THE ROUTLEDGE HISTORY OF THE SENSES

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Chapter 14

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14

MEDIEVAL RACE AND THE SENSES

Sensing Race in Medieval Literature and Revisiting *Richard Coer de Lyon*

Annette Kern-Stähler and Hannah Piercy

In the medieval European imaginary, at the edges of the known world lived the so-called "monstrous races," an idea that dates back to the ancient Greeks and Romans, who suggested that the extreme regions bring forth the rarest of creatures.[1] Among the distinguishing characteristics of these creatures are their senses, more particularly the size and position of their sensory organs, the uses to which they put these organs, and their sensory acuity. Their sensory organs are enlarged, like those of the two-faced giants, who have long noses, or of the *Panotii*, who have enormous ears, with which they wrap themselves up at night; their sensory organs are displaced, like those of the *Blemmyae*, who carry their eyes and mouths on their chests; or they use their sensory organs to detect and devour humans, like the cannibalistic *Donestre*.[2]

As Debra Higgs Strickland has shown, the monstrous races served as a template for the racialization of non-Christian groups, notably Jews, Muslims, Africans, and Mongols.[3] Here, too, the senses played a significant, albeit slightly different, role. The perceived otherness of these groups lay less in their different sense organs and ways of sensing the world but rather in how they were being sensorially experienced by white Christian people. In this chapter, we approach medieval race and racism through the lens of the senses. We are less interested in race-making by the assignment of different senses *to* others (as seen in the monstrous races tradition) than in race-making by sensing others *as* different.

Medieval scholarship long resisted the category of race, which is generally associated with global colonialism and the trans-Atlantic slave trade and with the establishment of physical anthropology and pseudo-scientific taxonomies. Though race is now widely accepted as applicable to medieval contexts, thanks to a significant body of work on premodern critical race studies, led by people of color, we outline here the historiography of this debate for non-medievalists who may not be familiar with these developments. In 2009, Ania Loomba was still able to point out that "it is still common to hear that it is anachronistic to identify racism in the premodern European world because, at that time, human differences were understood to be rooted in 'culture' rather than nature."[4]

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Scholars like Robert Bartlett, for example, argued that in the medieval period, "visible somatic features were relatively unimportant markers" and that "[c]ommunities were differentiated by language and customs, the latter including law and religion."[5] Yet, as Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, Geraldine Heng, Ania Loomba, Cord Whitaker, and others have since shown, these customs and beliefs were inextricably linked to corporeal attributes.[6] Although the medieval period had not yet developed an articulation of a biologically determined and stable category of human difference but explained physical variation as an effect of climate or Noah's curse upon Ham, human difference was persistently manifested in and experienced through the body.[7] Black skin, for example, while understood to be an effect of the burning sun, signaled Muslim faith, customs, and behavioral disposition, including presumed character deficiencies. Thus, to white Christians in the Middle Ages, encountering a Black body meant encountering a body charged with meaning.

Our chapter, thus, contributes to exploring the question currently of most interest to scholars of race in the European Middle Ages, who have moved on from considering whether race might be applied to the Middle Ages to querying *how* race operated in the Middle Ages and which functions it served.[8] In her groundbreaking study *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*, Geraldine Heng uses the term "race-making" for the operation through which "strategic essentialisms are posited and assigned through a variety of practices and pressures, so as to construct a hierarchy of peoples for differential treatment."[9] Heng has explored the many kinds of race-making at work in medieval European literature and culture, which include "religious race, colonial race, cartographic race, and epidermal race," all of which offer different, potentially intersecting forms of racialization.[10] Muslims, for example, are racialized through at least three of these modes.[11] Religious race functioned "both socioculturally and biopolitically" to demarcate Muslims, along with other non-Christians, as essentially different from Christians.[12] This was supported by their othering through epidermal race: in romance literature, Muslims are often described as Black and as having distinctive physical features, as Heng details.[13] In terms of cartographic race, Muslims were associated with Africa and India as well as the so-called Holy Land (and sometimes the Iberian peninsula), racialized in terms of their geographic origins as well as epidermal and religious categories. These multiple forms of race-making overlapped to construct an impression of Muslims as fundamentally different from European Christians, which was reinforced by fictional portrayals. Race-making by sensing others as different, we argue in this chapter, intersects with all of these categories of race.

We begin with a brief introduction to the sensory turn in the scholarship of race and then turn to a few examples from across historical periods to show how race has been sensed into being. We then zoom in on medieval race-making, probing the role of the senses in constituting, materializing, and maintaining race, racial differences, and racial hierarchies in the medieval period. Our discussion considers each of the traditional five Aristotelian senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch) before briefly assessing the multisensorial experience of race. The final part of our chapter hones in on the senses of taste and smell and investigates how their relation to emotion and memory can encourage us to accept or reject racism and dehumanizing portrayals of Muslims in medieval literature. Our primary text for this case study is the fourteenth-century anonymous romance *Richard Coer de Lyon*, a work that reveals the extremes of medieval Christian Islamophobia.

The Sensory Turn in Scholarship on Race

It is commonly accepted that race does not have an inherent biological meaning but is a social construct: those in positions of economic, social, and political authority create categories of difference to justify and maintain their dominance.[14] The idea of race as a sociopolitical construct is based on an understanding of race as located in the mind: race is constructed and upheld by language and discourse. More recently, scholarship on race has begun to investigate how race and racism are experienced through the body. For example, Cohen argues that we cannot discuss race without discussing it as embodied: "Race is bluntly corporeal: an identity system that anchors difference to the body."[15] This shift towards the bodily-felt dimension of race is part of a general tendency to understand human experience as embodied, which is indebted to the work of the French philosopher of phenomenology Maurice Merleau-Ponty: "I understand the other person through my body, just as I perceive 'things' through my body."[16] The body-as-subject – the body that we inhabit and through which we move, touch, and feel – actively seeks information to orient itself in the physical world, where it encounters, and interacts with other (situated) bodies.[17] Specific features of these bodies (e.g. skin color or hair texture) are already saturated with meanings, which, although socially constructed, are conceived of as "natural," as Emily Lee, building upon Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, explains.[18] Thus, the social construct of race and the embodied experience of race uphold and reinforce each other.

It is through the senses that the body reaches out to other bodies, objects, and the environment.[19] Focusing on the role of the bodily senses in constituting and confirming the social existence of race, Sachi Sekimoto and Christopher Brown argue that the social construct of race orientates our sensory attention to perceiving certain physiological features, such as skin color, facial features, particular smells, sounds, and tastes as *racial* difference and that, in turn, race as a social construct gets reified through our active sensory involvement.[20] The invented idea of race becomes feelable and thus appears "real," natural, and concrete: sensing race is a "retroactive practice that materially verifies the tale of racial difference."[21] Thus, race, while socially constructed, is being viscerally experienced – both by the racializing body, who experiences the invented idea of race as natural, and by the racialized body, who feels the effects of racism on – and in – their bodies.[22] The role of the senses in upholding and affirming race and other social hierarchies has also been foregrounded by cultural anthropologists like David Howes, who argues that we "learn social division through our senses" and that the "transformation of … distinctions into physiological sensations is a powerful enforcer of social hierarchies."[23]

Sensing Race into Being

Until recently, scholarship on the senses paid particular attention to sight and visual culture, importing and propagating the Aristotelian sensory hierarchy, which placed sight at the top, followed by hearing and the so-called proximate senses of smell, taste, and touch.[24] This hierarchy privileges distance between the object of perception and the perceiver (sight, hearing) over close or direct contact between the body and the perceived object (smell, taste, touch).[25] This primacy of vision also determined ideas about race, which was long understood as an "exclusively visible phenomenon" – as a categorization of human beings based on characteristics like facial features or skin color.[26]

More recently, sensory historians like Mark Smith have begun to "restore the other senses – hearing, smell, touch, taste – to our understanding of the ideology of 'race' and racial identity."[27] Smith has shown that white, antebellum Southerners used all their senses to construct and authenticate racial differences and to justify segregation and slavery. When an increasingly mixed-race population of enslaved people made it more difficult to ascertain race purely visually, racial identity was verified through hearing, touch, taste, and smell: slaveholders described African skin as rough and strong and argued that this made them perfectly suited to picking cotton and other kinds of manual labor; their taste was considered unrefined and enabled them to digest coarse food; they were said to emit a foul odor; and their voices supposedly sounded different.[28] Drawing predominantly on examples from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Sekimoto and Brown show how race continues to be registered through different sensory modalities and their interaction.[29]

Others have focused on one of the non-visual senses. Jennifer Lynn Stoever's *The Sonic Color Line* attends to the relationship between race and sound, showing how in the period 1845–1945 ideologies of race were just as dependent on hearing as they were on skin color and hair texture. For example, white music critics described the sounds of the immensely successful black American choir "The Fisk Jubilee Singers" as "rude," "wild," "inarticulate," and "uncultivated."[30] Scholarship on race and the senses is paying increasing attention to the sense of smell, which has been identified by the cultural anthropologists Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott as an important index of difference.[31] The reason why smell seems to be a particularly effective sensorial marker of racial difference may be the connection between odors, emotions, and memory: "The fact that odours feed directly into the limbic system, the region of the brain responsible for emotional responses and long-term memory, may contribute to such strong reactions to odour."[32] Olfactory othering, which dates back to antiquity,[33] has been explored by historians like Andrew Kettler, William Tullett, and Mark Smith and by literary scholar Hsuan Hsu. They have shown how members of dominant groups in society attribute foul smell to subordinate groups and have demonstrated what Alain Corbin observed in his 1982 landmark study *Le miasma et la jonquille*: "Abhorrence of smells produces its own form of social power."[34]

As Kettler has shown, early modern Western Europeans, for example, "tricked their profiteering noses into a false consciousness to smell the African as a pungent other," which provided them with "fresh and embodied assurances that slaves were predestined to live in the stinking cane fields of the colonies."[35] Tullett, who attends to the role of smell in eighteenth-century race-making, traces the explanations invoked for an alleged racial odor to the environment and cosmetic, hygienic, and dietary practices. Considering the intersection between race, smell, and space, he concludes that the projection of foul odor onto other spaces and bodies "reinforced the sweetness of English perfumery and the comfort of English houses."[36]

Smith has traced the olfactory stereotyping of European Jews and black Africans and has shown how these were deployed to demarcate and locate race in various historical contexts.[37] Hsu, bringing together atmospheric geography and the idea of environmental toxicity with race studies and the idea of cultural otherness, has shown that since the nineteenth century the discourse of what he calls "atmo-orientalism" has framed Asiatic subjects "in terms of noxious atmospheres" and toxicity threats.[38] Anxieties about infection through smelling putrid air also informed Victorian constructions of class, which highlights the intersectional nature of olfactory othering. According to Victorian miasma theory,

contact with the air emanating from putrid matter transmitted disease, which meant that the stench associated with the squalid conditions of working-class homes was considered a serious health threat.[39]

Western literature partakes in orientating its readers' attention towards perceiving physiological features as racial differences and in confirming and circulating codes of race. In William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1610–11), for example, Caliban, who has been read by critics as either Native American or black African, is associated with a foul, fish-like stench. When the king's jester Trinculo encounters Caliban for the first time, he perceives Caliban, who has hidden under a cloak, by his smell: "What have we here, a man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish, he smells like a fish, a very ancient and fish-like smell."[40] Holly Dugan has argued that the moral associations with the visual and olfactory qualities of white and festering lilies, which were solidified in Renaissance lyric poetry, contributed to race-making in that period: "The white lily, early in bloom, became a marker of purity and chastity, whereas the smell of it rotting became associated with corruption, sin, and, increasingly, a racialized blackness."[41] Moving to the twentieth century, Anthony Synnott has shown how Ian Fleming's James Bond series contributes to the negative olfactory coding of black bodies: the animalistic features assigned to black people in *Live and Let Die* (1954), for example, include a "feral smell."[42] Hsu has demonstrated that literature not only reproduces racial hierarchies but exposes and challenges olfactory stigmatization. BIPOC speculative fiction, Hsu argues, explores the capacities of smell to create intimacy and "new modes of kinship."[43]

Sensory stereotypes constructing race also involved the sensory organs of others, not unlike the construction of the monstrous races with which we began this chapter. According to the writings of the English surgeon Charles White (1728–1813), black Africans elicited sensorial disgust while exhibiting sensory acuity: while the sounds of black Africans were inarticulate and comparable to "sighs" or the "clucking of a turkey," they had acute hearing, allowing them to hear at great distance; while they emitted foul odors, they had a subtle sense of smell; while they looked disagreeable, they had large optic nerves, which gave them an acuteness of sight.[44]

The alleged enhanced keenness of the sensory system of Africans was regarded not as an expression of a refined sensory apparatus, however, but rather of their high-functioning instinctive response. Their heightened olfactory acuity, in particular, was associated with the primitive and instinctive. As Janice Carlisle reminds us, the Victorians associated smell less with "thought than with feeling" and the instinctive.[45] Charles Darwin notoriously referred to the sense of smell as a "rudimentary condition" inherited from "some early progenitor" and thus "much more highly developed" in the "dark coloured races of man" than in the "white and civilized races."[46] Thus, racial difference was constructed through presumed differences in how people of other races sensed, as well as how others sensed them, into the modern era.

Sensing Race in the Middle Ages

"[C]olor," as Cord Whitaker argues, "lacks the overwhelming primacy in medieval race that it lays claim to in modern racial ideology."[47] Although Whitaker, here, refers to the religious, geographical, and political differences that characterized race in the Middle Ages, we might continue his sentence with the observation that skin color served as only one of several sensory markers of race.[48] If we are to move on from what Dorothy Kim calls the

"ocularcentric fixation on medieval race," we suggest we could turn also to the non-visual sensory markers which were mobilized in processes of racialization.[49]

Dismantling the notion of an all-white medieval Europe, medievalists of various disciplines have, in the past few decades, demonstrated that white Christian Europeans encountered black Africans, Muslims, and Jews not only outside but also within Europe.[50] In the wake of mass migration in the first millennium and further population movements in the later Middle Ages, Europe was settled by diverse people, including the so-called Germanic tribes and Slavs, the Norse people, and migrants from the Arabian peninsula;[51] the diaspora of Jews from the Near East, which had begun in Roman times, continued during the Middle Ages, and Jews lived in many parts of Europe until a series of expulsions from the twelfth century onwards forced them to migrate to Eastern Europe;[52] black Africans, who had already been forcibly brought to Britain and other parts of Europe by the Romans,[53] continued to be sent to Europe "not only via the Atlantic trade and Iberia but also through the trans-Saharan trade and Mediterranean slave markets," where they and their descendants "created communities of color … in many parts of the Christian western Mediterranean in the 1400s,"[54] and, from the fifteenth century onwards, formed "an increasingly visible part of the urban scene throughout Europe, especially in port cities and at ruling courts."[55]

Christians also encountered sub-Saharan Africans in Jerusalem, where people from Ethiopia and Nubia went on pilgrimage in the wake of their conversion to Christianity in the fourth and sixth centuries respectively.[56] Contact of white Christians with Muslims increased in the aftermath of the Crusades, which brought intensive contact between Western Europe and the Middle East and involved the emigration of thousands of people from West to East, engaged not only in fighting but also in trade.[57] Furthermore, the Mongol invasions of Northeastern and Eastern Europe in the thirteenth century brought Europeans into contact with Asian people.[58]

Medieval European art and literature bear witness to these encounters. Jean Devisse's pioneering work has brought to the fore the visual representations of people of African descent in medieval Western art.[59] More recently, Lia Markey and Noémie Ndiaye have explored expressions of racialization in premodern art.[60] Strickland has outlined the sets of physical characteristics and clothing exhibited by Africans, Mongols, Jews, and Muslims in medieval European art.[61] The encounters of white Christian Europeans with large numbers of non-white people also resulted in a change in Christian European self-representation. Madeline Caviness has suggested that the shift in skin color she identifies in visual representations of Christian Europeans in the mid-thirteenth century – from "rich flesh tones" to "white bodies" – is a response to their encounters with non-white people: "Christians had come to regard themselves as white."[62]

While art, as a primarily visual medium, largely employs visual elements like color, tone, and shape to demarcate racial difference, medieval literature, while predominantly relying on the sense of sight, also articulates race through the non-visual senses. In the following section, we outline instances of medieval race-making through the senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch, and consider the multisensorial experience of race before moving on to our case study, which focuses on smell and taste.

Seeing Race

Drawing on ancient Greek and Roman ideas of climatic determinism and humoral theory, medieval encyclopedias propagated the idea that differences in climate determined

differences in humoral disposition, which manifested themselves in visible bodily features. While Hippocratic writers and Roman naturalists saw physical features like dark skin or curly hair as outward signs of the humoral adaptation of a body to its climate, medieval Christian texts understood them also as signifiers of character.[63] For example, the seventh-century encyclopedia by Isidore of Seville states that both physique and temperament "correspond to various climates."[64]

John Trevisa's *On the Property of Things* (completed 1398), a translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum* (ca. 1240), explains that the burning African sun wastes away the bodily humor of the "men of Africa," which affects not only on their physical features, making them "short of body, blacke of face, with crispe here," but on their behavioral disposition: "They be more cowardes of herte."[65] In contrast, the bodies of "the northe londe" ("white in face and [in] skynne") are "bolde and hardy."[66] The use of climatic theory to explain bodily diversity and the "binary opposition of northern and southern bodies" is echoed in *The Book of John Mandeville*, written in French in the mid-1350s and soon after translated into a range of vernacular European languages.[67]

Bodily difference was considered an outward marker of character deficiency not only of collective bodies (e.g. of all black Africans or all Jews) but of particular individuals, too.[68] The theory of physiognomy (attributed to Hippocrates) suggested that the individual body and its features may be read semiotically: curly hair was understood as an outward sign of fearfulness and arrogance, while dark skin signaled cowardice.[69] Like other physical features, skin color, then, was not a value-free physiognomic feature, explained by climate: seeing black and white skin was seeing skin saturated with meaning. In the medieval period, skin color became primarily charged with religious meaning to produce what Heng calls "religious race": whiteness – signifying purity and goodness – was yoked to Christians, while blackness – signifying impurity, sin, and damnation – was associated with non-Christians.[70] These associations also explain why Jews, accused of deicide and rejecting Christ and, therewith, turning away from salvation, were sometimes imagined as black.[71]

Medieval European literature orients the reader's attention to perceiving skin as a marker of difference. Romances often foreground the whiteness of the skin of virtuous Christians, such as that of the eponymous heroine in the fifteenth-century romance *Emaré*, who is "fayr and bryght", or of Florie in Wirnt of Grafenberg's thirteenth-century Arthurian romance *Wigalois*, whose body, as Bettina Bildhauer writes, is depicted as a "shining and specifically white object."[72] Africans and Muslims, who were aligned with the devil, are described as black.[73] In the romance *Guy of Warwick* (ca. 1300), for example, the Muslim Amoraunt is "[a]s blace … as brodes brend" ("as black as burnt nails").[74] In Wolfram of Eschenbach's *Parzival*, the piebald skin of Parzival's half-brother Feirefiz, who is the son of a white Christian father – Gahmuret – and the black African queen Belakane, is a visual marker of his mixed-race heritage.[75]

The alignment of epidermal race with religious race is particularly pertinent in conversion narratives when a character's conversion from Islam to Christianity is accompanied by a change in skin color. In the religious poem *Cursor Mundi* (ca. 1325), the miraculous power of the three rods blessed by Moses manifests itself in the power to cure illness and to convert the "hide" (skin) of four Muslims from "[b]lac and bla as led" (black and blackish-blue as lead) to milky white.[76] In the fourteenth-century romance *King of Tars*, the Sultan of Damascus's change in skin color ("His hide that blac and lothely was / Al

white bicom thurth Godes gras") is for his Christian wife a confirmation of his true faith in Christianity: "Then wist sche wele in hir thought / That on Mahoun leved he nought / For changed was his hewe."[77] In contrast, the skin of the white Christian princess, who only feigns conversion to Islam, stays white, signaling the "continuity and stability of her religious identity."[78] The association between whiteness and Christianity is also borne out in the trope of the white Muslim princess, whose skin signals, anticipates, and perhaps even allows her almost inevitable conversion to Christianity.[79] This shows the intersections between race and gender, which we cannot explore in detail here, but which Sarah Salih has recently analyzed.[80]

While in romances like *Sir Isumbras* (ca. 1320), the eponymous character can recognize a character as Muslim at first glance, when he "saw that he a Sarysene was,"[81] distinguishing Christians, Muslims, and Jews was not always considered so easy, as romances where characters pass as somebody of another race suggest.[82] That dermal pigmentation cannot be fully relied on in the identification of race and that epidermal "race can be performed,"[83] reveals anxiety about the extent to which race can be visually detected, about racial passing, and the destabilization of categories.[84] Such anxiety also underlies Canon 68 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which decreed that Muslims and Jews in Christian lands dress differently from Christians so that they "shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples,"[85] and which soon afterward evolved into further sumptuary regulations, specifying that Jews wear *signa* (badges) and conical hats.[86]

While such regulations attempt to enforce visual markers, they also suggest that visual markers on their own might not be sufficiently reliable. Building upon Smith's argument in his work on antebellum slaveowners (mentioned above) that the unreliability of visual markers required the mobilization of the other senses to confirm and detect race, we argue that racialized medieval bodies were considered to be identifiable not only by their visual features but by their sound, smell, taste, and touch.

Hearing Race

Race in medieval literature can not only be seen but heard. Crusading literature often ascribes animalistic sounds to non-Christian characters. In the eleventh-century *Chanson de Roland*, for example, the men of Occiant "braient a henissent" ("bray and whinny"), and the men of Argoille "si cume chen I glatissent" ("yelp like dogs") as they fight against Charlemagne's army.[87] Kim has shown how Western Christian pilgrims responded to the heterogeneous soundscape of Jerusalem. While they expected and condoned the sonic outbursts of their fellow pilgrims at the Franciscan-led Stations of the Cross – the "krying and roryng" and "wepying and sobbying […] wythowtyn mesur" of lachrymose pilgrims like Margery Kempe – they singled out the sounds of non-Christians as irksome noise.[88]

The fifteenth-century German pilgrim Felix Fabri, for example, disapproved of the "yells and strange outcries of the Eastern Christians, who fill the church all night long with their discordant clamour,"[89] the noise of the Muslim traders inside the Holy Sepulchre, and that of the Muslim boys at the Islamic school built opposite the Holy Sepulchre.[90] "[R]acialisation," Kim concludes, "happened through the ears as well as the eyes."[91] This is also manifest in Christian complaints in the thirteenth century against the prayer of Jews in a *yeshiva* (a Jewish school for the study of religious texts) in London, which was interpreted as "continuous caterwauling" (*continuum ululatum*).[92]

Smelling Race

Medieval European Christians commonly believed that Jews emitted a distinct, foul smell, the so-called *foetor judaicus* (Jewish foul smell); this was believed to be caused by their alleged ritual murdering of Christians, consumption of undigested blood, and male menstruation.[93] Like the stereotype of the hooked nose, this supposed stench linked them to the devil, who was associated in the medieval imagination with a putrid stench.[94] When, in the fourteenth century, Jews in the Spanish city of Gerona inserted windows into the walls adjacent to their houses, Christian residents complained of the spread of a fetid smell.[95] Like the black skin of non-Christians which was imagined to turn white with baptism, their stench was believed to disappear with baptism, which, again, demonstrates the alignment of medieval race with religion.[96]

In medieval literature, the association of Jews with a foul odor is drawn, for example, in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale* when the Jews, after murdering a Christian child, throw his body into the Jewry's latrine, where "thise Jewes purgen hire entraille."[97] The sensory quality of the Jewry's "pit" (571) stands in stark contrast with the sensory experience evoked by the descriptions of the Christian boy, who is compared to bright gems (609–10), whose voice, praising the Virgin Mary, is still ringing after his death (612–13), and whose body is "swete" (682).

Racializing Taste

The "visceral qualities of tasting food," Sekimoto and Brown argue, "makes … cuisine an excellent target of racialization – what tastes exotic or different functions as visceral evidence of sensory otherness or difference associated with a given racial group."[98] In the medieval Christian imaginary, Muslims, Jews, and Mongols consumed different, often disturbing food and drink: Jews allegedly used the blood of Christian children to bake *matzahs*. These blood libel allegations increased in the twelfth century in the aftermath of the Crusades.[99] In Matthew Paris' thirteenth-century *Chronica Majora*, Mongols, imagined as cannibals issuing from the monstrous races, were thought to "chase and devour dog meat and human flesh" ("carnes caninas et humanas laniantes et devorantes") and to serve the breasts of raped virgins as delicacies.[100]

In medieval literature, references to food and drink create sensory alterity by evoking either sensory pleasure in relation to commonplace luxuries associated with Muslims,[101] or more often sensory disgust in the reader. The Muslims in *The Sultan of Babylon* feast on "beestes blood" and fried serpents, and in preparation for battle, the Sultan feeds his soldiers with the blood of a tiger, an antelope, and a giraffe.[102] While these romances associate unusual food with non-Christian "others," the romance we discuss in the final section of our chapter includes instances of cannibalistic practice performed by Christian characters.

Touching Race

Woolly or curly hair, which in many medieval texts appears as one of the physical characteristics of the African people (as in Trevisa's *On the property of things* quoted above), not only appeals to the sense of sight but – due to the reference to its texture – also to that of touch. Skin, too, serves as both a visual and a tactile marker. Similar to the description

mentioned earlier of the skin of enslaved African people by antebellum slaveowners as rough and coarse, the desert-dwellers from Occian in the *Chanson de Roland* are imagined to have skin "as tough as iron," so that they "scorn helmets and hauberks."[103] The tactile experience of Muslims thus joins the visual in a multisensorial construction of race: the skin of Muslims and Africans is perceived through the sense of sight as dark and through that of touch as rough or bristly; equally, the description of the hair of Africans as woolly appeals equally to the senses of sight and touch.

Multisensory Experiences of Race

We have so far considered each of the senses separately, which might suggest that they are five distinct modalities, with each sense creating a phenomenal world of its own. Acknowledging that our experience of the world involves more than one sense at a time, sensory studies scholars are increasingly turning their attention to the interplay of the senses.[104] Medievalists have begun to explore how medieval literature gives expression to the interaction of the senses and how medieval art solicits its beholders through multiple sensory channels.[105]

Race, too, is experienced through more than one sense at a time, as our examples of the perception of hair and skin involve the senses of both sight and touch. The same body may be racialized by ascribing odor, sound, visible features, tactile qualities, and taste. Medieval literature, while often eliciting only one of the senses at a time in the construction of race, sometimes produces racial alterity through multisensorial cues. In a short passage describing how the sultan and his fellow Muslims past two to three months in the Spanish city of Agremare, celebrating their successful attack on Rome, *The Sultan of Babylon* invites the reader to smell the "frankensense" (line 679) they offer to their gods. At the same time, they listen to "hornes of bras" (line 683) and to people crying "Antrarian, antrarian" (line 689), which, as Heng argues, refers to Antara ibn Shaddad, an African-Arab cultural hero, but which Cohen suggests might be read by English readers as an unintelligible "nonsense word."[106] They also taste "milke and hony" (line 685), "beestes bloode" (line 684), and fried serpents (line 687).

While these examples draw attention to how sense perception is used to racialize others as different, in the following section we turn to how smell and taste can be used to construct racial affinity as well as racial otherness. We take a multidisciplinary approach in this final section, drawing upon research into the affective and memorial affordances of smell and taste,[107] historical and archaeological research into food and diet, and literary scholarship on our case study. This breadth reflects the extent to which "[s]mell's [and taste's] diffuse nature requires histories that cross the boundaries of several subfields within the historical discipline" as well as "moving beyond the boundaries of history alone."[108] While we cannot know how the smells of the past were interpreted by people living in the Middle Ages, nor reconstruct the experience of tasting a certain item of food for people accustomed to the cuisine of the time, contemporary literature, supported by contextual research, provides means through which we might be able to apprehend the historically specific resonances of sense experiences.[109]

Smell, Taste, and Islamophobia in *Richard Coer de Lyon*

Richard Coer de Lyon is a fourteenth-century Middle-English crusading romance, a genre traditionally defined by its focus on "the confrontation of a Christian military power with

a non-Christian one in another country because the latter is non-Christian."[110] Crusading romances often contrast Christian and non-Christian people to support and justify the violence they describe, requiring us to reckon with medieval European racism at, perhaps, its most extreme. White supremacists in the modern world have frequently adopted crusading imagery and rhetoric, highlighting the urgency and care needed in critical approaches to this material,[111] but the racism of the primary material itself also requires us to move beyond narratives of "appropriating" the Middle Ages and instead to confront racism as a medieval as well as a modern phenomenon.[112]

We, the co-authors of this chapter, believe it is our responsibility, as white scholars, to contribute to dispelling the myth of the "white Middle Ages,"[113] while also confronting the ways in which medieval European Christians endorsed and justified racist violence. White academics must take a more active role in antiracist scholarship and dismantling the way white supremacy has shaped medieval studies as a field, work which has been led by people of color within premodern and medieval critical race studies.[114] Focusing on *Richard Coer de Lyon* as our case study, we build upon Heng's work confronting the extreme racist violence of this text, which has paved the way for us to attend to the more subtle ways in which this romance uses sensory experience to shape its audience's reception of Islamophobic violence.[115] Expanding on Heng's and Whitaker's work in premodern critical race studies, we have shown how Muslims are characterized as a race in medieval Europe;[116] this section explores how the affective affordances of sense experience might support or disavow racist violence directed against Muslims in European writing.

The *a* redaction of *Richard Coer de Lyon*, which survives in two manuscripts from the early to mid-fifteenth century, and two printed versions by Wynkyn de Worde (1509 and 1528) contain two scenes in which Richard (a heavily fictionalized version of the historic English king) commits acts of cannibalism, which function as Islamophobic violence.[117] This episode has been much discussed for its unusual depiction of Christian cannibalism (an act more commonly associated with non-Christian peoples in Christian writing), its racist violence, and its perhaps surprisingly empathetic portrayal of the Muslim envoys' responses to Richard's cannibalism.[118]

However, scholars have not yet considered how sensory experience might shape audience responses to the racist violence of these scenes. Although Nicola McDonald, connecting Richard's cannibalism to the real medieval culinary delicacy of the "Turk's Head," claims that "eating a meat pie that looks like a Turk's head is just a step away from eating a real Turk's head," it does not seem controversial to state that there is a huge difference between these actions.[119] While not wishing to condone the violent symbolism of consuming a dish designed to look like a real person, from a perspective grounded in the body and its sensory capacities, the actions of eating a meat pie in the shape of a head and consuming a real human head are entirely different. Most people can imagine the experience of eating a meat pie but cannot conceptualize what it would be like to consume human flesh. This distinction between familiar experience and unknowable taboo plays an important role in the extent to which the reader of these scenes is aligned with, or kept at a distance from, Richard's meal and its dehumanizing portrayal of Muslims.

The first episode of cannibalism occurs when Richard becomes ill while taking part in a crusading expedition. He is said to be ill because of the journey to Acre, and because the local climate and food do not suit him as an English diet does. He craves pork, but – understandably, as Muslims cannot eat pork because it is *haram* – his men cannot buy any. Fearing for his life, an old knight advises Richard's steward to serve him the flesh of a

Muslim prisoner instead. Without knowing what he is eating, the king relishes his meal. He later demands the head of the pig he ate, and the horrified cook is forced to bring Richard the head of the Muslim prisoner. When he sees the "swarte vys" ("dark face"), "hou hys lyppys grennyd wyde" ("how his lips grinned wide"), Richard laughs and declares his army will never go hungry while they can eat their opponents.[120]

In the second episode, Richard serves a feast to the visiting Muslim messengers, producing the heads of their companions and relatives as the only available dishes. Horrified, they look on while Richard tucks in. They report the barbarism of the English king to their ruler, Saladyn, fearing Richard will eat his way through all their people. The Muslim characters' fear and distress for their dead companions is depicted in such a way that, as other critics have observed, the romance at some point seems not only to make them human and empathetic figures but *more* human and empathetic than Richard,[121] in contrast to the unusual pattern of crusading romances in which "readers are never permitted to identify with or humanize the enemy."[122] Scholarship has, however, remained divided as to the question of whether *Richard Coer de Lyon* repudiates, accepts, or even celebrates the king's cannibalism.

Turning to this romance's engagement with the senses does not resolve this ambiguity but demonstrates that it resides within the narrative itself: the writer seems to play with the idea of inviting their Christian audience to imaginatively identify with Richard while stopping short of facilitating imaginative and affective engagement with the sensory experience of cannibalism itself. In making this argument, we do not seek to show that *Richard Coer de Lyon* takes a nuanced approach to race-making: this is unequivocally Islamophobic work. However, attending to the more subtle ways in which this Islamophobia manifests might offer a useful model that can be transferred to other, much less explicitly racist works.

References to taste in *Richard Coer de Lyon* primarily occur as allusions to food, which may evoke prior sensory experiences for an audience who has tasted or smelled a particular dish. Neuroscientific research has found that reading or hearing words associated with smell can stimulate olfactory regions of the brain, suggesting that there is some overlap between the processing of sense experience and of reading sensory terms, while Vanessa Guignery has argued that literature can create a "'quasi-sensation' of taste through the consumption of words."[123] In *Richard Coer de Lyon*, the poet's comments draw attention to the affective, community-forming potential of food and taste when they observe that Richard becomes sick in Acre in part because of the:

> mete and drynk that is nought sete
> To hys body that he there fonde,
> As he dede here in Yngelonde.
> (food and drink that he found there,
> Which was not wholesome for his body,
> As was the food in England.)
> (3046–48)

The reading or listening audience is thus invited to think about food and its corresponding tastes in relation to the national community and shared associations, already drawing commonalities between their embodied experiences and Richard's. This primes the reader to attend to Richard's craving for pork:

To mete hadde he no savour,
To wyn, ne watyr, ne no lycour,
But aftyr pork he was alongyd.
(He had no appetite for food,
Not for wine, nor water, nor any liquor,
But he longed for pork.)
(3069–71)

Pork is a meat with which *Richard Coer de Lyon*'s English readers would be very familiar. Umberto Albarella notes that "pork was – generally – the meat that was the second most commonly eaten during the Middle Ages:" it was popular in aristocratic households until at least the fourteenth century, and was also particularly available to peasants due to the relative ease and cheapness of keeping pigs, as well as preserving pork.[124] But pork was also "the meat *par excellence* of the Europeans" – or the European Christians, as the pork was not eaten by Jewish or Muslim people.[125] The familiarity and identificatory power of this taste and its associated smells may have aligned the English Christian reader with Richard's embodied experiences before the cannibalism scenes occurred.

More specific references to taste and smell appear when the old knight describes how Richard's steward should have the Muslim prisoner cooked for the king. He tells him to flavor the dish "with powdyr and with spysory, / And with saffron of good colour" ("with seasoning, and spices, / And with saffron of good colour," 3092–93). "Powdyr" and "spysory" are vague descriptors, but in medieval Europe spices in general "became a key symbol of privileged status."[126] Their cost may make this dish sound like a luxury or desirable meal, to which readers like the members of Robert Thornton's gentry household who owned one manuscript of *Richard Coer de Lyon* might aspire. Similarly, saffron was very expensive but quite popular in small doses, so its subtle flavor and scent may have been familiar – and desirable – to the audience of this romance. However, as Jamie Fumo has argued, saffron carried "primarily visual, rather than gustatory, patterns of signification" for medieval audiences.[127]

Its visual association with gold may have presented Richard's meal as prestigious and attractive; however, saffron, and the art of coloring food more generally, was also connected to "deception and dubious commodification."[128] The "saffron of good colour" may, then, register the dish's visual appearance, as well as its implied connotations of scent and flavor, as an attractive one, or may highlight the deceptive contents of the dish hidden by its "good colour." Within the gentry, a social class particularly associated with *Richard Coer de Lyon*, the former interpretation seems more likely. The Paston letters show Margaret Paston asking her son John Paston III to tell her the price of saffron in London, seeking to compare it with the prices she can find in Norwich; her interest highlights the expensive and luxurious nature of saffron even for a wealthy gentry family like the Pastons but also emphasizes the appeal of these ingredients amongst this social class.[129] John Paston II owned a copy of "Kyng Richard Cure delyon;" though which version is uncertain, this connection suggests that the readers of *Richard Coer de Lyon* were the kinds of people aware of and interested in saffron as a luxury spice, potentially familiar with its flavor and usage.[130] Saffron is frequently mentioned as an ingredient in the courtesy book *Le Ménagier de Paris* (including in a recipe for "Saracen broth," a soup made with eels), which was produced within a similar social context, perhaps more affluent but not noble, to that of the Thornton manuscript of *Richard Coer de Lyon*.[131]

It was also thought to have medicinal properties, including pain and stomach colic relief, so it serves a practical purpose in treating Richard's illness.[132] With the mention of saffron and spices, the knight's instructions allude to the taste, smell, and visual appearance of the meal Richard will eat, with ingredients other than human flesh. There is an implication that the flesh will and does taste like pork since it satisfies Richard's craving for this meat, but this is not specifically described. However, the old knight's instruction to choose a Muslim prisoner who is "yonge and fat" (3088) may allude to the common practice of eating young pigs that seems to have been a feature of pork consumption amongst all social classes, as well as potentially referencing the higher fat content of pork in an age of typically leaner meat.[133] References to the taste of the cannibal ingredients of Richard's meal are not direct, however: at this stage, the interest in how Richard's meal will taste is not associated with its human ingredients.

Smell also plays a role here, and again the balance between what is described and what is left out is important. The knight insists,

> Whenne the kyng feles therof savour,
> Out of agu, yif he be went,
> He schal have thertoo good talent.
> Whenne he has a good tast,
> And eeten weel a good repast,
> And soupyd of the broweys a sope
> …
> Sone he schal be fresch and hayl.
>
> (When the King smells the scent thereof,
> As long as his fever has broken,
> He will have a good appetite for it.
> When he has had a good taste,
> And eaten a good meal,
> And drunk a mouthful of the broth,
> …
> Soon he will be refreshed and healthy.)
> (3094–102)

This comes straight after the description of the spices and saffron, so it is possible that the "savour" the knight refers to is that of the spices rather than the flesh cooked in them. This is unclear though – it may be the "savour" of the meal in general, including the smell of human flesh, that the knight expects will prompt Richard's hunger. This is explicitly the case in another Middle English romance, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, where the starving Jewish people smell human flesh cooking and demand to be given some of the meat. There it is explicitly "the smel … of the rost [roast]" that appeals to them, a much clearer emphasis than in *Richard Coer de Lyon*, and perhaps one that aligns with the dehumanizing portrayal of the Jewish people in this work (although they are horrified when they find out what is cooking).[134]

Nonetheless, Richard's knight clearly anticipates that the smell and taste of the king's meal will make him hungry and help him recover from his illness. This may invite the audience to recall their own experiences of being unwell and suddenly smelling something that

stirs their appetite. While the meanings assigned to sense experiences are historically and culturally contingent, that the knight presents this experience as something the steward will understand suggests it is supposed to be recognizable to its medieval audience. Pork was sometimes given to the sick: in some monasteries, the monks were only allowed meat when ill, and the Salerno School of Medicine saw pork as a potentially curative food.[135] The potentially familiar nature of smell inspiring hunger after sickness – possibly even the smell of pork itself doing so – seems to invite the audience to empathize with Richard's illness and even to place themselves in his situation. This suggests the importance taste and smell hold for understanding whether the poem's acts of Islamophobic violence are condoned or framed as taboo.

This dual dynamic, where the reader is both invited to identify imaginatively with Richard and kept at a distance from the cannibal components of the dish he eats, is further illuminated by the description of Richard enjoying his meal. Notably, there is no direct focus on smell or taste here at all. Richard's evident relish is described as the "eet fastere than he kerve myghte" ("ate faster than [the carver] could carve," 3110), but the king does not comment on the taste or smell of his meal while he is eating, nor is this conveyed through narration. Richard's actions make clear that he finds the meal delicious – and presumably demonstrate that the knight was correct in assuming he would find its smell and taste appealing – but the audience is kept at a distance from the sensory experience of cannibalism, suggesting the continued balance of discomfort or disgust alongside Richard's enjoyment. While Richard later declares Muslim flesh to be "thus good" (3216), he does not do so while he is eating, suggesting that some boundaries do remain in the narration of cannibalism and that those boundaries take the form of sensory experience.

Sensory experience remains a boundary in perhaps the ultimate boundary-violating scene, where Richard serves the heads of dead Muslim prisoners to the Muslim messengers and commands them to eat their family and friends. In preparation, Richard instructs his steward on how to present the heads. He alludes to his enjoyment of human flesh previously:

> An hoot hed bryng me beforn;
> As I were weel apayde withal,
> Faste therof ete I shall,
> As it were a tendyr chyke.
>
> (Bring a hot head before me,
> And as though I were well pleased with it,
> I shall quickly eat it
> As though [it] were a tender chick.)
> (3434–37)

But he does not say that he *will* be pleased with the dish, but that he will behave *as though* he were, again suggesting a reserve about the acts of cannibalism so gorily depicted earlier in the poem. This is maintained in relation to taste: he evokes the taste of chicken by saying he will eat the meal as if it were a tender chicken, but the *as if* is important. Rather than saying that the flesh of Muslim people tastes like, or of, chicken, Richard says he will behave as if it were a tender chicken, so the audience does not know how he considers it to taste. Comparing human flesh to chicken dehumanizes the Muslim characters, but the comparison also preserves the ultimate difference. While Heng notes that the scenes

that focus on the heads are "undeniably … racial recognition[s]" of visual difference, the absence and uncertainty of taste here offer another way of constructing racial identification and otherness.[136]

The preparation of the banquet continues this play with difference and similarity, enjoyment and revulsion, as it notes what the tables are lacking:

> Salt was set on, but no bred,
> Ne watyr, ne wyn, whyt ne red.
> (3447–48)

This recalls an earlier episode in which Richard eats a lion's heart, gaining his nickname *coeur de lion* in a literalization of the metaphorical epithet associated with the historic King Richard:

> Rychard prest out al the blood,
> And wette the herte in the salt;
> The kyng and alle hys men behalt,
> Wythouten bred the herte he eet.
>
> (Richard pressed out all the blood,
> And wet the heart in the salt—
> The King and all his men looked on—
> Without bread he ate the heart.)
> (1106–9)

The lack of bread in both cases may point to the barbarism of Richard's actions, emphasized also by his violation of the expectation that "[u]nder no circumstances was meat or any other food to be dipped in the saltcellar," as bread was often used as a material off which to eat; its absence may thus highlight Richard's incivility as a host.[137] This is especially provocative because "Christian writers … during the period of the Crusades, regarded bread as the mark of their own identity and described Arab bread as 'poorly cooked flat breads' that hardly deserve the name of bread," heightening the cultural significance of bread.[138]

But the absence of bread and the use only of salt to flavor the meat also emphasize the singularity of Richard's carnivorous appetite, making clear that he eats only the flesh without bread or salt to dilute its flavors, unlike the focus on the spices and saffron in the cannibalistic broth he eats during his sickness. In the case of the lion's heart and the consumption of the Muslim head, these are acts of spectacle that prompt fear and horror among those who watch Richard eat, so they are calculated for their visual effect. But the implications for taste may also be important, suggesting both Richard's enjoyment of this meat without additional flavoring and the horror of this undiluted carnivorous and cannibalistic appetite.

Familiarity is again toyed with as Richard warns the messengers:

> Ther is no flesch so norysshaunt,
> Unto an Ynglyssche Crysten man,
> Partryk, plover, heroun, ne swan,

Cow, ne oxe, scheep, ne swyn,
As is the flessh of a Sarazyne!

(There is no flesh so nourishing
For an English Christian man—
Not partridge nor plover, heron nor swan,
Cow nor ox, sheep nor swine,
As is the flesh of a Saracen!)
(3548–52)

While McDonald argues that "the insertion of 'Saracen' into a known culinary world … renders what is otherwise alien and forbidden a familiar, and thus edible, food," this list may again both collapse and differentiate cannibalism from other forms of meat consumption.[139] On the one hand, *Richard Coer de Lyon* repeatedly describes Muslim people as non-human animals, comparing them to dogs in a traditional Islamophobic insult.[140] The suggestion that Muslim flesh will taste like pork also dehumanizes Muslim characters in both obvious and more subtle ways: as Sarah Torpey argues, the implication that the Muslim prohibition of consuming pork is a form of cannibalism taboo further associates Muslims with pigs, beyond the suggestion that they taste alike.[141]

As we observed, the description of the Muslim man who is cooked for Richard as young and fat also links the consumption of his flesh with real practices of eating pork. However, while all of these aspects dehumanize Muslim figures, the attention given to the Muslim messengers' emotional response to Richard's acts of cannibalism also identifies them as human and embeds them in networks of family, friends, and loved ones. Moreover, Richard's assertion that cannibalism is part of an ordinary English diet is clearly false, as the other English characters in the poem do not eat human flesh; Richard is the only one to do so, and this crucial fact has sometimes been overlooked in scholarship on the poem.[142] His lie about its nourishing value also highlights the lie that Muslim flesh is a component of the English diet just like beef, lamb, or pork. That "swyn" comes immediately before and rhymes with "Sarazyne" recalls the substitution of Muslim flesh for pork during Richard's illness, but this link may again underscore the difference between these acts of consumption and their relevant tastes, the difference between what *Richard Coer de Lyon*'s English readers could, and could not, imagine and tolerate.

Focusing on how smell and taste are or are not evoked in the scenes of cannibalism in *Richard Coer de Lyon* offers a new perspective on this romance's attitude towards cannibalism. In one respect, taste and smell may invite identification with Richard by prompting the reader to consider times when they too have been revived from illness by the smell of a delicious meal. Yet on the other hand, the lack of overt description of the taste or smell of human flesh, and the lack of commentary on these senses as Richard eats his two cannibalistic meals, suggest an anxiety about the sensory experience of eating Muslim flesh and therefore implicitly acknowledge the humanity of the Muslim characters. Smell and taste in these scenes, then, ultimately support Torpey's argument that:

> *Richard Coer de Lyon* circulated so widely and for so long precisely because it demands that its audiences supply some response to King Richard's behavior but does *not* demand a particular, univocal response. Richard may or may not be a cannibal—depending on whether Saracens are really fellow humans—and the romance neither

> clearly endorses nor clearly condemns his hunger for Saracens. Instead it provides the figure of King Richard as an exercise for its readers and listeners, allowing them to see how the king might look from various perspectives.[143]

Smell and taste in this romance function in ways that highlight the ambivalence of the cannibal episodes, as the poet seems to experiment with inviting comparisons between Richard's embodied experiences and those of their audience, but also to preserve the difference of this taboo act. Smell and taste operate as race-making technologies but do so in ways that highlight the provisional nature of racial designations. At times these senses align the medieval Christian readers of this romance with the Christian King Richard's cravings, and experiment with dehumanizing Muslim figures by suggesting they taste like – but are not quite like – the meats present in English diets. While the most evident racializing moments may be associated with sight, in the scenes where Muslim heads are displayed, smell and taste play an important role in drawing and redrawing the lines of race, empathy, and humanity, raising questions about the subtle ways in which these senses and their particular affordances might contribute to race-making in other contexts.

Conclusion

Returning to the key question of how race operated in the Middle Ages, our analysis has shown how medieval literature racializes people through the senses and, thereby, offers insights into the culturally contingent processes of race-making, sensory experience, and their intersections within a specific historical context. Sensorial racialization operates across all of the categories Heng identifies as dominant strategies of race-making in the European Middle Ages, particularly religious, epidermal, and cartographic race.

Building on Sekimoto and Brown's research, we have shown how medieval literature orientates the sensory attention of its readers to perceiving certain bodily differences as racial differences, presenting race, which is a social construct, as an embodied experience through the senses. Finally, we have analyzed how the senses in *Richard Coer de Lyon* contribute not just to racializing others but to constructing affinities within racialized groups, predicated on shared sense experiences and their affective and memorial affordances.

Notes

1 See, John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1981), 5–25; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 2003), 41–59.

2 These descriptions are taken from the tenth-century encyclopaedic *Wonders of the East*. An edition of the Latin text, and the Old English text and its translation is provided in the appendix to Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf Manuscript* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 190–193 and 196–197. On the senses of the "monstrous races," see further, Dieter Bitterli, "Strange Perceptions: Sensory Experience in the Old English 'Marvels in the East'," in *The Five Senses in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Annette Kern-Stähler, Beatrix Busse, and Wietse de Boer (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 137–162, and (on touch), Lara Farina, "Wondrous Skins and Tactile Affection: The Blemmye's Touch," in *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture*, ed. Katie L. Walter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 11–28.

3 Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 2003), 59.

4 Ania Loomba, "Race and the Possibilities of Comparative Critique," *New Literary History* 40, 4 (2009): 501–522, 502. See also, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Race," in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. Marion Turner (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 109–122; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The diversity of mankind in *The Book of John Mandeville*," in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050–1550* (Manchester, UK: Manchester, 2004), 156–176; Adam Hochman, "Is Race Modern?," *Aeon*, 12 March 2020, https://aeon.co/essays/fact-check-the-idea-of-race-is-not-modern-but-late-medieval

5 Robert Bartlett, "Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, 1 (2001): 53.

6 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, 1 (2001): 116; Cohen, "Race," 115; Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 27; Ania Loomba, "Race and the Possibilities of Comparative Critique," *New Literary History* 40, 4 (2009): 503–504; Cord J. Whitaker, "Race-ing the Dragon: The Middle Ages, Race, and Trippin' into the Future," *postmedieval* 6, 1 (2015): 7; Cord Whitaker, "Introduction," *A Cultural History of Race in the Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas Hahn, vol. 2 of *A Cultural History of Race* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 12.

7 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, 1 (2001): 16; Loomba, "Periodization, Race, and Global Contact," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, 3 (2007): 613. On Noah's curse upon Ham, see further, David Goldenberg, *Black and Slave: The Origin and History of the Curse of Ham* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 188–198.

8 Cord J. Whitaker, "Race-ing the Dragon: The Middle Ages, Race, and Trippin' into the Future," *postmedieval* 6, 1 (2015): 7; Whitaker, "Introduction," *A Cultural History of Race in the Middle Ages*, 12. For the history of scholarship in premodern critical race studies, see also, Dorothy Kim, "Introduction to literature compass special cluster: Critical race and the Middle Ages," *Literature Compass* 16, 9–10 (September–October 2019): 4, and Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 15–27.

9 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 27.

10 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 6.

11 In this chapter, we use the term "Muslim" rather than "Saracen" when referring to characters of Islamic faith, except in direct quotations. While some scholars have suggested that "Saracen" marks out the ways in which Muslims are *mis*represented in medieval European literature, Shookeefeh Rajabzadeh argues persuasively that it is "by using Muslim that we acknowledge that a misrepresentation exists and legitimize the violence of that misrepresentation;" we follow her suggested practice here. Heng has also pointed to the European invention of the term "Saracen" as a "lie … that brilliantly names the enemy as liars in the very act of naming them as enemies." See, Shokoofeh Rajabzadeh, "The Depoliticized Saracen and Muslim Erasure," *Literature Compass* 16, 9–10 (September–October 2019); Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 112. Although "Saracen" is sometimes used to mean pagan or non-Christian more generally, in the works we discuss it exclusively refers to Muslims.

12 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 3.

13 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 187–219.

14 See, for example, Shomarka Omar Yahya Keita, et al., "Conceptualizing Human Variation," *Nature Genetics* 36 (2004): 17–20; Alan Templeton, "Biological Races in Humans," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 44, 3 (2013): 262–271; Adam Hochman, "Against the New Racial Naturalism," *Journal of Philosophy* 110, 6 (2013): 331–351; Adam Hochman, "Replacing Race: Interactive Constructionism about Racialized Groups," *Eon* 4, 3 (2017): 62; Michael Hames-García, "How Real is Race?," in *Material Feminisms*, ed. Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 308–339. The idea of race as a social construct has generated a vast body of scholarship, which has uncovered and critiqued the symbolic representation, the ideological discourse, and the institutional construction

of race. For an overview and a critique of social constructionist theories of race, see Adam Hochman, "Replacing Race: Interactive Constructionism about Racialized Groups," *Eon* 4, 3 (2017): 65–72.

15 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Race," in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. Marion Turner (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2013), 112.
16 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Donald A. Landes (London: Routledge, 2014), 191–192.
17 Merleau-Ponty writes: "It is through my body that I go toward the world." Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology*, 330.
18 Emily Lee, *Living Alterities: Phenomenology, Embodiment, and Race* (Albany: SUNY, 2014), 1 and 7.
19 See, Erin Manning, *Politics of Touch: Space, Movement, Sovereignty* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2007).
20 Sachi Sekimoto and Christopher Brown, *Race and the Senses: The Felt Politics of Racial Embodiment* (London: Routledge, 2020).
21 Sachi Sekimoto and Christopher Brown, *Race and the Senses: The Felt Politics of Racial Embodiment* (London: Routledge, 2020), 25. Here, Sekimoto and Brown build upon Martin Berger's work on racial identification and vision: Martin Berger, *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2005), 1.
22 Sachi Sekimoto and Christopher Brown, *Race and the Senses: The Felt Politics of Racial Embodiment* (London: Routledge, 2020), 5.
23 David Howes, *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Culture and Social Theory* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2007), xi; Howes, *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), 10.
24 For the Aristotelian hierarchy of the senses, see Robert Jütte, *A History of the Senses: From Antiquity to Cyberspace* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005), 61. Recent work highlighting the primacy of vision includes, David Howes, *The Sensory Studies Manifesto: Tracking the Sensorial Revolution in the Arts and Human Sciences* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2022), 6–8; Howes, *Sensual Relations*, xii–xiii; Mark Smith, *Sensory History* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 19–39; Annette Kern-Stähler and Elizabeth Robertson, "Literature and the Senses: An Introduction," in *Literature and the Senses*, ed. Annette Kern-Stähler and Elizabeth Robertson (Oxford: Oxford, 2023), 10–11. See also Holly Dugan and Lara Farina's editorial introduction to a special issue of the journal *postmedieval*, which seeks to "recover" the non-visual senses: "Intimate senses/sensing intimacy," *postmedieval* 3, 4 (2012): 373–374.
25 Carolyn Korsmeyer, *Making Sense of Taste: Food and Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 2015), 12.
26 Mark Smith, *How Race is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2006), 2.
27 Mark Smith, *How Race is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2006), 3.
28 Mark Smith, *How Race is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2006), 5–7, 25, 42–43.
29 Sachi Sekimoto and Christopher Brown, *Race and the Senses: The Felt Politics of Racial Embodiment* (London: Routledge, 2020), 21–44.
30 Jennifer Lynn Stoever, *The Sonic Color Line: Race & the Cultural Politics of Listening* (New York: NYU, 2016), 152–153.
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37 Mark Smith, "Transcending, othering, detecting: Smell, premodernity, modernity," *postmedieval* 3, 4 (2012): 380–390.
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55 David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Preface" to *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. II, part 1, vii–xix, xvii.

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57 See, Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 150–62.

58 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 287–90. In the Middle Ages, the "Mongols" were understood to belong to the Tartars, "the name given to the combined forces of Central Asian peoples," which was derived from "Tartarus," the infernal regions. Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 2003), 192.

59 Jean Devisse, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis-Gates, Jr., vol. 2: *From the Demonic Threat to the Incarnation of Sainthood*, pt 1: *From the Demonic Threat to the "Age of Discovery,"* and pt. 2: *Africans in the Christian Ordinance of the World (Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century)*, trans. William Granger Ryan (New York: W. Morrow, 1979). Both volumes are available in a second edition with a new introduction by Paul Kaplan (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2010), cited above.

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91 Dorothy Kim, "Margery Kempe, racialised soundscapes, sonic wars, and cosmopolitan Jerusalem," in *Encountering the* Book of Margery Kempe, ed. Laura Kalas and Laura Varnam (Manchester, UK: Manchester, 2021), 205; quotation on 215.

92 Robert Stacey, "The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 265. Similarly, as Heng points out, in 1253, Henry III ordained Jews to "subdue their voices in performing their ritual offices, so that Christians may not hear them." (cited Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 107–8n73). See further, Ruth HaCohen, *The Music Libel against the Jews* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 2011), 17–58.

93 William Tullett, "Grease and Sweat: Race and Smell in Eighteenth-Century Culture," *Cultural and Social History* 13, 3 (2016): 309. From the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards, the alleged smell of the Jews was interpreted as a curse from God, inherited through generations, and – from the early eighteenth century onwards – as a result of their "ostensibly foul living and poor diet."

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96 By the seventeenth century, the supposed stench of the Jews was believed to cling to the Jews even after conversion. Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 86.

97 Quotations are taken from the *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), line 573. Chaucer here drew on the tradition of the miracles of the Virgin. See, Roger Dahood, "English Historical Narratives of Jewish Child-Murder, Chaucer's Prioress's Tale, and the Date of Chaucer's Unknown Source," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 31 (2009): 125–140. Thomas of Monmouth in his twelfth-century *Life and Passion of William of Norwich* has the Jews decide against this location for the disposal of the murdered Christian child (William) for fear of being detected: Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*, trans. and ed. Miri Rubin (London: Penguin, 2014), 18–19.

98 Sachi Sekimoto and Christopher Brown, *Race and the Senses: The Felt Politics of Racial Embodiment* (London: Routledge, 2020), 33.

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100 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2012), vol. 3, 76; see Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 290.

101 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, 1 (2001): 124. See also, Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 219–22.

102 *The Sultan of Babylon*, in *Three Middle English Charlemagne Romances*, ed. Alan Lupack, TEAMS (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990), lines 684–685, 687, and 1007–1008.

103 *The Song of Roland*, ed. Gerard J. Brault, 2 vols. (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1978), vol. 2,, lines 3249–3250. See, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, 1 (2001): 120.

104 Multisensory interactions involve two or more senses which receive "roughly simultaneous input." Tim Bayne and Charles Spence, "Multisensory Perception," in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Perception*, ed. Mohan Matthen (Oxford: Oxford, 2015), 608.

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106 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 220 and 418–419; Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, 1 (2001): 130.

107 On smell's emotional and mnemonic properties, see Hsuan Hsu, *The Smell of Risk: Environmental Disparities and Olfactory Aesthetics* (New York: NYU, 2020), 5, 15, 17; Aprajita Mohanty

and Jay A. Gottfried, "Examining Emotion Perception and Elicitation via Olfaction," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Human Affective Neuroscience*, ed. Jorge Armony and Patrik Vuilleumier (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2013), 241–264; Jay A. Gottfried, et al., "Remembrance of Odors Past: Human Olfactory Cortex in Cross-Modal Recognition Memory," *Neuron* 42, 4 (May 2004): 687–695; both cited by Hsuan Hsu, *The Smell of Risk: Environmental Disparities and Olfactory Aesthetics* (New York: NYU, 2020), 207n6; Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 2–3, 5. On taste's memorial and affective dimensions, see Vanessa Guignery, "Tasting with Words in Ben Okri's *The Famished Road* and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Half of a Yellow Sun*," in Kern-Stähler and Robertson, *Literature and the Senses*, 327–328, 334–336; Yannis Hamilakis, *Archaeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory, and Affect* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2013), 80–91.

108 William Tullett and Inger Leemans, in William Tullett et al., "Smell, History, and Heritage," *American Historical Review* 127, 1 (March 2022): 262; see further, Kettler, *Smell of Slavery*, 34–35; Reinarz, *Past Scents*, 7.

109 For the historical and cultural contingency of sense experience, see, for example, Constance Classen, "Foundations for an Anthropology of the Senses," *International Social Science Journal* 49 (153): 401; Howes, *Sensory Studies Manifesto*, 45–52; Mark S. R. Jenner, "Follow your Nose? Smell, Smelling, and their Histories," *American Historical Review* 116, 2 (2011): 335–351.

110 Lee Manion, *Narrating the Crusades: Loss and Recovery in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2014), 7.

111 Nicholas L. Paul, "Modern Intolerance and the Medieval Crusades," in Albin, et al., *Whose Middle Ages?*, 35–36; Bishop, "#DeusVult," 256–64; Dorothy Kim, "The Alt-Right and Medieval Religions," *Religion and Its Publics* (blog), November 9, 2018, sec: https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/responses/the-alt-right-and-medieval-religions/; Andrew B. R. Elliott, *Medievalism, Politics and Mass Media: Appropriating the Middle Ages in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2017), 132–82.

112 See further, Whitaker, "Introduction," 1; Jonathan Hsy, *Antiracist Medievalisms: From "Yellow Peril" to Black Lives Matter* (Leeds: Arc Humanities, 2021), 7, 17.

113 On this myth and its propagation in alt-right discourses, see Whitaker, "Introduction," 1; Whitaker, *Black Metaphors*, 187–97. Key work exploring antiracist engagements with the Middle Ages by people of color includes Hsy, *Antiracist Medievalisms*; Whitaker, "The Middle Ages in the Harlem Renaissance," in Albin, et al., *Whose Middle Ages?*, 80–88; Matthew Vernon, *The Black Middle Ages: Race and the Construction of the Middle Ages* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

114 For an overview of the genealogy of premodern critical race studies, see Kim, "Critical Race and the Middle Ages," 4–7. On critical medieval race studies, see Whitaker, "Introduction," 2–7; on white supremacy in medieval studies, see 16–17. For bibliographies detailing key work in the field, see Mary Rambaran-Olm and Erik Wade, "Race 101 for Early Medieval Studies (Selected Readings)," Medium, published July 18, 2020, https://mrambaranolm.medium.com/race-101-for-early-medieval-studies-selected-readings-77be815f8d0f; Jonathan Hsy and Julie Orlemanski, "Race and Medieval Studies: A Partial Bibliography," *postmedieval* 8 (December 2017): 500–531. We use "people of color" as an affirmative term that encompasses contributions by people of different racialized groups, though recognize that preferences on terminology differ.

115 Heng, "The Romance of England: *Richard Coer de Lyon* and the Politics of Race, Religion, Sexuality, and Nation," in *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia, 2003), 63–113.

116 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, 2018), 6.

117 The manuscripts of the *a* version are Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 175/96, and London, British Library, Additional MS 31042 (the London Thornton manuscript, compiled by Robert Thornton, a member of the Lincolnshire gentry). The *b* redaction, thought to be the older of the two, survives in five manuscripts and does not include the cannibalism episodes, which are thought to be a later interpolation. *Richard Coer de Lyon* is thought to have been based on a now-lost Anglo-Norman original. See further, Peter Larkin, "Introduction," in *Richard Coer de Lyon*, ed. Peter Larkin, TEAMS (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2015), https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/larkin-richard-coer-de-lyon-introduction.

118 See, Heather Blurton, *Cannibalism in High Medieval English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 105–131; Heng, "The Romance of England;" Emily Dolmans, *Writing Regional Identities in Medieval England: From the "Gesta Herwardi" to "Richard Coer de Lyon"* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2020), 184–186; Marcel Elias, "Violence, Excess, and the Composite Emotional Rhetoric of *Richard Coeur de Lion*," *Studies in Philology* 114, 1 (Winter 2017): 31–32; Siobhain Bly Calkin, "Saracens," in *Heroes and Anti-Heroes in Medieval Romance*, ed. Neil Cartlidge (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 198–199.

119 Nicola McDonald, "Eating People and the Alimentary Logic of *Richard Coeur de Lion*," in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Manchester, UK: Manchester, 2004), 138.

120 Peter Larkin, ed., *Richard Coer de Lyon*, lines 3211, 3213; Katherine H. Terrell, trans., *Richard Coeur de Lion* (Peterborough: Broadview, 2019), lines 3211, 3213. All further quotations are to this edition and translation, cited by line numbers in brackets. On this episode, see further Heng, "The Romance of England: *Richard Coer de Lyon* and the Politics of Race, Religion, Sexuality, and Nation," in *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia, 2003), 76.

121 See, for example, Dolmans, *Writing Regional Identities*, 185; Marcel Elias, "Interfaith Empathy and the Formation of Romance," in *Emotion and Medieval Textual Media*, ed. Mary C. Flannery (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 32; Sarah Beth Torpey, "Of Cannibals and Kings: The (Monstrous) Nature of Crusading in *Richard Coer de Lyon*," *Medieval Perspectives* 23 (2008 [2011]): 110.

122 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "On Saracen Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, 1 (2001): 127.

123 J. Gonzales, et al., "Reading Cinnamon Activates Olfactory Brain Regions," *NeuroImage* 32, 2 (August 2006): 906–912; J. Djordjevic et al., "Functional Neuroimaging of Odor Imagery," *NeuroImage* 24, 3 (February 2005): 791–801; Guignery, "Tasting with Words," 329; see further, Annie Murphy Paul, "Your Brain on Fiction," *New York Times*, March 17, 2012, www.nytimes.com/2012/03/18/opinion/sunday/the-neuroscience-of-your-brain-on-fiction.html.

124 Umberto Albarella, "Pig Husbandry and Pork Consumption in Medieval England," in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. C. M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson, and T. Waldron (Oxford: Oxford, 2006), 86; C. M. Woolgar, "Meat and Dairy Products in Late Medieval England," in Woolgar, Serjeantson, and Waldron, *Food in Medieval England*, 91–92.

125 Massimo Montanari and Leah Ashe, "Introduction," in *A Cultural History of Food in the Medieval Age*, ed. Massimo Montanari (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 5. See also, Nicola McDonald, "Eating People and the Alimentary Logic of *Richard Coeur de Lion*," in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Manchester, UK: Manchester, 2004), 135.

126 Pere Benito, "Food Systems," trans. Leah Ashe, in Montanari, *Cultural History of Food*, 54; see also, Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport: Greenwood, 2004), 65, 85.

127 Jamie C. Fumo, "All That Glitters: Chaucer's Pardoner, *Safrounen*, and Culinary Deception," *Speculum*, 99.1 (January 2024): 41.

128 Fumo, "All That Glitters," 54.

129 Margaret Paston to John Paston III, November 5, 1471, in *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Davis, EETS s. s. 20, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 1, 354–55. See further, Vicki Kay Price, " 'I shall send yw money to by such stufe as I wull have:' The Paston Shoppers," in *Women's Literary Cultures in the Global Middle Ages: Speaking Internationally*, ed. Kathryn Loveridge, Liz Herbert McAvoy, Sue Niebrzydowski, and Vicki Kay Price (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2023), 281–283.

130 "Inventory of Books," in *Paston Letters and Papers*, vol. 1, 517; cited in Michael Johnston, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford, 2014), 31.

131 See, "Recipes," in *The Good Wife's Guide: Le Ménagier de Paris, A Medieval Household Book*, trans. Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), for example, 276, 282–283, 288, 291; see 294 for the recipe for "Saracen broth." On the social context of the *Ménagier*, see Greco and Rose, "Introduction: Maid to Order. The Good Wife of Paris," in *The Good Wife's Guide*, 1, 8–9.

132 Benito, "Food Systems," 54; Volker Schier, "Probing the Mystery of the Use of Saffron in Medieval Nunneries," *Senses & Society*, 5, 1 (March 2010): 60; "The History of Saffron: From

Greek Mythology to Modern Times," Miasa, October 10, 2014, https://miasa.world/the-history-of-saffron/?lang=en.

133 Woolgar, "Meat and Dairy Products in Late Medieval England," 92; Albarella, "Pig Husbandry and Pork Consumption in Medieval England," 72.

134 Michael Livingston, ed., *Siege of Jerusalem*, TEAMS (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2004), 1089.

135 Massimo Montanari, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table*, trans. Beth Archer Brombert (New York: Columbia, 2015), 65; Bruno Andreolli and Charles Hindley, "Food Representations," in Montanari, *Cultural History of Food*, 156, 158.

136 Heng, "The Romance of England: *Richard Coer de Lyon* and the Politics of Race, Religion, Sexuality, and Nation," in *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia, 2003), 76.

137 Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport: Greenwood, 2004), 65, 168. The "saler," saltcellar, is mentioned on the line before the quoted passage. On bread, see Larkin's notes to lines 1109 and 3447–48 in Larkin, ed., *Richard Coer de Lyon*.

138 Massimo Montanari, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table*, trans. Beth Archer Brombert (New York: Columbia, 2015), 57.

139 Nicola McDonald, "Eating People and the Alimentary Logic of *Richard Coeur de Lion*," in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Manchester, UK: Manchester, 2004), 134.

140 For example, lines 3134, 4001, 4546.

141 Sarah Beth Torpey, "Of Cannibals and Kings: The (Monstrous) Nature of Crusading in *Richard Coer de Lyon*," *Medieval Perspectives* 23 (2008 [2011]): 111.

142 For example, in Blurton, *Cannibalism*, 120–31; Alan Ambrisco, "Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters in *Richard Coeur de Lion*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29, 3 (Fall 1999): 499–528.

143 Sarah Beth Torpey, "Of Cannibals and Kings: The (Monstrous) Nature of Crusading in *Richard Coer de Lyon*," *Medieval Perspectives* 23 (2008 [2011]): 117.