau, "Europe: Courtly Perfume and Country Perfume in the Eighteenth Century," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 138.
108. *Ibid.*, 140–41.
109. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 17.
110. *Ibid.*
111. De Feydeau, *Scented Palace*, 114.
112. E. Briot, "From Industry to Luxury: French Perfume in the Nineteenth Century," *Business History Review* 85, no. 2 (2011): 276.
113. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 18.
114. R. B. Toledano and E. Z. Coty, *François Coty: Fragrance, Power, Money* (Gretna, La.: Pelican, 2009), 88.
115. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 18.
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Ibid.*, 34.
118. *Ibid.*, 28.
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*, 33.
123. Morris, *Fragrance*, 24. Robiquet had isolated codeine three years earlier.
124. E. Guenther, *The Essential Oils*, vol. 1: *History-Origin in Plants-Production-Analysis* (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger, 2008), 200–202.
125. Briot, "From Industry to Luxury," 280.
126. G. Benalloul, "Transformations in the Industrial Architecture of Perfume-Making in Grasse in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 216.
127. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 21.
128. *Ibid.*, 22.
129. *Ibid.*
130. Grasse, foreword to *Perfume*, 17.
131. Morris, *Fragrance*, 189; H. P. Bodifee, "Europe: The Grasse Perfume Industry and its Perspectives, from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present Day," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 205.
132. Bodifee, "Europe," 207.
133. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 26–27.

134. J. Kerléo, "The Perfume Industry in the Twentieth Century," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 212.
135. A. Madsen, *Coco Chanel* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 132.
136. *Ibid.*, 134.
137. Briot, "From Industry to Luxury," 283.
138. Madsen, *Coco Chanel*, 293.
139. Morris, *Fragrance*, 271.
140. Toledano and Coty, *François Coty*, 63.
141. Morris, *Fragrance*, 274.
142. D. Foy, "Perfume Vases in Antiquity," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 51.
143. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 9.
144. Faience is a non-clay-based ceramic with surface vitrification that gives it a luster of various green-blue hues.
145. K. Mannino, "Perfume Flasks and Ointment Bottles in the Ancient Greek World," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 36.
146. De Feydeau, *Scented Palace*, 41.
147. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 80–81.
148. *Ibid.*
149. De Feydeau, "Europe: Courtly Perfume and Country Perfume," 135.
150. Briot, "From Industry to Luxury," 285, 287–88.
151. Morris, *Fragrance*, 198.
152. *Ibid.*, 272.
153. Briot, "From Industry to Luxury," 273, 294.
154. Dove, *Essence of Perfume*, 102.
155. Morris, *Fragrance*, 202.
156. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 36.
157. Alfred Allan Lewis and Constance Woodworth, *Miss Elizabeth Arden* (New York: W. H. Allen, 1973), 64.
158. *Ibid.*, 73.
159. *Ibid.*, 88.
160. *Ibid.*, 106.
161. Benalloul, "Transformations," 217.
162. Bodifee, "Europe," 207.
163. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 368.
164. Lewis and Woodworth, *Miss Elizabeth Arden*, 135.
165. *Ibid.*, 141, 145.
166. *Ibid.*, 149.
167. Madsen, *Coco Chanel*, 266.
168. Lewis and Woodworth, *Miss Elizabeth Arden*, 136.
169. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 160.
170. Bodifee, "Europe," 210.
171. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 161.

172. Pielkenrood, *Maison d'Essence*, 62.
173. A. D. Chandler, *Shaping the Industrial Century: The Remarkable Story of the Evolution of the Modern Chemical and Pharmaceutical Industries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 104.
174. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 161.
175. Ibid.
176. Ibid.
177. Morris, *Fragrance*, 277.
178. Ibid., 43.
179. Chandler, *Shaping the Industrial Century*, 104.
180. Bodifee, "Europe," 211.
181. J. Zucca, "Biotechnology in the World of Fragrances and Flavours," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 237.
182. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 9.
183. Ibid.
184. Morris, *Fragrance*, 14–15.
185. Ibid., 45–46.
186. R.-M. Gattefossé, *Gattefossé's Aromatherapy* (Saffron Waldon, Essex: C. W. Daniel, 1993), 165.
187. R. Jütte, *A History of the Senses: From Antiquity to Cyberspace* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 279.
188. Ibid.
189. D. Tenney, *Aromatherapy* (Pleasant Grove, UT: Woodland, 1997), 10.
190. Jütte, *History of the Senses*, 279.
191. P. Damian and K. Damian, "Environmental Fragancing," in *The Smell Culture Reader*, ed. J. Drobnick (New York: Berg, 2006), 148.
192. B. Moran, "Marketing Scents and the Anthropology of Smell," *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* 15, no. 2 (2007): 157–58.
193. Pielkenrood, *Maison d'Essence*, 68.
194. Damian and Damian, "Environmental Fragancing," 149–50.
195. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 17, 29, 45–60.

Chapter 3. Odorous Others

1. C. Classen, D. Howes, and A. Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), 51.
2. Ibid., 91.
3. W. Kupinse, "The Indian Subject of Colonial Hygiene," in *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, ed. W. A. Cohen and R. Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 261; M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 29.
4. C. Classen, "The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories," *ETHOS* 20, no. 2 (1992): 158.

5. R. R. Grinker and C. B. Steiner, "Introduction: Nations and Nationalism," in *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1997), 476.

6. M. F. Manalansan IV, "Immigrant Lives and the Politics of Olfaction in the Global City," in *The Smell Culture Reader*, ed. J. Drobnick (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 42.

7. *Ibid.*, 42.

8. G. Largey and R. Watson, "The Sociology of Odors," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 29.

9. E. T. Morris, *Fragrance: The Story of Perfume from Cleopatra to Chanel* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), 42.

10. M. Smith, *How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

11. Classen, "Odor of the Other," 134.

12. D. Howes, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 6.

13. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 92.

14. S. Altran, *Cognitive Foundations of Natural History: Towards an Anthropology of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 104–5.

15. C.H.J. de Geus, "The Fascination for the Holy Land during the Centuries," in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology*, ed. J. Ruiten and J. C. de Vos (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 406.

16. J. Corrigan, "Spatiality and Religion," in *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. B. Warf and S. Arias (London: Taylor and Francis, 2009), 161.

17. A. Thacker, "Journey with Maps: Travel Theory, Geography, and the Syntax of Space," in *Cultural Encounters: European Travel Writing in the 1930s*, ed. C. Burdett and D. Duncan (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 24.

18. G.M.S. Dann and J.K.S. Jacobson, "Tourism Smellscapes," *Tourism Geographies* 5, no. 1 (2003): 4.

19. D. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul: A Study of Smells* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1923), 10.

20. Z. Bauman, "The Sweet Smell of Decomposition," in *Forget Baudrillard?*, ed. C. Rojek and B. Turner (London: Routledge, 1993), 39.

21. J. D. Porteus, "Smellscape," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 90.

22. Dann and Jacobson, "Tourism Smellscapes," 4.

23. F. Kitchen, *Brother to the Ox* (London: Aldine, 1963), 44.

24. P. C. Davies, "Augustan Smells," *Essays in Criticism* 25, no. 4 (1975), 403; Classen, "Odor of the Other," 152.

25. M. Jenner, "Civilization and Deodorization," in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. P. Burke, B. Harrison, and P. Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 139; T. Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (London: R. Bladwin, 1766), 147.

26. D. Biow, *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 20.

27. S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Fontana, 1987), 377.
28. *Ibid.*, 378.
29. E. Foyster, "Sensory Experiences: Smells, Sounds, and Touch," in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600–1800*, ed. E. Foyster and C. A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 220.
30. J. Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (New York: George Dearborn, 1835), 1:327.
31. Biow, *Culture of Cleanliness*, 72.
32. M. Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869; New York: Airmont, 1967), 207.
33. A. Le Gu er, *Scent: The Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), 28; L. Watson, *Jacobson's Organ* (London: Penguin Books, 1999), 135.
34. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul*, 9. Tansey ragwort was also called "Sticking Willie" by Scottish Jacobites after the Duke of Cumberland, known as "the Butcher of Culloden."
35. Dann and Jacobson, "Tourism Smellscapes," 16.
36. Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 379.
37. *Ibid.*, 378.
38. *Ibid.*, 382.
39. D. Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 2.
40. A. McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 211.
41. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul*, 5.
42. *Ibid.*, 10.
43. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 69–70.
44. A. Macfarlane, *The Savage Wars of Peace: England, Japan, and the Malthusian Trap* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1997), 276.
45. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 102.
46. B. A. Wurgaft, "Incensed: Food Smells and Ethnic Tensions," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 6, no. 2 (2006): 57–60.
47. *Ibid.*, 60.
48. Jenner, "Civilization and Deodorization?" 138–43.
49. Wurgaft, "Incensed," 57.
50. *Ibid.*
51. J. Eugenides, *Middlesex* (New York: Picador, 2002), 65.
52. Equally important, though less studied, is the ability of smells to encode traumatic events into the memories of immigrants. See, for example, D. E. Hinton, V. Pich, D. Chhean, and M. H. Pollack, "Olfactory-Triggered Panic Attacks among Khmer Refugees," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 68–81.
53. Manalansan, "Immigrant Lives," 45.

54. Wurgaft, "Incensed," 58.
55. A. Oișteanu, *Inventing the Jew* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 78.
56. R. Rosen and S. Davidson, eds., *The Maimie Papers: Letters from an Ex-Prostitute* (New York: Feminist Press, 1997), 19.
57. S. Mitra Kalita, *Suburban Sahibs: Three Indian Families and Their Passage from India to America* (Piscataway, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 2.
58. Wurgaft, "Incensed," 59.
59. P. R. Spikard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2007).
60. *Ibid.*, 142–43.
61. C. Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1993), 97.
62. Classen, "Odor of the Other," 153.
63. R. Patai and J. Patai, *The Myth of the Jewish Race* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 13.
64. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 31.
65. Wurgaft, "Incense," 58.
66. F. Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660–1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 35.
67. C. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 130; Largey and Watson, "Sociology of Odors," 30.
68. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 135.
69. J. S. Billings, "Sewage Disposal in Cities," *Harper's Magazine* 71, no. 424 (1885): 577–84, 579.
70. See Classen et al., *Aroma*, 172–73.
71. *Ibid.*, 173.
72. T. M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), 229.
73. *Ibid.*, 107.
74. E. Rosenberg, *From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960), 56.
75. C. Woods, "The House of Despair," *Guardian*, September 24, 2009; <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2009/jul/30/calais-eritreans-asylum-seekers> (accessed May 17, 2011).
76. P. K. Gilbert, "Medical Mapping: The Thames, the Body, and Our Mutual Friend," in Cohen and Johnson, *Filth*, 97.
77. D. M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain, 1750–1922* (London: St. Martin's, 1999), 185.
78. *Ibid.*, 159.
79. J. W. Childers, "Foreign Matter: Imperial Filth," in Cohen and Johnson, *Filth*, 202.

80. S. Kern, "Olfactory Ontology and Scented Harmonies," *Journal of Popular Culture* 7 (1974): 822.
81. J. Ginswick, ed., *Labour and the Poor in England and Wales, 1849–51: Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire* (London: Routledge, 1982), 1:176.
82. P. O'Sullivan, *The Irish in the New Communities* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 4.
83. Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen*, 132.
84. *Ibid.*, 138.
85. *Ibid.*, 138–41.
86. *Ibid.*, 169.
87. P. Sheldon, "The Dirtiest of Jobs: Maintaining Sydney's Sewers, 1890–1910," *Labour History* 93 (2007): 135.
88. Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen*, 132.
89. I. Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010), 149.
90. H. H. Kane, *Opium-Smoking in America and China* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881), 12.
91. Manalansan, "Immigrant Lives," 41; G. B. Risse, *Plague, Fear, and Politics in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 1.
92. N. Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 74.
93. C. Yorath, *A Measure of Value: The Story of the D'Arcy Island Leper Colony* (Victoria, B.C.: Horsday & Schubart, 2000), 100.
94. N. Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 36.
95. G. B. Risse, "Transplanting Western Modernity: The First Chinese Hospital in America," *Bulletin for the History of Medicine* 85 (2011): 415–16.
96. Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 42.
97. Manalansan, "Immigrant Lives," 45.
98. C. Y. Chiang, "Monterey-by-the-Smell: Odors and Social Conflict on the California Coastline," *Pacific Historical Review* 73 (2004): 183–214.
99. *Ibid.*, 185.
100. *Ibid.*, 189.
101. *Ibid.*, 190.
102. *Ibid.*, 192.
103. *Ibid.*
104. Drobnick, preface to *Smell Culture Reader*, 14.
105. Chiang, "Monterey-by-the-Smell," 193.
106. *Ibid.*, 194.
107. *Ibid.*, 200.
108. *Ibid.*, 183. The olfactory silence of other histories of fishing along this coastline is unusual and perhaps deserves to be revisited by historians. See, for example, M. Yezaki, *Sutebuseton: A Japanese Village on the British Columbia Coast* (Vancouver: Pen-

insula Publishing, 2003); M. Yesaki, H. Steves, and K. Steves, *Steveston Cannery Row: An Illustrated History* (Vancouver, BC: Peninsula Publishing, 2005); A. Muszynski, *Cheap Wage Labour: Race and Gender in the Fisheries of British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1996).

109. Chiang, "Monterey-by-the-Smell," 213.
110. Manalansan, "Immigrant Lives," 44.
111. McKenzie, *Aromatics*, 126.
112. Cohen, "Locating Filth," xvi; R. Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997), 72–81.
113. Smith, *How Race Is Made*, 2.
114. *Ibid.*, xiv.
115. *Ibid.*, 7.
116. *Ibid.*, 26.
117. *Ibid.*, 14.
118. *Ibid.*
119. *Ibid.*, 42.
120. *Ibid.*, 16.
121. *Ibid.*, 18.
122. *Ibid.*, 36.
123. *Ibid.*, 109–10.
124. *Ibid.*, 54.
125. *Ibid.*, 61.
126. *Ibid.*, 71.
127. *Ibid.*, 35.
128. *Ibid.*, 80.
129. *Ibid.*, 82.
130. *Ibid.*, 87.
131. *Ibid.*, 99.
132. J. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New York: Doubleday, 1957), 381.
133. Smith, *How Race Is Made*, 107.
134. Largey and Watson, "Sociology of Odors," 36.
135. Smith, *How Race Is Made*, 124.
136. *Ibid.*, 126.
137. A. Gell, "The Language of the Forest: Landscape and Phonological Iconism in Umeda," in *The Anthropology of Landscape*, ed. E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 235; T. Ingold, *The Perception of Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling, and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 251.
138. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 98.
139. *Ibid.*, 98.
140. M. Graham, "Queer Smells," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 314.
141. M. Afzel, *Essence and Alchemy: A Natural History of Perfume* (New York: North Point Press 2001), 15.
142. Ingold, *Perception of Environment*, 251.

143. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 100.
144. *Ibid.*, 99.
145. Classen, *Worlds of Sense*, 131–32.
146. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 100.
147. A. Seeger, *Nature and Society in Central Brazil: The Suyá Indians of Mato Grosso* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 98–99.
148. *Ibid.*, 119.
149. *Ibid.*, 95.
150. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 101.
151. *Ibid.*
152. Classen, “Odor of the Other,” 141.
153. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 101–2.
154. *Ibid.*, 100.
155. C. Levi-Strauss, *The Jealous Potter* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 7.
156. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 97.
157. V. Pandya, *In the Forest: Visual and Material Worlds of Andamanese History (1858–2006)* (New York: University Press of America, 2009), 109.
158. *Ibid.*, 114.
159. *Ibid.*, 124.
160. Howes, “Nose-wise: Olfactory Metaphors in Mind,” in *Olfaction, Taste, and Cognition*, ed. C. Rouby et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 73.
161. Pandya, *In the Forest*, 68.
162. *Ibid.*, 48.
163. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1948), 273.
164. Pandya, *In the Forest*, 132.
165. U. Almagor, “The Cycle and Stagnation of Smells,” in Grinker and Steiner, *Perspectives on Africa*, 474.
166. *Ibid.*, 474.
167. *Ibid.*, 468.
168. *Ibid.*
169. Classen, *Worlds of Sense*, 84.
170. Classen, “Odor of the Other,” 138.
171. Almagor, “Cycle and Stagnation of Smells,” 477.
172. *Ibid.*, 474; Classen, “Odor of the Other,” 139.
173. Almagor, “Cycle and Stagnation of Smells,” 477.
174. *Ibid.*, 470–71.
175. *Ibid.*, 471.
176. Classen, *Worlds of Sense*, 85.
177. Classen, “Odor of the Other,” 162.
178. M. Valentin, “A World to Discover: Odours and Perfumes of Africa,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 182.

179. Ibid.
180. See, for example, L. Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2009).
181. Classen, "Odor of the Other," 135.
182. Ibid., 136.
183. D. L. Pike, "Sewage Treatments: Vertical Space and Waste in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London," in Cohen and Johnson, *Filth*, 54.
184. R. Stamelman, *Perfume: Joy, Obsession, Scandal, Sin: A Cultural History of Fragrance from 1750 to the Present* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 26.

Chapter 4. Seduction and Subversion

1. E. T. Morris, *Fragrance* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), xiii.
2. Ibid., xiii–xiv.
3. F. Kennett, *The History of Perfume* (London: Harrap, 1975), 142.
4. O. Healy, *Coty: The Brand of Visionary* (New York: Assouline, 2004), 5.
5. R. Stamelman, *Perfume: Joy, Obsession, Scandal, Sin* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 18.
6. The first mention of a masculine scent in Stamelman's history of perfume does not appear until page 21.
7. I. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis: A Scientific and Literary Study of Sexual Scents and Erotic Perfumes* (North Hollywood, Calif.: Brandon House, 1967), 245.
8. H. Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 188–89.
9. S. Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Fontana, 1987), 382, 384, 393.
10. W. I. Miller, "Darwin's Disgust," in *The Empire of the Senses*, ed. D. Howes (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 345.
11. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 244.
12. J. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion: Smell in Indian Religion and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 147.
13. L. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrances, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt* (London: Opus, 1999), 79.
14. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 13.
15. Morris, *Fragrance*, 13.
16. R. A. Donkin, *Dragon's Brain Perfume* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1999), 177.
17. Kennett, *History of Perfume*, 75.
18. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 19, 22; Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 19–23.
19. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 63.
20. Ibid., 92.
21. Ibid., 63.
22. C. Classen, D. Howes, and A. Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), 36.

23. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 26.
24. *Ibid.*
25. R. R. Grinker and C. B. Steiner, "Introduction: Nations and Nationalism," in *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1997), 468.
26. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 100.
27. Classen, "The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories," *ETHOS* 20, no. 2 (1992): 141.
28. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 101.
29. M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology*, trans. J. Lloyd (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1977), 92.
30. J. J. Bachofen, *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), 174.
31. A. Le Guérer, *Scent: The Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), 5.
32. M. Jenner, "Civilization and Deodorization? Smell in Early Modern English Culture," in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. P. Burke, B. Harrison, and P. Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 127.
33. C. Classen, "The Witch's Senses," in Howes, *Empire of the Senses*, 74.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 3.
37. Classen, "Witch's Senses," 73–74.
38. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 4.
39. D. Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representation* (London: Routledge, 1996), 14.
40. W. A. Cohen, "Locating Filth," in *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, ed. W. A. Cohen and R. Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xii.
41. *Ibid.*
42. S. A. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 153.
43. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 37.
44. Kennett, *History of Perfume*, 50.
45. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 225.
46. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 29.
47. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 222.
48. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 95.
49. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 228.
50. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 37.
51. Classen, "Odor of the Other," 142.
52. L. Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 120.

53. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 208.
54. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 38.
55. L. L. Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); V. L. Bullough and B. Bullough, *Women and Prostitution: A Social History* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1987); M. Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
56. N. J. Ringdal, *Love for Sale: A World History of Prostitution* (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 112.
57. G. Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 499.
58. M. Rutter, *Upstairs Girls: Prostitution in the American West* (Helena, Mont.: Farcountry Press, 2005), 155.
59. C. Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 225.
60. A. Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996).
61. T. A. McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 84.
62. D. L. Pike, "Sewage Treatments: Vertical Space and Waste in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London," in Cohen and Johnson, *Filth*, 70; Nead, *Myths of Sexuality*, 120–34.
63. Pike, "Sewage Treatments," 70.
64. Nead, *Myths of Sexuality*, 130.
65. Pike, "Sewage Treatments," 71.
66. D. Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 23.
67. A. Corbin, "Commercial Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France: A System of Images and Regulations," in *The Making of the Modern Body*, ed. C. Gallagher and T. Laqueur (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 209–19.
68. Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen*, 23.
69. *Ibid.*
70. P. Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003), 75.
71. S. Bell, *Reading, Writing, and Rewriting the Prostitute Body* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 45.
72. Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen*, 29.
73. *Ibid.*, 41.
74. P. Sheldon, "The Dirtiest of Jobs: Maintaining Sydney's Sewers, 1890–1910," *Labour History* 93 (2007): 128.
75. Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen*, 89.
76. *Ibid.*, 41.
77. *Ibid.*

78. E. Rimmel, *The Book of Perfumes* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867), vi.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 17.
81. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 21.
82. *Ibid.*, 57–58.
83. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 33.
84. N. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade* (London: Longman, 1981), 8.
85. J. A. Phillips, *Eve: The History of an Idea* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984), 29.
86. C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 139.
87. *Ibid.*, 140.
88. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 239.
89. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 140.
90. E. Showalter, “Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender,” in *Hysteria beyond Freud*, ed. S. Gilman, H. King, R. Porter, G. Rousseau, and E. Showalter (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), 331.
91. C. Mavor, “Odor di Femina: Though You May Not See Her, You Can Certainly Smell Her,” in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 282.
92. Bradstreet, “Scented Visions: The Nineteenth-Century Olfactory Imagination” (PhD diss., University of London, 2008), 148.
93. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 239–40.
94. M. de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 33–34.
95. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 3; Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 21.
96. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 125.
97. Classen, “Odor of the Other,” 144.
98. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 27.
99. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 130.
100. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 52.
101. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 45.
102. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 19–23, 170.
103. L. Hughes-Hallett, *Cleopatra: Histories, Dreams, and Distortions* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1991), 86.
104. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 31.
105. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 92.
106. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 29.
107. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 48.
108. *Ibid.*, 104.
109. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 114.
110. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 104.

111. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 130.
112. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 146.
113. Morris, *Fragrance*, 41.
114. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 76.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., 129.
117. Corbin, *Foul and Fragrant: Odour and the Social Imagination* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 180.
118. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 18–22.
119. Ibid., 18.
120. Detienne, *Gardens of Adonis*, 85.
121. E. Hankiss, *Fears and Symbols: An Introduction to the Study of Western Civilization* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), 266–67.
122. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 20–22.
123. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 214.
124. Donkin, *Dragon's Brain Perfume*, 168.
125. D. M. Stoddart, *The Scented Ape: The Biology and Culture of Human Odor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 161.
126. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 72.
127. W. Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing* (London: 1823), 29.
128. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 56.
129. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 120.
130. Donkin, *Dragon's Brain Perfume*, 2.
131. Rimmel, *Book of Perfume*, 244.
132. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 122.
133. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 218.
134. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 122–23.
135. Morris, *Fragrance*, 226.
136. Ibid.
137. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 39.
138. Stoddart, *Scented Ape*, 135.
139. Morris, *Fragrance*, 41; Richard L. Doty, *The Great Pheromone Myth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 16.
140. Stoddart, *Scented Ape*, 205.
141. M. D. Kirk-Smith, D. A. Booth, D. Carroll, and P. Davies, "Human Social Attitudes Affected by Androstenol," *Research Communications in Psychology, Psychiatry, and Behavior* 3 (1978): 379–84.
142. Doty, *Great Pheromone Myth*, ix.
143. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 114.
144. Ibid., 119.
145. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 11.
146. Ibid.

147. Stoddart, *Scented Ape*, 80–81.
148. E. Shorter, *From Paralysis to Fatigue: A History of Psychosomatic Illness in the Modern Era* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 63–68.
149. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 204.
150. H. Blank, *Virgin: The Untouched History* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2007), 83–84.
151. *Ibid.*, 82.
152. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 117.
153. Stoddard, *Scented Ape*, 79.
154. G. Largey and R. Watson, “The Sociology of Odors,” in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 30.
155. Detienne, *Gardens of Adonis*, 62.
156. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 41.
157. Detienne, *Gardens of Adonis*, 78.
158. *Ibid.*, 128.
159. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (Teddington, Middlesex: Echo Library, 2007), 4:73.
160. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 36.
161. *Ibid.*, 2.
162. *Ibid.*, 38.
163. Donkin, *Dragon’s Brain Perfume*, 103.
164. Kennett, *History of Perfume*, 26.
165. *Ibid.*, 51.
166. Le Guérier, *Scent*, 7.
167. Kennett, *History of Perfume*, 112.
168. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 99.
169. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 33.
170. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 32.
171. *Ibid.*, 36.
172. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 137.
173. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 75, 77.
174. *Ibid.*, 74.
175. Morris, *Fragrance*, 8.
176. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 41.
177. Detienne, *Gardens of Adonis*, 92–93.
178. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 38–39.
179. S. Hall, *Peace and Freedom: The Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements in the 1960s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 120.
180. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 40.
181. *Ibid.*, 83.
182. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 17, 44.
183. E. Morris, *Fragrance*, xv; Classen et al., *Aroma*, 73.
184. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 83.

185. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 23.
186. Morris, *Fragrance*, 219; G. Jones, *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 113.
187. Morris, *Fragrance*, 219.
188. P. Rutherford, *A World Made Sexy: Freud to Madonna* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 111.
189. L. Turin and T. Sanchez, *Perfumes: The A-Z Guide* (London: Profile Books, 2008), 28.
190. *Ibid.*, 12.
191. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 21.
192. *Ibid.*, 69.
193. Detienne, *Gardens of Adonis*, 6.
194. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 151.
195. Rimmel, *Book of Perfume*, 81–82.
196. K. R. Nemet-Nejat, *Daily Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998), 157.
197. Kennett, *History of Perfume*, 52.
198. Donkin, *Dragon's Brain Perfume*, 173; Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 92.
199. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 121.
200. *Ibid.*, 145.
201. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 84; Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 46, 167.
202. Kennett, *History of Perfume*, 139.
203. Rimmel, *Book of Perfume*, 212; I. Bloch, *Odoratus Sexualis*, 233.
204. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 148.
205. D. Valenze, "The Art of Women and the Business of Men: Women's Work and the Dairy Industry, c. 1740–1840," *Past & Present* 130, no. 1 (1991): 142–69.
206. Corbin, *Foul and Fragrant*, 276n29.
207. Healy, *Coty*, 18.
208. Rimmel, *Book of Perfume*, 233.
209. *Ibid.*, 234.
210. *Ibid.*, 142.
211. B. Moeran, "Making Scents of Smell: Manufacturing Incense in Japan," *Creative Encounters Working Paper 1* (2007): 10. Available at <http://openarchive.cbs.dk/bitstream/handle/10398/6945/wp%202007-1.pdf?sequence=1>, accessed June 7, 2013.
212. *Ibid.*, 17.
213. A. Madsen, *Coco Chanel: A Biography* (London: Bloomsbury, 1990), 3.
214. *Ibid.*, 133.
215. R. Dove, *The Essence of Perfume* (London: Black Dog, 2008), 104.
216. Madsen, *Coco Chanel*, 132.
217. Turin and Sanchez, *Perfumes*, 260.
218. Madsen, *Coco Chanel*, 134.

219. Morris, *Fragrance*, 201.
220. *Ibid.*
221. *Ibid.*, 202.
222. *Ibid.*
223. *Ibid.*, 218.
224. A. A. Lewis and C. Woodworth, *Miss Elizabeth Arden: An Unretouched Portrait* (London: W. H. Allen, 1973), 13.
225. *Ibid.*, 86.
226. *Ibid.*, 18.
227. *Ibid.*, 49. Arden eventually joined the suffragettes, but not due to a change in her political convictions; see *ibid.*, 60.
228. *Ibid.*, 14.
229. *Ibid.*, 13.
230. *Ibid.*, 53.
231. *Ibid.*, 62.
232. *Ibid.*, 115, 150.
233. *Ibid.*, 54.
234. *Ibid.*, 20.
235. *Ibid.*, 217.
236. *Ibid.*, 284.
237. Morris, *Fragrance*, 207.
238. B. Moeran, "Japanese Fragrance Descriptives and Gender Constructions," *ETNOFOOR* (2005): 112.
239. V. Steele, *The Berg Companion to Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 330–31.
240. *Ibid.*, 330.
241. R. White, *Violent Femmes: Women as Spies in Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 97.
242. C. Gourley, *Ms and the Material Girls: Perceptions of Women from the 1970s through the 1990s* (Minneapolis: Twenty-first Century Books, 2008), 28.
243. Dove, *Essence of Perfume*, 155.
244. Morris, *Fragrance*, 280.
245. *Ibid.*, 278.
246. A. Gough-Yates, "Angels in Chains? Feminism, Femininity and Consumer Culture in Charlie's Angels," in *Action TV: Tough Guys, Smooth Operators and Foxy Chicks*, ed. B. Osgerby and A. Gough-Yates (London: Routledge, 2001), 94.
247. Shelley Hack, <http://shelleyhack.blogspot.com/2009/02/international-peace-keeper.html>, accessed March 15, 2011.
248. G. Jones, *Beauty Imagined*, 24.
249. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 98.
250. *Ibid.*, 115.
251. B. R. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 169.

252. G. Robb, *Strangers: Homosexual Love in the 19th Century* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2004), 46–47.
253. R. L. Schiffman, “Toward a Queer History of Smoking,” in *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking*, ed. S. Gilman and Z. Xun (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 304.
254. M. Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 63.
255. *Ibid.*
256. J. N. Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Avon, 1978), 296; M. M. Miller, “Hypnotic-Aversion Treatment of Homosexuality,” *Journal of the National Medical Association* 55, no. 5 (1963): 411–13, 415.
257. *Ibid.*, 298.
258. “Jean-Paul Gaultier,” GLBTQ, http://www.glbtq.com/arts/gaultier_jp.html, accessed March 23, 2011.
259. *Ibid.*
260. Classen, *Colour of Angels*, 63.
261. *Ibid.*, chapters 3 and 4.
262. Howes, *Sensual Relations*, 55.

Chapter 5. Uncommon Scents

1. R. A. Donkin, *Dragon’s Brain Perfume: A Historical Geography of Camphor* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 17; H. Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 51.
2. M.-C. Grasse, foreword to *Perfume: A Global History* (Paris: Somogy, 2007), 17.
3. A. Classen, introduction to *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (Göttingen: Hubert and Co., 2009), 142–44; D. Brown, “The Rise of Industrial Society and the End of the Self-Contained Village, 1760–1900,” in *The Self-Contained Village: The Social History of Rural Communities, 1250–1900*, ed. C. Dyer (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007), 125.
4. A. Le Guérer, *Scent: The Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), 29.
5. C. Classen, “The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories,” *ETHOS* 20, no. 2 (1992): 136.
6. F. Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, trans. E. Aveling (New York: International Publishers, 1935), 12; A. P. Coudert, “Sewers, Cesspools, and Privies: Waste as Reality and Metaphor in Pre-modern European Cities,” in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, 715–16.
7. S. Ingle, *The Social and Political Thought of George Orwell: A Reassessment* (London: Routledge, 2006), 59.
8. L. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries: Fragrances, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt* (London: Opus, 1999), 8; J. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion Smell in Indian Religion and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 105.

9. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 45.
10. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 16.
11. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 8.
12. C. Michel, "The Middle East and Asia: The Production, Transformation, and Use of Perfumes in Ancient Mesopotamia," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 58.
13. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 17.
14. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 7.
15. R. Genders, *A History of Scent* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), 28.
16. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 43.
17. C. M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 139.
18. *Ibid.*, 128.
19. M. Aftel, *Essence and Alchemy: A Natural History of Perfume* (New York: North Point Press, 2001), 187.
20. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 45.
21. É. De Feydeau, *A Scented Palace: The Secret History of Marie Antoinette's Perfumer*, trans. Jane Lizop (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 54.
22. M. Martin, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750–1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 20.
23. R. Toledano and E. Z. Coty, *François Coty: Fragrance, Power, Money* (Gretna, La.: Pelican, 2009), 127.
24. D. Frère, "Perfumes and Perfumed Oils in the Mediterranean World during the Archaic Period," in Grasse, *Perfume*, 41; Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 44.
25. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 18.
26. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 95; McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 153.
27. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 26.
28. *Ibid.*, 26.
29. *Ibid.*, 22.
30. *Ibid.*, 20–21.
31. *Ibid.*, 27.
32. Aftel, *Essence and Alchemy*, 21.
33. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 51.
34. *Ibid.*, 70.
35. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 30.
36. *Ibid.*
37. S. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 204.
38. V. Smith, *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 26.
39. *Ibid.*, 29.
40. *Ibid.*, 47.

41. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 135.
42. *Ibid.*, 136.
43. *Ibid.*, 138.
44. *Ibid.*, 139.
45. *Ibid.*, 134.
46. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 71.
47. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 161.
48. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 74.
49. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 31–33.
50. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 129.
51. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 64.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 142.
54. S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Fontana, 1987), 393.
55. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 63.
56. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 146.
57. Smith, *Clean*, 185–87.
58. Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 375.
59. *Ibid.*, 376–77, 380.
60. *Ibid.*, 386.
61. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 19.
62. Classen, “Odor of the Other,” 137.
63. *Ibid.*
64. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 20.
65. Entry for Sept. 28, 1665, in S. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1972), 244.
66. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 64; A. Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the Social Imagination* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 27.
67. Classen, “Odor of the Other,” 138.
68. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 75; A.C. Kelly, *Jonathan Swift and Popular Culture: Myth, Media, and the Man* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 93.
69. W. Scott, *Life of Jonathan Swift* (London: Wells and Lily, 1829), 258.
70. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 76.
71. D. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul* (London: Heinemann, 1923), 21, 44.
72. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 87.
73. W. Buchan, *Domestic Medicine* (Newcastle: K. Anderson, 1812), 512.
74. *Ibid.*, 513.
75. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 15.
76. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 63.
77. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 15.
78. F. Kennett, *History of Perfume* (London: Harrap, 1975), 73–74.

79. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 72.
80. *Ibid.*, 73.
81. É. de Feydeau, “Europe: Courtly Perfume and Country Perfume in the Eighteenth Century,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 138.
82. L. Peyron, “Perfumes and Odours during the Revolution,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 145.
83. Classen, “Odor of the Other,” 136.
84. Peyron, “Perfumes and Odours during the Revolution,” 146.
85. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 83.
86. R. Stamelman, *Perfume: Joy, Obsession, Scandal, Sin: A Cultural History of Fragrance from 1750 to the Present* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 29.
87. A. A. Lewis and C. Woodworth, *Miss Elizabeth Arden: An Unretouched Portrait* (London: W. H. Allen, 1973), 283.
88. *Ibid.*
89. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 25.
90. Lewis and Woodworth, *Miss Elizabeth Arden*, 35, 44.
91. *Ibid.*, 135.
92. *Ibid.*, 77.
93. *Ibid.*, 47.
94. *Ibid.*, 50.
95. *Ibid.*, 121.
96. “Ladies’ Day in Louisville,” *Time*, 47 (May 6, 1946): 57–63.
97. Lewis and Woodworth, *Miss Elizabeth Arden*, 23.
98. A. Madsen, *Coco Chanel: A Biography* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 4.
99. O. Healy, *Coty: The Brand of Visionary* (New York: Assouline, 2004), 6.
100. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul*, 53.
101. G. Jones, *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 32.
102. Healy, *Coty*, 6.
103. *Ibid.*, 12.
104. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 23.
105. M.-C. Grasse, “Europe: A Potted History of a Guild,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 95.
106. Frère, “Perfumes and Perfumed Oils,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 38.
107. C. J. Robin, “Perfumes in Arabia,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 80.
108. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries*, 10, 45.
109. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 184–99.
110. Morris, *Fragrance*, 47.
111. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 25–26.
112. C. Benaim, “Creating a Perfume: From Dream to Reality,” in Grasse, *Perfume*, 242.
113. M. Symons, *A History of Cooks and Cooking* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 276.

114. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 66.
115. S. Allport, *The Primal Feast: Food, Sex, Foraging, and Love* (Lincoln, Neb.: iUniverse, 2003), 118.
116. M. Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 1994), 82.
117. I. M. Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (n.p.: S. O. Beeton, 1861), 380.
118. *Ibid.*, 227.
119. *Ibid.*, 1078.
120. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 41.
121. M.S.R. Jenner, "Civilization and Deodorization? Smell in Early Modern English Culture," in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. P. Burke, B. Harrison, and P. Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 134.
122. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 59.
123. Woolgar, *Senses in Late Medieval England*, 127.
124. D. Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722; New York: Penguin, 2003), 200.
125. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 60.
126. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 27.
127. *Ibid.*
128. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul*, 70.
129. P. Priestley, *Victorian Prison Lives: English Prison Biography, 1830–1914* (London: Routledge, 1985), 45.
130. A. Babington, *The English Bastille: A History of Newgate Gaol and Prison Conditions in Britain, 1188–1902* (London: MacDonald and Co., 1971), 97.
131. M. R. McVaugh, "Smells and the Medieval Surgeon," *Micrologus* 10 (2002): 118.
132. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 126.
133. McVaugh, "Smells and the Medieval Surgeon," 113.
134. *Ibid.*, 114.
135. *Ibid.*, 115.
136. C. Crieghton, *A History of British Epidemics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894), 2:685.
137. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul*, 95.
138. *Ibid.*, 83.
139. *Ibid.*, 84.
140. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 60–61.
141. L.M.V. Totelin, *Hippocratic Recipes* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 102. See fn 92.
142. M. H. Green, *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 22–23, 83–87, 104–5.
143. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 41.
144. McVaugh, "Smells and the Medieval Surgeon," 123.
145. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 41.

146. McVaugh, "Smells and the Medieval Surgeon," 125–27.
147. Smelling salts could, of course, also be taken orally.
148. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul*, 116.
149. *Ibid.*, 84.
150. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 34–35; Classen, "Odor of the Other," 136.
151. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 34.
152. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 34.
153. *Ibid.*
154. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 35.
155. McKenzie, *Aromatics and the Soul*, 15.
156. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 79.
157. *Ibid.*, 82.
158. D. Reid, *Paris Sewers and Sewermen: Realities and Representations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 1.
159. *Ibid.*, 88.
160. B. Ramazzini, *Diseases of Workers* (New York: Hafner, 1964) 105; Reid, *Paris Sewers*, 95.
161. Reid, *Paris Sewers*, 93.
162. *Ibid.*, 109.
163. *Ibid.*, 92.
164. *Ibid.*, 91.
165. J. Carlisle, *Common Scents: Comparative Encounters in High-Victorian Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3.
166. *Ibid.*, 3.
167. *Ibid.*, 9.
168. M. Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 12.
169. Carlisle, *Common Scents*, 13.
170. *Ibid.*, 15.
171. *Ibid.*, 17.
172. *Ibid.*, 18.
173. M. Shiach, *Modernism, Labour, and Selfhood in British Literature and Culture, 1890–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 78.
174. *Ibid.* In contrast to such middle-class views, many labouring people were very suspicious of the smell of soap in linen, preferring instead of freshly washed linen, "such only as has been worn, or lain in, by other persons"; see W. Heberden, *Commentaries on the History and Cure of Diseases* (London: Payne and Foss, 1816), 4.
175. Shiach, *Modernism, Labour, and Selfhood*, 78.
176. C. Willett and P. Cunningham, *The History of Underclothes* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1992), 47.
177. A. Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1983), 64.

178. Corbin, *Foul and the Fragrant*, 129.
179. S. A. Cole, *Suspect Identities: A History of Finger-printing and Criminal Identity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 12.
180. J. Reinartz, "Uncommon Scents: Smell and Victorian England," in *Sense and Scent: An Exploration of Olfactory Meaning*, ed. B. Martin and F. Ringham (Dublin: Philomel, 2003), 140–42.
181. Corbin, *Foul and the Fragrant*, 2.
182. P. Sheldon, "The Dirtiest of Jobs: Maintaining Sydney's Sewers, 1890–1910," *Labour History* 93 (2007): 132.
183. *Ibid.*, 138.
184. R. M. Martin, *The Past and Present State of the Tea Trade of England, and of the Continents of Europe and America* (London: Parbury, Allen and Co., 1832), 115.
185. "Taste and Smell Utilized," *Scientific American*, August 19, 1869, 122.
186. C. O. Grindley, *Hop Judging for Brewers* (London: Faber, 1910), 10.
187. G. E. Evans, *Where Beards Wag All* (London: Ash and Co., 1970), 243.
188. Reinartz, "Uncommon Scents," 143.
189. Corbin, *Foul and the Fragrant*, 141.
190. Reinartz, "Uncommon Scents," 143.
191. *Ibid.*, 144.
192. *Ibid.*
193. *Ibid.*
194. *Ibid.*
195. K. Kirby, *The Cooper and His Trade* (London: J. Baker, 1971), 77.
196. H. V. Morton, *In Search of Ireland* (London: Methuen, 1931), 37.
197. *Ibid.*
198. Reinartz, "Uncommon Scents," 145.
199. *Ibid.*
200. B. Yeargin, *North Carolina Tobacco: A History* (Charleston, N.C.: History Press, 2008), 117, 133.
201. T. Crosby, "The Impact of Industry on the Market Towns of East Hertfordshire," in *A County of Small Towns: The Development of Hertfordshire's Urban Landscape to 1800*, ed. T. Slater and N. Goose (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2008), 379.
202. S. J. Terrio, *Crafting the Culture and History of French Chocolate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 238.
203. M. Engler, *Designing America's Waste Landscapes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 189.

Chapter 6. Mapping the Smellscape

1. W. A. Cohen, introduction to *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, ed. W. A. Cohen and R. Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xviii.

2. A. Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the Social Imagination* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 2.
5. C. Classen, D. Howes, and A. Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), 17–18.
6. *Ibid.*, 17.
7. A. Le Guérer, *Scent: The Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), 50–55.
8. Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 145.
9. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 18.
10. *Ibid.*, 34.
11. C. Classen, “The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories,” *ETHOS* 20, no. 2 (1992): 147.
12. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 57.
13. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2003), 41.
14. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 79.
15. R. Stamelman, *Perfume: Joy, Obsession, Scandal, Sin: A Cultural History of Fragrance from 1750 to the Present* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 21.
16. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 53.
17. See, for example, D. Biow, *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006).
18. I. Illich, “The Dirt of Cities, the Aura of Cities, the Smell of the Dead, Utopia of an Odorless City,” in *City Cultures Reader*, ed. M. Miles and T. Hall with I. Borden (London: Routledge, 2004), 356.
19. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 54.
20. *Ibid.*, 55.
21. *Ibid.*; C. Friedrichs, *Early Modern City, 1450–1750* (London: Longman, 1995), 29–30, 269.
22. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 55.
23. R. Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994), 257.
24. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 154.
25. *Ibid.*, 103.
26. T. Short, *A Comparative History of the Increase and Decrease of Mankind in England and Several Countries Abroad* (London: Nicholl and Etherington, 1767), 20.
27. R. Porter, “Cleaning up the Great Wen: Public Health in Eighteenth-Century London,” in *Living and Dying in London*, Medical History Supplement No. 11, ed. W. F. Bynum and R. Porter (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1991), 61–75.
28. *Ibid.*, 70; M. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5.

29. G. Rosen, *A History of Public Health* (New York: MD Publications, 1958), 177.
30. J. C. Riley, *The Eighteenth-Century Campaign to Avoid Disease* (London: Macmillan, 1987).
31. J. M. Comelles, "The Role of Local Knowledge in Medical Practice: A Trans-Historical Perspective," *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 24 (2000): 53.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Porter, "Cleaning up the Great Wen," 75.
34. Biow, *Culture of Cleanliness*, 39.
35. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 56.
36. P. Yapp, *The Travellers' Dictionary of Quotation* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 205.
37. J. Emory, ed., *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley A.M.* (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh, 1831), 3:78.
38. Biow, *Culture of Cleanliness*, 39.
39. M. H. Jacobsen and S. Marshman, "Bauman on Metaphors: A Harbinger of Humanistic Hybrid Sociology," in *The Sociology of Zygmunt Bauman: Challenges and Critique*, ed. M. H. Jacobsen and P. Poder (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 27.
40. J. Drobnick, introduction to *The Smell Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 6–7.
41. Porter, "Cleaning up the Great Wen," 65–66, 75.
42. R. Porter, foreword to Corbin, *Foul and the Fragrant*, v.
43. Dobson, *Contours of Disease and Death*, 9.
44. *Ibid.*, 14.
45. *Ibid.*, 10.
46. *Ibid.*, 14.
47. E. Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise, and Stench in England, 1600–1770* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007).
48. K. Hughes, "The Past Was a Stinker," *Guardian*, March 24, 2007. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2007/mar/24/featuresreviews.guardianreview7>, accessed June 24, 2013.
49. Dugan, *Ephemeral History of Perfume*, 108.
50. T. P. Lauriault and G. Lindgaard, "Scented Cybercartography: Exploring Possibilities," *Cartographica* 41, no. 1 (2006): 74.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, 80.
53. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 97.
54. Lauriault and Lindgaard, "Scented Cybercartography," 82.
55. *Ibid.*, 88.
56. M. Dobson, *Smelly Old History: Roman Aromas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Dobson, *Smelly Old History: Reeking Royals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Dobson, *Smelly Old History: Tudor Odours* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Dobson, *Smelly Old History: Victorian Vapours* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

57. M. Brown, "From Foetid Air to Filth: The Cultural Transformation of British Epidemiological Thought, ca. 1780–1848," *Bulletin for the History of Medicine* 82, no. 3 (2008): 516.

58. C. Hamlin, "State Medicine in Great Britain," in *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, ed. D. Porter (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 132.

59. J. Cassel, "Public Health in Canada," in Porter, *History of Public Health*, 277; L. Bryder, "A New World? Two Hundred Years of Public Health in Australia and New Zealand," in Porter, *History of Public Health*, 313.

60. R. Porter, "Howard's Beginning: Prisons, Disease, and Hygiene," in *Health of Prisoners: Historical Essays*, ed. R. Creese, W. F. Bynum, and J. Bearn (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 5.

61. *Ibid.*, 11.

62. *Ibid.*, 12.

63. C. Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800–1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 64.

64. *Ibid.*, 6.

65. *Ibid.*, 7.

66. D. Laporte, *History of Shit*, trans. N. Benabid and R. El-Khoury (1978; Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), x.

67. *Ibid.*, 119.

68. Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice*, 8.

69. H. Gavin, *Sanitary Ramblings: Being Sketches and Illustrations of Bethnal Green. A Type of the Condition of the Metropolis and Other Large Towns* (London: John Churchill, 1848), 10.

70. Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice*, 11.

71. *Ibid.*, 13, 15.

72. *Ibid.*, 213.

73. *Ibid.*, 167.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*

76. Cohen, introduction to *Filth*, xx.

77. Biow, *Culture of Cleanliness*, 18.

78. Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice*, 167.

79. M. Harrison, "Tropical Medicine in Nineteenth-Century India," *British Journal for the History of Science* 25 (1992): 303.

80. Brown, "From Foetid Air to Filth," 515–44.

81. *Ibid.*, 525–26.

82. E. H. Ackerknecht, "Anticontagionism between 1821 and 1867: The Field H. Garrison Lecture," *International Journal of Epidemiology* 38 (2009): 15.

83. Brown, "From Foetid Air to Filth," 528.

84. *Ibid.*, 530.

85. *Ibid.*, 519.

86. *Ibid.*, 535.
87. *Ibid.*, 536.
88. Harrison, "Tropical Medicine in Nineteenth-Century India," 306.
89. D. Barnes, "Confronting Sensory Crisis in the Great Stinks of London and Paris," in Cohen, *Filth*, 103.
90. *Ibid.*, 103–4.
91. *Ibid.*, 104.
92. *Ibid.*, 106.
93. Barnes, "Confronting Sensory Crisis," 111.
94. S. Halliday, *The Great Stink of London: Sir Joseph Bazalgette and the Cleansing of the Victorian Capital* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1999), ix.
95. D. Barnes, *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle against Filth and Germs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 51.
96. *Ibid.*, 57.
97. *Ibid.*, 52.
98. *Ibid.*, 16.
99. *Ibid.*, 36.
100. Barnes, "Confronting Sensory Crisis," 112.
101. *Ibid.*, 109; Barnes, *Great Stink of Paris*, 12.
102. Barnes, "Confronting Sensory Crisis," 113.
103. Biow, *Culture of Cleanliness*, 48.
104. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 86.
105. R. Griffiths, "From Sexual Arousal to Religious Rapture: The Importance of Smell in the Writings of Zola and Huysmans," in *Sense and Scents: An Exploration of Olfactory Meaning*, ed. B. Martin and F. Ringham (Dublin: Philomel, 2003), 267.
106. E. M. Grant, *Zola's Germinal: A Critical and Historical Study* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1970), 27–28; J. Richardson, *Zola* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1978), 106–7.
107. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 86.
108. *Ibid.*, 85.
109. E. Zola, *The Belly of Paris*, trans. B. Nelson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), xiv.
110. *Ibid.*, xi.
111. P. Wood, *Dirt: Filth and Decay in a New World Arcadia* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005), 5.
112. *Ibid.*, 219.
113. *Ibid.*, 6.
114. *Ibid.*, 220.
115. *Ibid.*, 220–21.
116. *Ibid.*, 6.
117. *Ibid.*, 221.
118. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 89.

119. S. Schwartzman, *Space for Science: The Development of the Scientific Community in Brazil* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 83.
120. D. B. Cooper, "The New 'Black Death': Cholera in Brazil, 1855–1856," *Social Science History* 10, no. 4 (1986): 467–68.
121. *Ibid.*, 468.
122. *Ibid.*, 479.
123. *Ibid.*, 482–83.
124. A. Lutz, "Contributions to the History of Medicine in Brazil: Cholera (1893–1895)," *Mem. Inst. Oswaldo Cruz* 39, no. 2 (1943): 219.
125. J. G. Peard, *Race, Place, and Medicine: The Idea of the Tropics in Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Medicine* (London: Duke University Press, 1999), 166.
126. T. Meade, "Civilizing" Rio: *Reform and Resistance in a Brazilian City, 1889–1930* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 5.
127. *Ibid.*, 10.
128. *Ibid.*, 4.
129. *Ibid.*, 3, 11, 27.
130. J. G. Peard, "Tropical Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: The Case of the 'Escola Tropicalista Bahiana,' 1860–1890," in *Warm Climates and Western Medicine*, ed. D. Arnold (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), 109.
131. Lutz, "Contributions to the History of Medicine in Brazil," 220.
132. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 89.
133. Lutz, "Contributions to the History of Medicine in Brazil," 221.
134. *Ibid.* Ziehl's fuchsine solution is used for staining in the microscopic investigation of mycobacteria.
135. *Ibid.*
136. *Ibid.*, 220. Interestingly, evidence collected during the 1855–1856 outbreak was similarly traced to dried codfish that had been served to passengers on a Portuguese ship, the *Defensor*; see Cooper, "New 'Black Death,'" 471.
137. D. Arnold, "Introduction: Disease, Medicine and Empire," in *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 7.
138. Drobnick, introduction to *Smell Culture Reader*, 5.
139. W. Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 98–99.
140. *Ibid.*, 87. See also M. Harrison, *Public Health in British India Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 49.
141. Arnold, "Introduction," 3.
142. *Ibid.*
143. Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 4–7.
144. *Ibid.*, 9, 104–10.
145. *Ibid.*, 105.
146. *Ibid.*, 94.
147. Arnold, "Introduction," 14.
148. Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 106.

149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid., 228.
152. Ibid.
153. R. C. Ileto, "Cholera and the Origins of the American Sanitary Order in the Philippines," in Arnold, *Imperial Medicine*, 125.
154. Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 231.
155. A. M. Kraut, *Silent Travellers: Germs, Genes, and the "Immigrant Menace"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 110.
156. Ibid., 248.
157. Ibid., 144.
158. J. Drobnick, preface to *Smell Culture Reader*, 15.
159. P. Watt, "From the Dirty City to the Spoiled Suburb," in *Dirt: New Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination*, ed. B. Campkin and R. Cox (London: I. B. Taurus, 2007), 86–87.
160. Ibid., 87.
161. Drobnick, preface to *Smell Culture Reader*, 15.
162. Ibid.
163. M. F. Manalansan IV, "Immigrant Lives and the Politics of Olfaction in the Global City," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 49.
164. P. Thorsheim, *Inventing Pollution: Coal, Smoke, and Culture in Britain since 1800* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 16–18.
165. P. Brimblecombe, *The Big Smoke: A History of Air Pollution in London since Medieval Times* (London: Methuen, 1987); S. Mosely, *The Chimney of the World: A History of Smoke Pollution in Victorian and Edwardian Manchester* (Cambridge: White Horse Press, 2001); Frank Uekötter, *The Age of Smoke: Environmental Policy in Germany and the United States, 1880–1970* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009).
166. J. A. Tarr, "The City as an Artefact of Technology and the Environment," in *The Illusory Boundary: Environment and Technology in History*, ed. M. Reuss and S. H. Cutcliffe (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 158, 185.
167. L. P. Snyder, "Revisiting Donora, Pennsylvania's 1948 Air Pollution Disaster," in *Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and its Region*, ed. J. A. Tarr (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), 126–44; Brimblecombe, *Big Smoke*, 161–78.
168. Manalansan, "Immigrant Lives," 44; A. McArdle and T. Erzen, eds., *Zero Tolerance: Quality of Life and the New Police Brutality in New York City* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).
169. Stamelman, *Perfume*, 23.
170. Ibid.
171. P. Damian and K. Damian, "Environmental Fragrancing," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 149.
172. R. El-Khoury, "Polish and Deodorize: Paving the City in Late Eighteenth-Century France," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 18.

173. Ibid.
174. Biow, *Culture of Cleanliness*, 78.
175. Ibid., 39.
176. El-Khoury, "Polish and Deodorize," 20; G. Vigarello, *Le Propre et le Sale* (Paris: Seuil, 1985), 94.
177. El-Khoury, "Polish and Deodorize," 23.
178. Ibid., 27.
179. Manalansan, "Immigrant Lives," 43; Illich, "Dirt of Cities," 356.
180. "Towns Are Losing Their History and Smell, Say Hindi Writers," *Times of India*, January 22, 2009, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2009-01-22/jaipur/28015464_1_hindi-writers-towns-kolkata, accessed January 22, 2013.
181. "The City That Got Left Behind," *Economist*, January 7, 2012, <http://www.economist.com/node/21542446>, accessed February 28, 2012.
182. M. Meigham, *Glasgow Smells: A Nostalgic Tour of the City* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2008), 94.
183. "Towns Are Losing Their History and Smell."

Conclusion

1. A. Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the French Social Imagination* (London: Macmillan, 1996), v.
2. G. Huimin and C. Ryan, "Place Attachment, Identity and Community Impacts of Tourism: The Case of a Beijing Hutong," in *Tourism in China: Destination, Cultures, and Communities*, ed. C. Ryan and G. Huimin (New York: Routledge, 2009), 308–26; "The Bay of Strangeness," *Economist*, April 5, 2007, <http://www.economist.com/node/8951298>, accessed May 12, 2011.
3. C. Classen, D. Howes, and A. Synnott, *Aroma: A Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 2002), 203.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 88.
6. R. Porter, foreword to Corbin, *Foul and the Fragrant*, v.
7. A. Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
8. A. Le Guérer, *Scent: The Mysterious and Essential Powers of Smell* (New York: Turtle Bay Books, 1992); A. Le Guérer, "Olfaction and Cognition: A Philosophical and Psychoanalytic View," in *Olfaction, Taste and Cognition*, ed. C. Rouby, B. Schaal, D. Dubois, R. Gervais, and A. Holley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 3–15.
9. Le Guérer, *Scent*, 205.
10. D. Howes, ed., "The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook," in the *Anthropology of the Senses* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); A. Synnott, *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self, and Society* (London: Routledge, 1993); C. Classen,

The Colour of Angels: Cosmology, Gender, and the Aesthetic Imagination (London: Routledge, 1998); C. Classen, "The Odor of the Other: Olfactory Symbolism and Cultural Categories," *ETHOS* 20, no. 2 (1992): 133–66; D. Howes, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture & Social Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); D. Howes, ed., *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).

11. J. Drobnick, ed., *The Smell Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2006).
12. C. Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and across Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1993), 7.
13. Classen, *Colour of Angels*, 1.
14. S. Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 239.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. D. A. Green, *The Aroma of Righteousness: Scent and Seduction in Rabbinic Life and Literature* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 4.
19. J. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion: Smell in Indian Religion and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 244.
20. *Ibid.*, 22, 46.
21. *Ibid.*, 9, 35.
22. Classen, *Colour of Angels*, 185.
23. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 185.
24. Classen, *Worlds of Sense*, 11.
25. Classen, *Colour of Angels*, 1–2.
26. L. Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 132.
27. M. Graham, "Queer Smells: Fragrances of Late Capitalism or Scents of Subversion," in Drobnick, *Smell Culture Reader*, 308–9.
28. L. Manniche, *Sacred Luxuries* (London: Opus, 1999).
29. N. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade* (London: Longman, 1981).
30. G. Jones, *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
31. I. C. Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); G. Prance and M. Nesbitt, eds., *The Cultural History of Plants* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005), 252; McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, 180–202.
32. Classen et al., *Aroma*, 89.

Index

- Abu Ma'shar, 94
acanthus, 65
Adam, 36
Aden, 62
Adonis, feast of, 48
adulteration, 171
adulteress, 21
Aeneas, 35
Africa: courtship, 116; immigrant labour, 99; marriage, 132; native fragrant flora, 55, 58, 60, 110–11; public health, 201; role of scent, 87, 111, 215, 217
aging, 10, 20, 186
Alabama, 106
alcohol, 47, 55, 63, 64, 70, 121, 168, 175
Alexandria, 55, 61
Algeria, 73
Alibert, Jean-Pierre, 26
Alm ras, Henri, 74
Alphonse Rallet & Company, 72
amber, 64, 74, 154
ambergris, 64, 67, 148, 155
Ambrose of Milan, 35
ambrosia, 133
America: Black Americans, 86, 103, 104, 106, 215; Chinese communities in, 93–94, 99; perfume industry in, 77–80, 112, 217; public health campaigns in, 201, 203, 204; travel writing, 89
ammonia, 160, 162, 168
anal glands, 126, 127
anatomy, 56, 87
Andaman Islands, 87, 108, 109, 186, 215
Anderson, Warwick, 201–3, 208
androstenol, 129
angels, 38
animals: instincts, 14; people as, 190; perfumed, 149, 151; reproductive practices of 126; scents 134, 155; senses of, 104, 107; smell and hunting, 127, 129; smell of, 152, 180
aniseed, 154
anosmia, 42, 162
anthropology, 2, 20, 21, 85, 86, 107–11, 186, 211, 215
Antioch, 40
Antoinette, Marie, 69, 155
Antonios, disciple of Simeon the Stylites, 39
Antony, Mark, 116, 125
apartheid, 215
aphrodisiacs, 62, 127, 129
apothecaries, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69
apple, 161, 167, 172
Arabia: distillation in, 63, 84; perfumers in, 158; spices from, 11, 58–61, 64, 80, 84, 175, 217; taste of perfumes in, 57
Arabian Nights, 91
archaeology, 28, 55, 57
architecture, 206, 211
Arden, Elizabeth, 78–79, 138–39, 156–57, 216, 250n227
Arderne, John, 65
Aristotle, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 87, 127
Arkansas, 105

- Armenians, 92
 armpits, 162
 Arnold, David, 200, 201
 Arnott, Neil, 187
 aromatherapy, 20, 54, 81–82
 Asia, 63, 64, 72, 135, 159, 213, 217
 asphalt, 11
 asphyxiation, 171
 Assyria, 123
 attraction, 54
 Auckland, 196
 Australia, 71, 99
 Austria, 72
 aversion therapy, 142
 Avicenna, 161
 Axel, Richard, 18
 Aztecs, 29
- Babylon, 53, 54
 Bacon, Francis, 161
 bacteriology, 162, 174, 179, 192, 194, 197–98,
 202, 214
 bakeries, 179
 Balkans, 72
 balsam, 29, 35, 38, 59
 Balzac, Honoré de, 195, 196
 baptism, 26, 31, 94
 Barbe, Simon, 148
 barbers, 179
 Barnes, David, 192
 Barruel, Jean-Pierre, 169, 170
 Bartholomew the Englishman, 11, 12, 65
 Bath, 186
 bathing, 42, 45, 149–51, 174, 213
 Baudelaire, Charles, 6, 126
 Bauer, Albert, 128
 Bauman, Zygmunt, 184
 bay leaves, 152
 Bay of Bengal, 108
 Bazalgette, Sir Joseph, 193
 Beaux, Edouard, 72
 Beaux, Ernest, 72, 75, 137
 Becket, Thomas, 40
 Bede, Venerable, 33, 48
 Beeton, Mrs. (Isabella), 159
 behavior, 113
 Belgium, 71
 Bengal, 128
 benjamin, 132, 154
 benzoin, 148
- Bernheimer, Charles, 121
 Bethnal Green, 189
 Bianco, Renato, 67
 Bible, 31, 88
 biotechnology, 81
 Biow, Douglas, 182–83, 190
 Bloch, Iwan, 2, 114, 119, 125
 blood, 118, 170, 180
 body. *See* embodiment *and* individual body
 parts
 body odor, 42
 Bombay, 59
 Bonatti, Guido, 95
 Bordeaux, 70
 Borneo, 63
 Bororo, 44
 Boswell, James, 89
 botany, 113
 Bradstreet, Christina, 7, 124
 brain, 11, 12, 13
 Brazil, 44, 107, 108, 179, 197–99
 breathing, 9, 130, 161
 breweries, 172–74, 175
 brewers, 173, 214
 brides, 131, 132
 brimstone, 32
 Brocard, Henri, 71, 72
 brothels, 119, 121, 122, 216
 Brown, Michael, 190–91
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 106
 Buchan, William, 5, 154
 Buck, Linda, 18
 Buddha, 35
 Buddhism, 10, 26, 28, 42, 44, 45, 212
 Burley, Walter, 12
 Burma, 108
 Burman, Thomas Southern, 169–70
 burns, 162, 170
 Busino, Orlando, 181
 butchers, 179
- cabbage, 93, 118
 Calcutta, 188, 200, 207–8
 California, 99–103
 Calvin, John, 34
 Camphor: dragon's brain perfume, 20, 53,
 64, 128, 232n57; gendered nature of 115;
 harvesting of 135; properties, 62, 63, 124;
 use in epidemics 160; use in hunting 127;
 use in weddings, 132

- canals, 180
cancer, 161
Carlisle, Janice, 22, 166, 167
carnation, 155
Carter, H. J., 59
Caseau, Béatrice, 26, 33
cassia, 35, 58
castoreum, 127
cattle, 110, 116, 215
cedar, 141
Céline, Louis-Ferdinand, 21
censers, 33, 34, 38, 151
cesspools, 90, 123, 160, 165–66, 170, 182, 192, 193, 197
Chad, 60
Chadwick, Edwin, 23, 167, 169, 187–93
chamomile, 64
Chanel, Coco, 74, 75, 77, 79, 137–39, 142, 157, 216, 217
Chanel No. 5, 75, 79, 137, 141, 156, 156
Charles I, 148
Charlie, 129, 140–41, 143
Charlie's Angels, 140–41
charms, 118
chemistry, 16–17, 18, 70, 73, 78, 79, 112–14, 136, 137, 158
Cheshire, 89
Chiang, Connie, 100
childbirth, 162
childhood, 7, 10, 93, 95, 108, 132
chimney, 152
China, 62, 71, 73, 88, 128, 158, 209, 217
Chinatown, 99–103, 111
Chinese, 86, 91, 99–103, 207, 215
Chiris, 72, 73, 74, 77, 78, 80
Chocolate, 175
cholera, 81, 97, 160, 164, 183, 187, 198–200, 207
chrism, 31
Christianity: class mixing 150; conversion, 95; divine scents, 147; holy oil, 29; perfume-making and, 64; pilgrimage 88; role of smell in, 3, 4, 18, 161, 212; sacrifice, 28; self control, 129, 149; women, 124, 130
Cicero, 9
cigarettes, 141
cinnamon, 84, 119, 133, 148
cities: changes with urbanization, 7, 97, 164; cleaning of 146, 160, 167, 209, 210, 214; dystopias 98; early modern, 211; elites in, 150; filth and, 90, 121, 166, 177–208, 213; flight from 145; inhabitants, 22, 99, 111; perfume production, 155; versus country 92
civet, 67, 68, 74, 119, 127, 148, 155
civil rights, 106
class: cost of cleaning, 96, 121; differentiation based on, 3, 18, 98, 106, 124, 190, 191–92; ideas of cleanliness and, 95, 203, 214; shared prejudices, 94, 99; smell as indication of, 22, 90, 133, 145–75, 189, 193, 199, 211, 213; upper-class refinement, 87, 111, 121, 138
Classen, Constance: on Christians and smell, 10, 36, 38, 45, 48, 50; on class and smell, 145, 149; on gender and smell, 110, 116, 132, 133; on human odors, 20; impact on sensory history, 4, 211; on race and smell, 85, 94, 96, 108; on scent studies, 1, 25, 212, 215; on smell and science, 195, 199; on smellscape, 179, 180
cleanliness: in breweries, 173; Chinese, 91; gender and 119, 168; hierarchies of, 95; Italy, 89, 182, 206; notions of, 85, 183, 206; personal, 149–54, 163, 202, 213; race and, 104, 106
Clement of Alexandria, 47
Cleopatra, 115, 125
clothes, 167
clove, 53, 64
coal, 131
Cobbett, William, 181
Cockayne, Emily, 185–86
coffee, 171, 175, 214
Cohen, William A., 118
cold-pressing, 63
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 96, 183
Collet, F. J., 130
Cologne, 67, 183
Colombia, 107, 111, 116
colonialism, 21, 73, 90, 179, 191, 192, 196, 200, 203, 208, 214
colour, 17
Commeles, Josep, 182
common cold, 154
Comoros, 74
Conan Doyle, Arthur, 98
conception, 162
concrete essence extraction, 73
Constantine I, 27, 34

- Constantine of Africa, 11–12
 Constantinople, 61, 150
 contagion, 188
 cooking, 152, 158, 163, 214
 coopers, 173–75, 214
 Corbin, Alain: contribution to sensory history, 2, 3, 5, 209–11; on gender and smell, 121, 122, 127; on history of smell, 1; on religion, 19, 26, 211–12; on smellscapes, 170, 177–78, 184–85
 Córdoba-Rios, Manuel, 94
 corpses, 46, 197
 Corsica, 77
 cosmetics, 42, 55, 63, 64, 76, 78, 79, 131, 135, 138–39, 147, 150, 157
 cotton, 116
 Coty, François, 71, 75, 77, 78, 79, 136, 157, 217
 countryside, 90, 92, 180, 186, 196, 199, 204, 205
 courtesan, 127
 courtship, 110, 216
 Crete, 57
 crime, 169
 Crocker, E. C., 17
 cucumber, 172
- Darius III, 147
 Dassanetch, 109–10, 111, 116, 215
 de Cantilupe, Thomas, 41
 de Feydeau, Élizabeth, 68
 Defoe, Daniel, 160, 184
 de Fourcroy, Antoine-François, 15
 degeneration, 10, 14, 104, 192
 Delilah, 125
 Delos, 57
 demons, 44, 118
 de Montaigne, Michel, 12, 21, 116
 deodorization, 203, 207, 208, 209–10
 Desana, 107–8, 111, 116
 Descartes, René, 13
 Detienne, Marcel, 3, 48, 131
 Devil. *See* Satan
 diabetes, 162
 diagnosis, medical, 42
 Dickens, Charles, 7, 22, 166, 195
 Diderot, Denis, 13
 Dijon, 67
 disasters, 180
 disease: ancient notions of, 191, 194; Chadwick on, 189; impact on sense of smell, 154, 162; prevention through smell, 160–62, 190, 202; smell of, 104, 161–62, 167, 184, 187, 199–200, 216; smell of poor and, 151; transmission via smell, 159, 201, 202, 203, 214. *See also individual diseases*
- disgust, 5, 204
 disinfectants, 162
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 193
 dissection, 169
 distillation, 55, 63, 64, 65, 66, 70, 151
 distillers, 158
 divine presence, 25, 26, 30, 37, 147, 212, 213
 Dobson, Mary, 184–87, 189
 Donne, John, 125
 Donora, Pennsylvania, 204
 Dostoyevsky, Fyodor, 42
 Doucet, 74
 Douglas, Mary, 85, 180
 Drobnick, Jim, 204, 211
 drowning, 162
 drunkard, 162
 Dugan, Holly, 84, 123, 132, 148
 Dunbar, William, 200
 Dunedin, 196–97
 Dutch East Indies, 201
 Dyer, Richard, 103
 dyers, 163
- ear, 17
 East India Company, 190
 Eau de Cologne, 67–68, 77, 134, 138
 Eden, 36
 Edinburgh, 89
 Egypt: gender and perfume in, 125, 135; perfume in, 48, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 76, 81, 84, 217; perfumers, 158; religion and smell in, 26, 29, 35; royalty and perfume, 147; smells of ancient, 4, 217
- elderly, 108, 114, 132
 Eliot, George, 166
 Elizabeth I, 67, 132, 155
 Ellis, Henry Havelock, 42, 131
 Elias of Reading, 45
 embalming, 44, 115, 147
 embodiment, 3, 113, 126, 204, 213
 emotion, 3, 5, 6, 186, 194
 Emre, Yunus, 47
 Endelman, T. M., 96
 enflourage, 55, 63, 74
 Engels, Friedrich, 14

- England: aromatherapy, 82; Coco Chanel, 138; garlic, 91; immigrants 95, 97–98; medieval scents, 64, 151, 152; monasteries, 66; perfume industry, 71, 72, 76; rose water, 67, 134; royalty, 134; sanitary reform, 163–65, 174, 191–93, 201; smell of, 89; smellscape, 184, 185; weddings, 132
- Enlightenment, 12, 209, 215
- environment, 107
- environmental fragrancing technology, 83
- epidemics, 66, 97, 99, 159, 160, 181–82, 187, 190–92, 198–99, 203
- epidemiology, 190
- epilepsy, 162
- Erasmus, Desiderius, 89
- essential oils, 18, 63, 65, 66, 70, 75, 78, 80
- Estée Lauder, 79
- Ethiopia, 58, 109, 215
- ethmoid bone, 13
- Eucharist, 36
- Eugenides, Jeffrey, 92
- Europe, 53
- Eve, 36, 124
- Evlonoff, Prince Michael, 139
- evolution, 14
- excrement, 46, 202. *See also* feces; shit
- exhaustion, 17
- eye, 14, 17, 75, 103
- fainting, 162
- Fargeon, Jean-Louis, 68–70, 71
- Farina, Johann Maria, 67
- farming, 110, 180
- fasting, 45, 95, 118
- Father Zosima, 42
- favus, 161
- feces, 44, 46. *See also* excrement; shit
- Fendi, 139–40, 216
- fermentation, 173
- Ferminis, Giovanni, 67
- fern, 141
- Feuerback, Ludwig, 14
- fever, 187, 188
- filtration, 63
- Firmenich, 80
- First World War, 89, 141
- fish, 110, 116, 159, 163
- fishermen, 100–103, 110, 175, 240n108
- flatulence, 44
- Fliess, Wilhelm, 130
- Florence, 66, 67, 182–84, 206
- flowers. *See individual flowers*
- food: domestic scents, 153; identity and, 86, 91–94, 95, 104, 111, 112, 118, 204; influence on breath, 125, 167; judging quality 154, 158–59, 171, 175, 214; manufacture of, 146, 214; memory and, 6; perfume trade and, 69; smellscape, 179, 180, 201; temptation of, 46, 51. *See also individual food items*
- fragrance-free zones, 206
- France: aromatherapy, 82; colonies, 73; Corbin on post-revolutionary, 2, 122, 210, 211; countryside, 90; Elizabeth Arden, 78; fashion 138, 169; perfume trade, 63, 64, 67, 71, 73, 77, 84, 137, 158; personal grooming, 127; religion, 124; sanitary campaigns, 169; sewers, 98, 121, 165; Zola, 121
- frankincense: gendered, 133, 135; history of, 53, 217; medicinal uses, 154; properties, 11; religion and, 20, 29, 35, 56; trade, 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62
- French Revolution, 46
- Freud, Sigmund, 7, 14, 15, 44, 124, 130
- fullers, 163
- fumigation, 130, 152, 160, 162
- funeral, 131, 135
- Galen, 9, 55, 56, 116, 161
- Galopin, Dr. Augustin, 125, 126–27, 130, 131
- gardens, 65, 66, 148, 179
- garlic, 91, 92, 93, 159, 180
- Gaskell, Elizabeth, 155, 167
- Gattefossé, René-Maurice, 81–82
- Gaultier, Jean-Paul, 142–43
- Gavin, Hector, 189
- Gell, Alfred, 107
- Geller, Jay, 95
- gender: differentiation, 18, 21, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113–43, 145, 211; perfume, 76, 107, 145; prostitutes, 190; senses and, 215; work and, 174, 216
- genetic engineering, 81
- genitals, 119, 122, 124, 126, 127, 130, 161
- George IV, 134
- Gerbelaud, René, 18
- Germany, 72, 76, 89, 95, 204
- ghee, 116
- Gilgamesh, 28
- ginger, 132
- Givaudan, 80

- Glasgow, 208
 glassmaking, 54, 63, 64, 69, 76
 glovers, 68, 70, 158
 goat, 17, 95, 118, 127, 132, 159, 160, 180
 Gogal, Nicolai, 173
 Graham, Florence, 138
 Grandier, Father Urbain, 124
 Grasse, 68, 69, 72–81, 137, 217
 “Great Stink,” 192, 194
 Greece, ancient: gender and scent in, 114,
 127, 130, 131, 135; nobility, 149; perfume
 use, 48; philosophers, 87; sacrifice, 28,
 131; scent trade, 54, 55, 57, 60; smellscape,
 181, 183
 Greek mythology, 3, 35, 125
 Greeks, 92
 Green, Deborah, 212, 213
 Gregory of Nyssa, 51
 Gregory of Tours, 36
 Grindley, C. Oscar, 171
 grocers, 158
 Groom, Nigel, 217
 grooming, 104, 213
 Grosseteste, Robert, 48
 Guerlain, 74, 77, 78, 141, 217
 guilds, 186
 Guinness, 173
 Gulliver, Lemuel, 88
 gunpowder, 160
 gymnasiums, 179

 Hack, Shelley, 140–41
 Hades, 125
 hair, 126, 127, 132, 133
 hajj, 47, 88
 halitosis, 45
 Hallé, Jean-Noël, 177–78, 199
 Hamburg, 200
 Hamlin, Christopher, 187–90
 Harrar, Heinrich, 79
 Harvey, Susan: contribution to sensory his-
 tory, 3, 4, 26, 212–13, 217; on religion and
 smell, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51
 Haussmann, Georges-Eugène, 122, 193
 Hawaii, 101, 217
 Hazlitt, William, 164, 170
 hearing, 5, 11, 12, 88, 107, 143, 184, 210, 216
 heaven, 19, 31, 36, 40, 50, 183
 Hegel, Georg, 14
 Heliopolis, 56

 hell, 19, 43–45, 50
 Helvétius, Claude, 13
 hemisynthesis, 80
 Henderson, L. F., 17
 Henning, Hans, 17
 Henri III, 68
 Henry II, 67
 Henry of Lancaster, 65, 124
 Henry V, 147
 Henry VIII, 84, 133, 134, 148, 155
 Hera, 125
 herders, 110
 heretics, 32, 43
 Herodotus, 54, 58
 Hershatter, Gail, 121
 Hilarion, 42
 Hinduism, 132, 212
 Hippocrates, 7, 124, 181, 184, 191
 Hirzel, Heinrich, 72
 Hitler, Adolf, 95–96
 Hoffman La Roche, 80
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 6, 7
 holy oil, 31, 32, 45, 50
 Holy Spirit, 31
 homosexuality, 141–42, 216
 hops, 171, 172, 175
 hormones, 129
 hospitals, 163, 179, 187, 188, 197
 Houbigant, 70, 72, 74, 78
 Houlbrook, Matt, 142
 housing, 104
 Howard, John, 188
 Howard University, 142
 Howes, David, 1, 20, 25, 45, 48, 85, 116, 143,
 149, 179, 211
 Hughes, George, 167
 Hugo, Victor, 193, 195
 humors, 11, 62, 118, 161, 162
 Hungarians, 92
 hunters, 107, 109, 127, 128, 135
 Huxley, Aldous, 210
 hydrolytic enzymes, 81
 hygiene, personal, 42, 111
 hypersensitivity, 12, 124
 hypnosis, 142
 hysteria, 43, 124

 identity, 18
 illusions, olfactory, 8, 43, 124
 immigrants: America, 94, 203; disease

- threats of, 90, 97–98, 100, 200, 201, 202;
 food and identity, 92, 93–94, 111, 202, 214;
 fumigation of, 86; ghettoization, 186, 196,
 199–200, 202; memory, 238n52; undesir-
 able work, 99, 102
 immolation, 118
 impotence, 124
 incense: against disease, 66, 160; brides and,
 132; censures, 37, 38; Christianity, 26, 27, 32,
 51; funerals, 147; Japan, 82, 136; martyrs
 and, 40, 42, 44; obliterating smell of, 46;
 pagan ritual, 33; prayer and, 39; public
 events, 149, 175; Reformation, 34; religion
 and, 28, 45, 50, 56, 212; sacrifice, 29, 30,
 35; sex and, 123; trade in, 54, 58, 60–63,
 175; visual and olfactory nature, 31; war
 and, 133
 India, 55, 63, 71, 88, 90, 164, 201, 217
 Indochina, 201
 industrialization, 146, 168, 204, 208, 209, 210
 infection, 160, 175, 188
 infidels, 38
 International Flavors and Fragrances (IFF),
 80–81, 82
 International Museum of Perfumery,
 Grasse, 76
 Internet, 210
 intersensoriality, 6
 Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton, 40
 iris, 57, 64, 155
 Irish, 86, 88, 97–98
 Ishtar, 43
 Islam, 38, 44, 47, 64, 110, 212
 Italy, 57, 63, 67, 71, 84, 89, 208

 Jacobson, Ludwig, 15
 jails, 160
 Jaipur, 207–8
 Japan, 82, 91, 136
 jasmine, 55, 64, 75, 78, 119, 148
 Jason and the Argonauts, 117
 Jean II, 68
 Jellinek, Paul, 18, 129
 Jenner, Mark, 46, 91, 159
 Jerusalem, 30, 135
 Jesus Christ, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 41, 43, 45, 47,
 58, 94, 119, 127, 212
 Jews, 47, 54, 86, 92, 93, 94–97, 111, 215
 John of Damascus, 4
 Johnson, Samuel, 89

 John the Baptist, 40
 Jones, Geoffrey, 72, 217
 Jonson, Ben, 180
 Jouet, Robert, 130
 Judaism, 27, 28, 29, 30, 64, 119, 123, 132, 212
 Judea, 57
 Julius Caesar, 134
 juniper, 55

 Kalita, S. Mitra, 93
Kama Sutra, 114
 Kant, Immanuel, 13–14
 Karlson, Peter, 129
 Kay, J. P., 187
 Kennett, Frances, 113
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 91
 Kilgore, Lt. Colonel William, 133
 Kitchen, Fred, 88
 knackers, 166
 Koch, Robert, 198
 Kouros. *See* excrement
 Kovel, Joel, 103
 Kraut, Alan, 203
 Kuwait, 47
 kyphi, 55, 56, 115

 labour, 104, 115, 145
 Lagerfeld, Karl, 140
 Lalique, René, 77
 La Mettrie, Julien Offray de, 13
 Lanvin, 74
 Laporte, Dominique, 188–89, 208
 La Samaritaine, 75
 laudanum, 65, 67
 laundresses, 100, 168, 177, 178, 179
 Lauriault, Tracey, 186
 lavender, 64, 67, 74, 81
 Le Bon Marché, 75
 Leclerc, George Louis, *Compte de Buffon*, 13
 ledanon, 58
 Le Guérier, Annick, 7, 44, 118, 160, 163, 211
 leisure, 145
Le miasma et la jonquille (1982), 2, 209, 210
 Lemnos, 117, 133
 leopard, 127
 leprosy, 45, 46, 104, 160
 Les Galeries du Louvre, 75
 Les Galeries Lafayette, 75
 letters, scented, 151
 lettuce, 131

- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 108
 Lewes, George Henry, 21
 Libya, 47
 Liddle, John, 169
 Lillie, Charles, 53
 lily, 38, 55, 131, 133, 134, 137, 141, 155
 Lindgaard, Gitte, 186
 Linneaus, Carl, 15
 Livingstone, David, 201
 lodging houses, 169–70, 195
 London: Charles Dickens, 166; cooperage, 174; homosexuality, 142; immigrants, 98; Jewry, 96–97; perfume industry, 71, 72, 78, 136; plague, 181, 184; prostitutes, 114; sanitary reform, 164, 178, 182, 184, 186–89, 191–96, 204, 208, 209
 Los Angeles, 79, 82, 100
 lotus, 55, 57, 116
 Loudon, Poitiers, 124
 Louis IV, 68
 Louis XIV, 67, 148, 165
 Louis XV, 68, 70, 155
 Louis XVIII, 159
 Louisiana, 105
 Lovell, John H., 17
 Low Countries, 63
 Lucretius, 9, 120
 Lüscher, Martin, 129
 Luther, Martin, 34, 44, 213
 Lutz, Dr. Adolfo, 197–201
 luxury: affordable, 83; clean water as, 180; French trade, 67, 70, 77, 78, 115, 216; hazards of, 154; irony of, 127; perfume as, 22, 145, 149, 158, 174, 216; as quality, 157; sin, 10; spices, 55, 57; tax, 79

 maceration, 63, 65
 Maclean, Charles, 190–91
 Madagascar, 74
 Magi, 31, 33, 58
 magic, 211
 Magnus, Albertus, 130–31
 malaria, 160, 184, 187
 Malaya, 115, 201
 Malcolmson, Patricia, 168, 169
 Malebranche, Nicholas, 13
 maltsters, 171–72, 175
 Manalansan, Martin, 204, 207
 Manchester, 186
 Manniche, Lise, 26, 217
 manure, 180
 Mao Zedong, 91

 maps, 22, 185, 186, 187, 194, 211, 216
 marjoram, 154, 155
 markets, 88, 179
 marriage, 132, 216
 marshlands, 184
 Martial, 95, 132, 153
 martyrs, 38–43, 118
 Marx, Karl, 1, 14, 22
 Mary Magdalene, 41, 47
 Mary of Bethany, 31
 mass, 34
 Massachusetts, 83
 massage, 82
 Maugham, Somerset, 150
 Maury, Marguerite, 82
 Max Factor, 79
 Mayans, 34
 McClintock, Anne, 90
 McGinn, Thomas, 121
 McHugh, James, 212
 McKenzie, Dan, 88
 meat, 116
 Mecca, 88
 Medici, Catherine de', 67
 medicine: Andaman Islands, 108; apothecaries, 68; camphor, 62; Eau de Cologne as, 67; essential oils as, 81; kyphi, 56; local, 57; manufacture of, 65; pomanders, 130; spices as, 64, 159, 218
 medical profession, 7, 104, 146, 159, 168, 169, 174, 184, 187
 medical topography, 178, 181, 184
 Mediterranean, 55, 58, 64
 Megallus, 56, 156
 Meighan, Michael, 208
 Melanesia, 217
 memory, 6, 7, 186, 208, 210, 212, 238n52
 menstruation, 110, 117, 118, 130, 160
 Mesopotamia, 28, 43, 44, 54, 84, 135, 158, 216
 Miami, 79
 miasma: blacks and, 104, 106; camphor, 63, 128; Charles Maclean on, 191; cities and, 178, 213; Corbin, 2; dangers of, 54, 121, 159; fumigation, 152, 181; germs and, 194; marshlands, 184, 187; plague, 66, 121; vulnerability to, 149
 Middle East, 55, 60, 62, 64
 military, 89, 90, 133, 134
 Miller, Dr. Michael, 142
 miners, 170, 197
 mint, 55, 82

- Modena, 166
 monasticism, 39, 66, 119, 121
 Monterey, 100–103
 Montfaucon, 165
 Montpellier, 68–69
 moon, 11, 62
 Morocco, 74
 Morris, Edwin, 113
 Moscow, 72
 Moses, 37, 38
 mosques, 33, 47
 mothers, 114, 216
 Mount Olympus, 35
 Mount Sinai, 38
 Museum of Perfumery, Barcelona, 76
 museums, 7
 music, 15, 17
 musk: aphrodisiacs, 62, 127, 128; brides, 132;
 class, 119; fumigant, 160; harvesting, 135;
 hysteria, 124; martyrs, 38; perfume, 64,
 66, 67, 68, 74, 152; royalty, 148, 155
 Mycenae, 5, 158
 myron, 31, 32
 myrrh: bathing, 151; Egypt, 56; gender
 123, 133; harvest, 135–36; history of, 217;
 phoenix myth, 35; properties, 11, 57;
 prostitutes, 119; religion, 20, 29, 36; sac-
 rifice, 28, 31; 31; sainthood, 39; sex, 124;
 spice trade, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63,
 84

 Nanterre, 193
 Nantes, 70
 napalm, 133
 Napoleon, 70, 134
 Napoleon III, 193
 narcissus, 125
 nard, 55
 nasal canal, 5, 18, 115, 129, 131, 154
 nasal reflex arcs, 130
 Native Americans, 94
 Nazis, 111
 Nead, Lynda, 119
 Nemet-Nejat, Karen Rhea, 135
 nephritis, 161
 Netherlands, 63, 71, 82–83, 90, 153, 217
 New Guinea, 107
 New Jersey, 93
 New Mexico, 94
 New York, 78–80, 83, 92, 138–39, 164, 203,
 206, 208
 New Zealand, 179, 196–97

 Nice, 71
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 14, 18, 43
 Nigeria, 60
 Nightingale, Florence, 201
 Nordau, Max, 10
 North America, 53, 83, 92, 100, 111, 136, 156,
 188, 204
 North Carolina, 175
 Norwich Cathedral Priory, 65
 nose: of cooperage ‘smeller,’ 174; detec-
 tion of hazards, 170, 214; feminized, 115;
 function of, 8, 12, 13, 18, 108, 128, 154;
 ‘genital localization,’ 130; location, 9, 14;
 perfume, 75, 146, 158; personality, 11; ra-
 cial, 21, 94, 104–6, 111; route for medical
 treatment, 161
 nostrils, 9, 12, 31, 38
 Nottingham, 186

 occupational health, 166, 170
 odophone, 16
 Old Bailey, 160
 Old Spice, 134
 olfactory bulbs, 18
 olive oil, 133
 Ongee, 108, 109
 O’Neill, Mary. *See* witch
 onion, 92, 93, 118, 159
 opium, 99
 orange, 67, 78, 148
 orris root, 132
 Orwell, George, 146, 213
 osphresiology, 15
 O’Sullivan, Patrick, 98
 overcrowding, 145

 pagans, 32
 Palm Springs, 79
 Pandya, Vishvajit, 108
 panther, 12, 127, 137
 Paradise, 38
 Parahyba River, 199
 Parent-Duchâtelet, Alexandre Jean Bap-
 tiste, 122, 190
 Parfums Caron, 78
 Parfums Rosine, 74
 Paris: domination of fashion market, 79;
 glove makes of, 68, 70; medical educa-
 tion 169; 206; nineteenth-century, 4;
 perfume trade, 71–74, 206; sanitary cam-
 paigns, 164, 165, 177–78, 181, 192–96, 199,
 200, 208, 209; sewers, 98–99, 122–23

- Pasteur, Louis, 194, 198, 200
 pastiles, 65
 patchouli, 141
 Patou, 74
 Paulinus of Nola, 35, 36, 41
 peace, 133, 134
 Pepys, Samuel, 153
 perfume: advertising, 76, 136, 140, 142, 205, 206; Africa, 110, 111; bottles 75–77, 138, 149, 157; fashion and, 139–40, 155–58; gender and, 109, 112, 113–14, 123–25, 136, 142–43; histories, 20; in cities, 179; language of, 8, 180; as luxury, 22, 47–49, 145, 147, 149–52, 154, 174–75, 213–14; marriage and, 131, 132, 216; odor programs, 16; perfume school, 73; production of, 146, 147; prostitutes and 119; 120, 121; purification, 160, 162, 181; religion, 50, 129, 212; seduction, 125–27, 129, 130, 216; slaves and 104, 163; trade 53–84, 214, 217; unisex, 133, 134–35; versus pollution, 18
 perfumers, 56, 65, 70, 76, 126, 136, 146–48, 152, 156–58, 160, 174, 211, 214
 Persephone, 125
 Persia, 48, 54, 123, 132, 147, 217
 perspiration, 105, 106, 126, 127, 133
 Peru, 44, 94
 Perugia, 64
 pharmacists, 65, 66
 pheromones, 129–30, 216
 Philadelphia, 93
 Philippe, August, 68
 Philippines, 73, 179, 201–3, 207
 Phoenicia, 55
 phoenix, 35
 physicians, 116, 146, 165, 166, 174, 211, 214
 physiology, 7, 86, 104
 Piesse, George William Septimus, 15
 Pike, David, 121
 pilgrimage, 88
 pine, 55
 Pinzer, Maimie, 106
 plague, 44, 45, 63, 66, 67, 130, 132, 151, 160, 172, 181, 183, 187, 196, 207
 Plato, 5, 8, 150
Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), 105
 plumbing, 150, 153
 Pliny the Elder, 54, 57, 58, 60, 115, 116, 155
 Plutarch, 29, 56, 116, 131
 Poiret, Paul, 74, 75, 77, 137
 poison, 44, 45, 118, 125, 150, 159, 161, 178, 184, 188
 Polak and Schwarz, 80
 police, 123, 169, 170
 pollution, 18, 110, 152, 186, 199, 204, 205, 206
 Polo, Marco, 59
 Polycarp, Bishop, 38–39
 polygamy, 119
 pomade, 133
 pomanders, 65, 130, 160
 Poncelet, Polycarp, 5
 Poovey, Mary, 167
 pornography, 118
 Porphyry, 28
 Porter, Roy, 181–82, 184, 204, 208, 209–10
 potpourri, 151
 Pousin, Nicolas, 136
 pregnancy, 130
 prejudice, 6
 priapism, 62
 Prichard, Joseph, 189
 prisons, 160–61, 163, 187, 188
 prisoners, 160
 prostitutes, 21, 93, 114, 117, 119–23, 142, 143, 190, 216
 Proust, Marcel, 6, 7, 206, 210
 Provence, 69
 psychological effect, 18
 psychology, 42, 106
 public health: anti-perfume campaigns, 54, 84; Calcutta, 207; colonial, 90, 197, 201, 202, 207; Edwin Chadwick, 7, 23, 187, 189; France, 177, 192, 194, 195, 209; London, 181–82, 187, 189, 190, 192, 195, 209; miasma, 121; New Zealand, 197; Philippines, 201, 202, 207
 pulse points, 56
 Punt (Somalia), 55
 purification, 25, 29, 47, 111, 123, 132, 151
 Puritans, 34, 48
 putrefaction, 159, 160, 210
 Pylos, 57
 Pythagoreans, 32
 quarantine, 188
 “queer” smells, 22, 114, 141, 142, 206
 Quezón, Manuel Luis, 203
 quicklime, 160
 Ra, 26, 35, 56
 race, 18, 20, 85–112, 145, 174, 201–4, 211, 214, 215
 Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred, 108
 Ramazzini, Bernadini, 166
 Ramesses II, 57

- rats, 121
 receptors, 18
 rectification, 70
 refinement, 111
 Reformation, 152
 Reid, Donald, 98, 122–23, 164, 165
 religion: buildings, 179; community condemnation, 10; Corbin on, 19, 211; divine scents, 147; Reformation, 152–53; restrictions on perfume, 150; sight dominance in, 212; smell and 18, 25–51, 53, 183; Thomas Southwood Smith on, 191
 religious grooming, 29
 Renaissance, 12, 116, 155
 Revlon, 53, 129, 140
 Revson, Charles, 140
 rheumatism, 161
 Rhine, 183
 Rimmel, Eugene, 1, 15, 53, 71, 123, 136
 Ringdal, Nils, 121
 Rio de Janeiro, 199
 ritual, religious, 31
 rivers, 177, 180, 183, 192, 199
 Robiquet, Pierre-Jean, 72
 Roger and Gallet, 78
 Rolle, Richard, 41
 Roman Empire: banquets, 149; cities, 183; deities, 30; gender and smell, 116; grooming, 132; Jews, 94–95, 212; Mark Antony, 125; military, 134; outsiders, 85; perfumers 156; perfumes, 48, 54, 57, 58, 217; poor households, 153; prostitutes, 114, 119, 120, 121; protest, 46; roses, 159; sacrifice, 38; scent trade, 60; sorceresses, 118
 Rome, 136, 139–40
 rosemary, 64, 132
 rose: bathing, 151; decay, 183; domestic casting, 152; England, 65, 67, 84, 148, 155; fumigation, 32, 66; gender, 115, 134; hysteria, 124; Mark Antony, 125; metaphor, 163; perfume, 55, 64, 65, 67, 78, 137; properties, 11; religion, 35, 36, 38, 47; Roman garlands, 159; synthetic, 74
 Roubin, Lucienne, 28
 Roure-Bertrand Fils, 73
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 13
 Rovesti, Dr. Paolo, 82
 royalty, 145, 147, 155, 156, 213
 Rubinstein, Helena, 78
 Rufus, 56, 116
 Rush, Benjamin, 191
 Russell, John, 152
 Russia, 71, 72, 73, 128
 sacrifice, 27–32, 35, 39, 58
 saffron, 132
 sailors, 172
 Saint Anthony, 42, 43
 Saint Augustine, 122
 Saint Felix, 41
 Saint Hildegard von Bingen, 44
 sainthood, 6, 19, 38–46, 50, 118, 213
 Saint Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, 40–41
 sandalwood, 35, 62, 74, 141, 217
 sanitary reform: Brazil, 197–200; Chadwick, 22–23, 167, 169, 187–91, 214; France, 177–79, 192–95, 209; global spread, 90, 208; immigrants, 111; India, 208; London, 97–98, 182, 187–91, 194, 209; New Zealand, 196–97; Philippines, 200–204; Victorian, 163, 165, 167, 169, 182, 214
 San Francisco, 99, 100–101, 207
 Sanskrit, 132
 Santa Maria Novella, Florence, 66
 São Paulo, 197–99
 Sappho, 115
 Sargent, Aaron A., 99
 sassafras, 135
 Satan, 40, 43–45, 49, 94, 95, 118
 Saudi Arabia, 47
 scent-free zones, 83
 Schaller, Maurice, 74
 Schama, Simon, 90, 153
 Schiaparelli, Elsa, 139
 Schiller, Friedrich, 161
 Schopenhauer, Arthur, 14
 Schultz, William, 134
 Scientology, 83
 Scotus, Michael, 131
 Second World War, 82, 89
 seasons, 109–10
 seduction, 124, 125–32, 136
 segregation, 104–6, 111, 215
 Seine, 177
 servants, 153–54
 sesame oil, 148
 sex, 15, 21, 108, 118, 123, 125, 126, 130, 211, 216
 sewers: America, 95; Bernadini Ramazzini on, 166; France, 90, 98–99, 122–23, 164–65, 170, 193; hazards of, 171; London, 192, 193; New Zealand, 196, 197; prostitute as, 121–23, 190; as public health remedies, 187, 206; rivers as, 180; William Hazlitt on, 164, 170

- Shah, Nayan, 99
 Shakespeare, William, 115, 127–28
 shaman, 44
 shampoo, 127
 Shanghai, 121
 shantytowns, 199
 shaving, 135
 shellfish, 153
 Shipibo-Conibo, 44
 shit, 153, 192
 Shulton, 134
 Saigne Canal, 73
 sight: adulthood, 10; Africa, 111; hajj, 88; judging produce, 171; physicality of, 8; precision of, 12; racial difference, 86, 103–5; rain forests, 107, 109; religion, 27, 212; representations of disease, 199, 200; sanitary reform, 189; sense hierarchy, 5, 11, 13, 14, 143, 216
 Simeon Stylites the Younger, 40
 Simeon the Stylites, 39–40
 sin, 43, 45
 skin disease, 31
 slaughterhouses, 179
 slaves, 104, 105, 163, 198, 199
 slums, 98, 145, 196–98, 200, 203, 214, 215
 smell: classification of, 5, 15, 108, 145, 189, 212, 215; devaluation of, 2, 4, 5–7; language of, 2, 5, 7, 22, 107, 108, 158, 180, 186, 192, 193, 208, 217–18; as skill, 22, 146, 172–74
 smelling salts, 162
 Smith, Mark, 103–6, 111, 215
 Smith, Virginia, 150
 smog, 204
 smoking, 141, 206
 Smollett, Tobias, 89
 Snow, John, 97
 snuff, 154, 155
 soap, 22, 64, 69, 72, 90, 96, 151, 174, 256n174
 Socrates, 116, 131, 163
 soldiers, 133
 solvent extraction, 72
 Somalia, 55, 58, 60
 sound, 9, 13, 27, 104
 South America, 28, 33, 78, 87, 197–99
 Southwood Smith, Thomas, 187, 190–92
 Spain, 63, 64, 72
 spices, 11, 26, 29, 32, 41, 55, 62, 64, 123, 124, 131, 132, 147, 151, 159
 Spikard, Paul, 94
 spinach, 151
 squid, 100–102
 Stamelman, Richard, 113, 119, 125, 126, 128, 155
 stills, 63, 67, 151
 Sturge, Harold, 142
 subways, 206
 sulphur, 32, 44, 45, 48
 Sumatra, 115
 Sumeria, 147
 sun, 11, 29, 62, 65
 Suresnes, 71
 Süskind, Patrick, 3, 177
 Suyá, 107, 108
 swamps, 196
 sweated trades, 97
 Swift, Jonathan, 154
 Synnott, Anthony, 1, 20, 25, 45, 48, 85, 116, 149, 179, 211
 synthetic scents, 74, 80
 Syria, 55
 tanneries, 68, 69, 163, 166, 179
 Tardieu, Ambroise, 141
 taste: in animals, 13, 104; compared to smell, 17; cooks, 159; food, 91; functioning of, 8; gender and, 142, 143, 215; hajj, 88; impact of smell on, 89; judging produce, 62, 171; luxury and, 154; memory, 7; precision, 12; religion, 38; sense hierarchy, 5, 11, 14, 184; tea, 171, 175, 214; transitory nature, 51
 temptation, 46
 Teresa of Avila, 42
 Thackray, William Makepeace, 183
 Thames, 192–93
 theatre, 121
 Theodore of Sykeon, 150
 Theophrastus, 8, 9, 58, 133
 Tibet, 88
 time, 109
 tobacco, 69, 175
 toilets, 142, 180, 189, 202–3
 Torah, 30
 touch, 8, 11, 13, 32, 88, 104, 142, 143, 184, 215
 tourists, 88–89
 trade, 113
 Trajan, 165
 travel, 86, 88, 90, 214

- Trollop, Anthony, 165
 tropics, 192, 201
 truffles, 129
 tuberculosis, 81
 tuberoses, 55, 119
 Turkey, 217
 typhus, 161
- Ukraine, 188
 Umeda, 107
 unisex fragrances, 22, 114
 Unitarianism, 191
 Universal Oil Products, 80
 University of Birmingham, 129
 urbanization, 168, 198
 urine, 127, 168, 206
 uterus, 161
- valerian, 124
 van Amerigen, Arnold Louis, 80
 Vancouver, 100
 vanilla, 74
 venereal disease, 160
 Venice, 64, 188
 ventilation, 145, 161, 188
 Venus, 35, 125
 Versailles, 148, 153
 vetiver, 141
 vibration, 17
 Victoria, 100
 Vietnam, 133
 Vigarello, Georges, 206
 vinegar, 160
 violet, 38, 64, 78
 Virgin Mary, 31, 51, 114
 virgins, 21, 118, 130–31
 vocabulary, of smell, 2. *See also* smell, language of
- vomeronasal organ, 15, 129
 von Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, 161
 von Humboldt, Alexander, 21
 vulture, 12
- Washington, D.C., 142
 Washington, Booker T., 106
 water, 184, 187, 189, 190, 213
 Watson, W. S., 81
 Wertheimer, Pierre and Paul, 75, 79
 Wesley, John, 183
 whiskey, 105
 whores. *See* prostitutes
 Wigan, 189
 Williams, Raymond, 167
 wine, 171, 175
 Winston-Salem, 175
 witches, 114, 117–18, 124–25, 143, 216
 Wood, Pamela, 197
 Woolgar, Chris, 3, 10, 65, 151
 Worth, 74
 Wurgaft, Benjamin, 91, 92
 Wyche, Richard, 41
 Wycliffe, John, 43
- Yahoos, 88–89
 Yardley, 72
 yeast, 172
 yellow fever, 191
 Yemen, 62
 Young, Arthur, 69, 184
- Zaphran, Eric, 94
 Zapotec, 34
 Zeus, 35, 125
 Zimri-Lim, 147
 Zola, Émile, 7, 98, 121, 168, 195–96
 Zwaardemaker, Hendrik, 16–17, 128

JONATHAN REINARZ is Reader and Director at the History of Medicine Unit, School of Medicine, University of Birmingham (U.K.). He is the author of *A History of the Birmingham Teaching Hospitals, 1779–1939*.

STUDIES IN SENSORY HISTORY

Sonic Persuasion: Reading Sound in the Recorded Age *Greg Goodale*

The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch *Constance Classen*

Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell *Jonathan Reinarz*



The University of Illinois Press
is a founding member of the
Association of American University Presses.

Composed in 10.5/13 Minion Pro
with Futura Std display
by Lisa Connery
at the University of Illinois Press
Manufactured by Thomson-Shore, Inc.

University of Illinois Press
1325 South Oak Street
Champaign, IL 61820-6903
www.press.uillinois.edu