Introduction

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The starting point of the *City and the Senses* is an historical interest in the sensory dimension of city life to which the five bodily senses, traditionally recognised in Western thought,[1] contribute. And although psychologists tell us that the bulk of the information that fuels the human perceptual system is provided by the visual sense, each of the other sensations, touch, taste, sound and smell, contribute to the processes that produce an individual's particular sensory world.[2] Cities conceived of as sensory environments and sites of habitation generate their own distinctive smells and sounds. They are full of visual and tactile stimuli, each with their own range of symbolic meanings for the sentient, perceiving subject. But, as Walter Benjamin noted of nineteenth-century Paris, 'All that remains of the increasingly swift dissipation of perceptual worlds is "nothing other than their names: *Passagen*".'[3]

The impact of the material and cultural environment of cities on the sensory lives of their inhabitants has, until recently, received relatively little attention from urban historians and yet changes in the nature of the sensory experiences offered by particular cities are just as much part of their history as economic, political and social change. In recent years theoretical interest in the embodied subject has begun to produce work that specifically locates the body in ways which remap and refigure both the body and the city that it inhabits.[4] Histories of noise, vision,

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[1] C. Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures* (London, 1993), pp. 1–7.

[2] The French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty wrote: 'Sense experience is that vital communication with the world, which makes it present as a familiar setting our life. It is to it that the perceived object and the perceiving subject owe their thickness. It is the intentional tissue which the effort to know will try to take apart': *The Phenomenology of Perception* (London, 1974), p. 53. New interest in phenomenology has contributed to the reactivating of the question of the nature of the relationship between the material body and the world, although the ontological and epistemological implications have more often been explored within the world of art rather than historical scholarship. See also J. Urry, 'City life and the senses', in G. Bridge and S. Watson, eds, *A Companion to the City* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 388–97.

[3] Cited in D. Gregory, *Geographical Imagination* (Oxford, 1994), p. 245.

[4] For example, N. Thrift, *Spatial Formations* (London, 1996); A. Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Studies in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge, Mass.,

manners, tactility, sexuality, gustation and olfaction show that sensuous encounters between individuals and environments are produced and structured, not just by their material features, but also by the particular social and cultural contexts in which encounters take place. Changes in manufacturing, distribution and retailing systems, in the state and municipal institutions and the regulations relating to urban growth, development and in the state of technology and forms of commercial and leisure activity were all factors influencing the nature of the sensory environment. At the same time changes in the way that resultant sensations were marked, represented and evaluated within specific modes of discourse influenced the way that urban spaces were used and represented.

Some of these changes are noted in this collection, particularly the shift from the less regulated environments of the early modern period to the relatively heavily controlled one of the modern world. These essays, for the most part, focus on the history of particular sensations, but together they point to the importance of situating them in the context of a wider understanding of the relationship between the human body as *sensorium* and its urban environment. Moreover, they emphasise the way that, in any given era, the meaning and significance of particular sensory experiences are determined by the philosophical, linguistic and cultural systems through which they are produced and represented. It is not just aesthetic tastes and experiences that are the outcome of dispositions inculcated by particular cultural forms and ways of life,[5] for the same may be said of other forms of sensory experience that involve the ascription of meaning and value.

Theoretical and methodological contexts

Theoretical interest in the sensory dimension of the urban environment is not new. The German sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1918) regarded the metropolitan city of the early twentieth century as the site of a new kind of urban consciousness manifested in the emergence of a new rhythm of 'sensual–intellectual life'.[6] His discussion of social space

1992); R. Sennett, *Flesh and Stone. The Body and the City in Western Civilisation* (London, 1994).

   [5] See P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1987); for an assessment of the issues associated with Bourdieu's work see, for example, R. Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (London and New York, 1992).

   [6] G. Korff and R. Rürup, eds, *Berlin, Berlin: die Austellung der Geschichte der Stadt*, Catalogue (Berlin, 1987). See D. Frisby, *Sociological Impressionism: a Reassessment of Georg Simmel's Social Theory* (London, 1981).

included an essay on the sociology of the senses in which he identified sight, hearing and smell as the basic elements of human interaction, as significant as any other forms of sociation within the larger social complexes of social class or the state.[7] In the *Philosophy of Money* (c.1900), a study of the exchange relationships generated by a money economy, Simmel also dealt with touch, both directly and indirectly, in an essay on prostitution,[8] while elsewhere he analysed the meal from a sociological point of view.[9] Recent interest in, and re-evaluation of, Simmel's work has focused attention on the way in which themes and concepts in his work established some of the distinctive tropes of modern urban culture, particularly those relating to the psychological effects of metropolitan cities on the consciousness of those who lived in them, as well as issues relating to control, particularly in the 'distancing' surveillance of individuals in large city crowds.[10] Subsequent investigations of the everyday life of the streets and the emergence of forms of modern visually oriented urban culture have also been stimulated by Walter Benjamin's influential discussions of the effects of the forces of capitalist modernity on nineteenth-century Paris.[11]

There are a number of ways in which it is possible to study the sensory environment of the city, one of which is through an examination of the direct testimony of people themselves. Much of the evidence relating to early modern cities has come from outsiders, sensitive to material and cultural differences and eager to make comparisons. The comments and recollections of urban visitors, noted in letters, diaries and travelogues, were always based on perceptions of difference, the unfamiliar often implicitly compared with the familiar, the foreign with the domestic

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[7] G. Simmel, 'The sociology of space', in D. Frisby and M. Featherstone, eds, *Simmel on Culture. Selected Writings* (London, 1997), pp. 155–6 and D. Frisby, *Sociological Impressionism* (London, 1981).

[8] D. Rowe, *Representing Berlin: Sexuality and the City in Imperial and Weimar Germany* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 79, n. 24.

[9] G. Simmel (1997), 'The sociology of the meal', in Frisby and Featherstone, eds, *Simmel on Culture*, pp. 130–35.

[10] D. Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity. Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin* (Cambridge, 1985); D. Frisby, *Cityscapes of Modernity* (Cambridge, 2001).

[11] W. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (London, 1973). See also A. Latham, 'The power of distraction, tactility, and habit in the work of Walter Benjamin', *Environment and Planning* (1999). On visual culture, see for example, T.J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (London, 1985); T. Mitchell, 'The world-as-exhibition', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (1989), pp. 217–36; S. West, *The Visual Arts in Germany 1890–1937: Utopia and Despair* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 52–3; Rowe, *Representing Berlin*, pp. 62–3.

starting point of the journey.[12] Travellers commented above all on what was to be seen – fine buildings, the cleanliness or otherwise of the streets, the dress of men and women – but there were also frequent references to food and drink, to smells which were considered to be unusually strong and to the sounds of the place, whether out in the streets or inside religious buildings and places of entertainment. The English diarist John Evelyn visited Venice in 1641–42 and described a sensory encounter with the Merceria:

> one of the most delicious streets in the world, hung with cloths of gold, rich damasks and other silks, which the shops expose and hang before their houses from the first floor. Passing along the street lined with the shops of perfumers and apothecaries, and innumerable cages of nightingales which they keep, so as shutting your eyes you would imagine yourself in the country when indeed you are in the middle of the sea; besides, there being neither rattling of coaches nor trampling of horses, 'tis almost as silent as the field.[13]

For the modern city the sources of information are much more diverse, ranging from government and press reports to works of art and literature. The writer and journalist Charles Dickens drew on his familiarity with nineteenth-century London to give a particularly vivid account of the underbelly of that city as witnessed by the young Oliver Twist.

> A dirtier and more wretched place he had never seen. The street was very narrow and muddy, and the air was impregnated with filthy odours, there were a good many small shops; but the only stock in trade appeared to be heaps of children, who, even at that time of night, were crawling in and out at the doors, or screaming from the inside. The only public places that seemed to prosper amid the general blight of the place were the public houses.[14]

In these few sentences, Dickens invokes all five bodily senses to create the context for his novel. Moreover, his description reminds us that, for both inhabitants and visitors, cities were complex sensory environments that were frequently experienced and represented as assaults on the senses. For most of those who lived in cities, whether pre-modern, or modern, the majority of sensory experiences were so commonplace as to pass unrecorded, but from the perspective of the cultural historian, such records as exist represent a way of acceding to the complexity of urban

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[12] See, for example, the writings of the English sixteenth-century gentleman Fynes Moryson, later published as *Shakespeare's Europe* (London, 1903) and *An Itinerary* (Glasgow, 1907) and J.G. Goethe's *Italienische Reise* (Munich, 1786–88).

[13] Cited in J.G. Links, *Travellers in Europe* (Oxford, 1980), p. 188.

[14] C. Dickens, *Oliver Twist* (London, 1985 [1837–39]), p. 103.

culture, for it was precisely these experiences, either singly or in conjunction with each other, which shaped everyday behaviour and the all-important relationships between individuals and between people and spaces.

However, any kind of personal testimony was itself strongly influenced by the social and cultural context, both the experience and the telling of the tale mediated by the social and cultural conventions of the day for, as the anthropologist Mary Douglas observed, the 'social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived. The physical experience of the body, always modified by the social categories through which it is known, sustains a particular view of society.'[15] Descriptions of sensory experience have therefore, to be supported by an exploration of the cultural constitution of Douglas's 'social body' and the manner in which its relationship with the environment is mapped out in the discursive formations of the period. Useful insights have come from recent historical investigations into the body; in particular, those dealing with issues of gender and health have examined the way in which specific senses have contributed to the organisation of knowledge and definitions of human subjectivity, with consequences for everyday urban life. Practices involving touch, vision and smell, such as medicine and midwifery, artistic production, domestic service, prostitution and commerce, were structured by the hierarchical and gendered ordering of the senses in ways that had an impact on the nature of interpersonal experience, social labelling and their representation in art and literature.[16]

Tropes in recent urban studies reveal a concern with spatiality.[17] This has been manifested in various ways, including explorations of the way that the cultural and spatial practices of mobile bodies have contributed to the production of urban spaces and the particular meanings associated with them.[18] Other lines of inquiry relate to the way

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[15] M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London, 1973), p. 93. See also S. Stewart, 'Prologue: from the Museum of Touch', in M. Kwint, C. Breward and J. Aynsley, eds, *Material Memories, Design and Evocation* (Oxford and New York, 1999).

[16] For example, E. Keller, 'The subject of touch; medical authority in early modern midwifery', in E.D. Harvey, *Sensible Flesh On Touch in Early Modern Culture* (Philadephia, 2003), pp. 62–80.

[17] See H. Lefebvre's influential *The Production of Space* (Oxford, 1991); also the personal essay, 'Seen from the window', in E. Kofman and E. Lebas, eds, *Writings in Cities: Henri Lefebvre* (Oxford, 1996, trans E. Kofman and E. Lebas).

[18] M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, 1984, trans. S.F. Rendall). See also M. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies: 1680–1780* (New York, 1998); L. Nead, *Victorian Babylon; People, Street and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 2002).

in which information gleaned from the different senses has contributed to the formation of complex semiotic systems that have facilitated human navigation in time, space and the social world of the city.[19] The recent interest shown in materiality and visual culture by scholars in the field of early modern studies has opened up new avenues for exploration, particularly in relation to the significance of objects in everyday life, the tangibility of which introduced a tactile dimension to an urban life increasingly centred on their production, distribution and consumption.[20] The discovery of soundscapes has directed attention to the perceptual situatedness of people in particular environments.[21] As the anthropologist Steven Feld puts it, 'as place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place',[22] while Alain Corbin's essay, 'A history and anthropology of the senses' points to the way that each of the five senses has played a part in the formation of the sensory, discursive, institutional and cultural regimes through which the urban environment is rendered intelligible, distinctive and controlled.[23]

The case studies in this volume demonstrate the range and heterogeneity characteristic of contemporary approaches to urban history.[24] They demonstrate the emergence of a number of useful models, which can be used to investigate the role of the senses in the production, regulation and contestation of particular city spaces and the cultural

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[19] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) focused attention on the visible legibility of cities, on the interaction between environmental cues and spatial orientation, a subject developed in the concept of 'mental mapping' utilised by behavioural geographers in the 1970s and subsequently applied to the cultural interpretation of the use of space and the interpretation of the geographies of everyday life; see C.C. Pooley, 'Getting to know the city: the construction of spatial knowledge in London in the 1930s', *Urban History*, 3, 2 (2004), pp. 210–28.

[20] See R. Porter and C. Brewer, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1991). Recent studies include L. Cowen Orlin, *Material London, c. 1600* (Philadephia, 2000); P. Fumerton and S. Hunt, eds, *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday* (Philadelphia, 1998); L. Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2003).

[21] B.R. Smith, 'The soundscapes of early modern England: city, country, court', *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago, 1999). See, for example, F. Kisby, ed., *Music and Urban History,* special issue of *Urban History*, 29, 1 (2002); see also F. Kisby, ed., *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge, 2001).

[22] Cited in Smith, *The Acoustic World*, p. 47.

[23] A. Corbin, 'A history and anthropology of the senses', *Time, Desire and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses* (Cambridge, 1995, trans. J. Birrell). See also D. Lowe, *History of Bourgeois Perception* (Brighton, 1982).

[24] See M.M. Smith, 'Making sense of social history – new topics and historians', *Journal of Social History*, 37 (2003), pp. 165–86.

meanings associated with them.[25] One such, influenced to some extent by interest in visuality, is the conception of the city as a theatrical space, a setting for forms of spectacular culture and an arena for the symbolic representation of different forms of social and cultural space.[26] This metaphor is particularly adaptable since the theatre, like the city itself, has a history in which relations between audience and players, script and performance are mediated by historically and culturally grounded conventions that generate different forms of sensory experience.[27]

Interest in urban life as mode of performance and in cultures of display and representation, combined with the theoretical interest in modernity, has focused attention on the emergence of distinctively modern and visually oriented forms of culture.[28] The privileged status of vision is one of the dominant tropes in discussions about the discursive formations of urban modernity, a subject discussed by Ulf Strohmeyer and Dorothy Rowe in this volume.[29] This phenomenon is often treated as an effect of other forces and relations of power associated with the development of institutionalised and rationalising forms of control, but, as Jonathan Crary has pointed out, an emphasis on spectatorship and 'visuality' can easily generate 'a model of perception and subjectivity that is cut off from richer and more historically determined notions of "embodiment" in which an embodied subject is both the location of operations of power and the potential for resistance'.[30]

In this context, considerable attention has been given to the conception and representation of urban spaces by architects and planners and

[25] K. Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity* (London and New York, 1997), p. 21.
[26] For example, R. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (Cambridge, 1973); C. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory, its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994).
[27] D. Chaney, *Fictions of Collective Life: Public Drama in Late Modern Culture* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 45–80.
[28] For example, L. Charney and V. Schwartz, *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley, 1995).
[29] For the privileging of vision, see J. Crary, *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); M. Jay, *Downcast Eyes, the Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, 1993). Feminist readings have pointed to the gendered aspects of modern spectacular culture, for example, J. Wolff, 'The invisible flâneuse: women and the literature of modernity', *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 34–50.
[30] J. Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1999), p. 3. Moreover, in the nineteenth century the arrival of new additions to popular culture – the dance hall, music halls – and, in the next century, radio, the gramophone, the talkies, created new and more complex cultural forms. See, for example, A. Rifkin, *Street Noises: Parisian Pleasure 1900–40* (Manchester, 1993).

others involved in their production, whose visually oriented conceptions of the nature and function of urban spaces were often distanced from, and in conflict with, the actual practices of the people who used and inhabited them.[31] For, as Hazel Hahn shows in her essay, close encounters on the streets with traffic and sandwichmen, and other marginal figures of society such as the prostitutes and rag-pickers described by Walter Benjamin, could lead to a different kind of sensory experience than that envisaged by city planners like Baron Haussmann.[32] A related issue is that of power, for relationships of dominance and subordination are encoded in representations of space and place.[33] Those relationships are also expressed and performed through the production and maintenance of multiple and contested spatial relations, mediated by social class, gender and ethnicity.[34]

As Crary suggests, the non-visual senses contribute to that process of contestation, directly reminding us of the sensuous life of the body and its embeddedness in urban life. Together, the essays in this volume by Jo Wheeler, Alexander Cowan, Laura Wright, Ava Arndt, David Inglis, Kim Carpenter, Janet Stewart and Rosemary Wakeman demonstrate the way that affective and arousing experiences of smell, sound, touch and taste remain central to city life.[35] Patterns of speech and habits of eating and

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[31] See, for example, D.L. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City and Modernity* (Oxford, 2000) where she discusses *flâneurie*, a subject that relates to both spatial practices and urban semiotics.

[32] See S. Buck-Morss, 'The flâneur, the sandwichman and the whore: the politics of loitering', *New German Critique*, Special Issue on Walter Benjamin, 39, Fall (1996), pp. 99–140.

[33] For example, F. Driver and D. Gilbert, *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester, 1999).

[34] See Freud's account of his father being verbally assaulted with the cry, 'Jew! Get off the pavement!': S. Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (London, 1976), p. 286. See also M.M. Roberts, 'Pleasures engendered by gender: homo-sociability and the club', in R. Porter and M.M. Roberts, eds, *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996), pp. 48–76. See J. Walkowicz, *City of Dreadful Delight, Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London, 1992); S. Zimmermann, 'Making a living from disgrace: the politics of prostitution, female poverty and urban gender codes in Budapest and Vienna, 1860–1920', in M. Gee, T. Kirk and J. Steward, eds, *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present* (Aldershot, 1999).

[35] A point appreciated by members of the European avant-garde; for example, see Luigi Russolo, 'Let us cross a great modern capital with our ears more alert than our eyes, and we will get enjoyment from distinguishing the eddying of water, air and gas in metal pipes, the grumbling of noises that breathe and pulse with indisputable animality, the palpitation of values, the coming and going of pistons, the howl of mechanical saws, the jolting of a tram on its rails, the cracking of whips, the flapping of curtains and flags. We enjoy creating mental orchestrations of the crashing down of metal shop blinds, slamming doors, the

drinking are shown by Wright, Carpenter and Stewart to be constitutive features of the identities of peoples and places. The symbolic significance of touch in commercial and interpersonal relationships is demonstrated in essays by Cowan and Arndt while the importance of olfactory and auditory sensations in everyday life is evidenced by the persistence of attempts of the kind described by Wheeler, Inglis and Wakeman, to suppress and control features of the sensory environment perceived as distasteful, disruptive, subversive and oppositional.

The urban context from pre-modern to modern

The case studies chosen for this volume represent particular types of sensory environments exemplified by a limited number of cities that share important characteristics. Of these Venice, Paris and London are taken as exemplifying important features of the early modern city, although Paris and London, together with Vienna, Munich and Berlin, also demonstrate features characteristic of the modern, metropolitan city. In order to highlight the themes discussed below, and to emphasise the changes that differentiate the particular sensory environment characteristic of the early modern period from the modern world, the book has been organised in three chronological parts. 'An environment of all the senses' focuses on smell, sound and vision in early modern Venice, London and Paris. 'The culture of consumption' deals with touch, smell, taste and vision in London, Munich and Paris from the late seventeenth to the late nineteeth century. Finally, 'Cultural control and cultural subversion' focuses on Vienna, Berlin and Paris from the late nineteenth century to the post-war period.

Each of the cities covered in these studies was a capital city, a function that injected into the commercial activity common to all cities a strong administrative element as well as all the richness and theatre of public rituals. This often influenced the production and representation of the built environment in cities as chronologically apart in time as early modern Paris and metropolitan Berlin, described by Strohmayer and Rowe, respectively. Capital cities therefore often possessed a sense of dynamism and forms of spectacular culture often absent in other urban centres lower down the urban hierarchy, which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in particular, experienced widespread economic and

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hubbub and shuffling of crowds, the variety of din from stations, railways, iron foundries, spinning mills, printing works, electric power stations, and underground railways.' Cited in C. Tisdall and A. Bozzoli, eds, *Futurism* (London, 1977), p. 114.

social stagnation. Capital cities also attracted a higher level of immigration than other cities, fuelling social and cultural inequalities and differences expressed within their geographical and social spaces. Over the centuries growth led to important shifts in the nature of particular urban environments as, in both early modern and modern cities, demographic and geographical expansion produced various kinds of strains affecting sensory experience. As Wheeler and Inglis demonstrate, pressures on space resulting from the growth of industrial activity led to increasingly densely populated locales, intensifying certain kinds of olfactory sensations, to the extent that city authorities were obliged to intervene to control unpleasant smells and deal with faecal wastes.

In cities such as Vienna and Munich, discussed by Carpenter and Stewart, that were characterised by the diversity of their social, ethnic or confessional communities, interpersonal experiences contributed to the production of the stereotypical images through which social and cultural differences between localities and communities were registered. As Wright demonstrates in the case of London, immigrants from elsewhere formed diverse speech communities and soundscapes, producing diverse forms of language that reflected distinctions between communities of long-term residents and newcomers as well as patterns of speech that were specific to given communities. The relationship between the hierarchy of the senses and the 'social body' was evident in notions of touch, which influenced social relationships and patterns of interaction in ways described by Cowan. Nineteenth-century tropes of 'contagion' and 'contamination' applied to the way in which the middle classes viewed city life as they tried to avoid other potentially dangerous elements within the city.[36] In the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century city the building of new roads and bridges such as the Pont Neuf discussed by Strohmayer, facilitated the circulation of people and goods and the increased availability and speed in circulation of goods and money generated a new commercialised 'culture of tactility' that required new imagery of the kind that appeared in fictitious accounts of London, described by Arndt, to make sense of it.

The size of nineteenth-century cities like Paris, Vienna and Berlin dwarfed that of early modern cities, but common features persisted, including practical and cultural responses to the problems created by rapid population growth and an expanding market for consumer products. With growth came changes in scale as populations expanded

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[36] P. Stallybrass and A. White, 'The city, the sewer, the gaze and the contaminating touch', *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, 1986), pp. 125–48.

and their activities diversified, putting pressure on geographical boundaries. New and spacious quarters were constructed for the wealthy and new zones developed to accommodate industrial activity. Consequently there was an expansion in the numbers of objects and bodies circulating through the streets with increasing rapidity, leading to the redefinition of existing spaces and changes in their use. Cities became arenas for the competitive display and promotion of goods, exemplified in the Parisian advertising strategies described by Hahn. As she demonstrates, the streets remained the locus of much human activity, becoming even more crowded as they accommodated more diverse activities than before for longer periods of the day following the introduction of gas lighting and then electricity. Overcrowding reinforced the importance of the sites of sociability and consumption that contributed to the formation of social and cultural identities, symbolised for example by the Viennese dumplings and coffee houses discussed by Stewart; the latter representing a specifically urban tradition of conviviality, as do the beer gardens in Munich described by Carpenter, who looks at the effect of the production and consumption of beer on the peripheral and social spaces of the city.

City authorities responded to these changes and problems by introducing further controls on activities likely to prevent easy circulation on the streets and olfactory, auditory and visual pollutants such as street musicians, sewage, beggars and prostitutes. Anxieties about civility were often expressed in ways relating to the body.[37] The new urban middle classes, for example, self-consciously distinguished themselves from others by their emphasis on cleanliness, decorum, positive smells, restrained and quieter speech and the development of the home as a private and controlled space for leisure activities from which the sounds, sights and smells of the street were to be excluded. By contrast, in the modern *Größtadte* of the late nineteenth and twentieth century discussed by Stewart and Rowe, public spaces are always potentially multivalent and contested, an unstable situation that, as Wakeman shows, makes possible the tactical and subversive deployment of sensory weapons such as the noise and sounds of Liberation Paris.

In both early modern and modern cities therefore, the history of the senses was bound up with their material and cultural development, contributing to the way that the urban environment was experienced, understood and represented by those who inhabited it.

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[37] The starting point for any discussion of the culture of civility remains the work of Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process* (Oxford, 1978). See also R. Muchembled, *Société et mentalités dans la France moderne XVIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècles* (Paris, 1990).

Sensory contexts

Touch

In the everyday life of early modern cities touch was one of the most important forms of sensory experience, despite its established position as the lowest of the senses in the philosophical hierarchy. For conceptions of touch, and practices of touching, influenced the symbolic expression and representation of relationships between individuals and groups across all areas of life. Prostitution, for example, was a constant feature of urban life even though its physical location within each city shifted over time as the general uses of space changed. Much business continued to take place in sites of relaxation and entertainment during hours prolonged by the introduction of artificial light. An important criterion for the drawing of distinctions within the urban social hierarchy remained that of the manual work in which the majority of the urban popular were engaged, whether as domestic servants, artisans or unskilled workers, even though different levels of skill created a spectrum of social status.[38] For those who dealt professionally with the human body, the stigma which once placed surgeons and bone-setters beyond the pale of social respectability was gradually removed and replaced by the higher social value associated with professionals with university educations.[39]

Tactility was embedded in the commercialised culture of the eighteenth century, the expansion of which created new and ephemeral ways of touching. As Arndt shows, coins passed rapidly from hand to hand and increased prosperity for a wider cross-section of urban society led to a changed perception of money. People still touched goods for sale, but the multiplication of available goods and new ways of marketing them opened up to the general public new forms of visual pleasure of the kind described by Hahn. In the nineteenth century, environmental changes had an impact on bodily sensation, most noticeably as people moved through the city. Until the twentieth century, most people still walked, but over the street surfaces that had evolved from smelly mud or dust to routes paved with stones.[40] Pedestrians became separated from

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[38] For gender issues, see L. Gowing, *Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 2003). For a more comparative perspective, see G. Crossick, ed., *The Artisan and the European Town 1500–1900* (Aldershot, 1997), and G. Crossick and H-G. Haupt, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe 1780–1914* (London, 1995).

[39] I. Loudon, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner: 1750–1850* (Oxford, 1986).

[40] P.J. Corfield, 'Walking the city streets: the urban odyssey in eighteenth-century England', *Urban History*, 16, 2 (1990), pp. 132–74.

wheeled traffic by pavements constructed along thoroughfares wide enough to accommodate both, making it easier for long-skirted women to venture out in bad weather. At the end of the century, urban trains, trams and omnibuses sheltered people from the dirt and smell of the streets, but increased their proximity to others.

Economic, social and cultural changes created a culture that was less tactile in many respects, particularly for the middle classes, a group whose practices influenced the 'respectable' poor. Social distinctions were maintained by the introduction of a series of 'distancing' activities such as the practice of using eating utensils, particularly the fork, into the capitals of the later seventeenth century, reducing direct contact with food and drink. New rules of hygiene and cleanliness altered eating habits, while greeting behaviour and the sealing of business bargains became more restrained. Early modern forms of behaviour, such as spitting in the palm of one's hand before slapping it against the other party to an agreement, were relegated to the market place in favour of a notarised contract. It became the custom to announce one's presence to other members of the middle or upper classes by leaving a calling card.[41] As people travelled or migrated further away from home and new technologies were developed, much direct human contact was replaced by other means of communication – letters, postcards and telegrams.

Sound

Interest in the study of auditory landscapes and their social and cultural context began with Corbin's study of village bells.[42] Sound plays a crucial role in the perceptual and cognitive processes that determine the way that geographical and social spaces are mapped out and negotiated by individuals.[43] Mobile audiences were alerted to changes in locality as they noted changes in the texture of the urban soundscape, in its rhythms and volume, in modulations in the distinctive combinations of patterned sounds and the random and chaotic 'noise' emanating from speech,

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[41] L. Davidoff (1974), *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London, 1974).

[42] A. Corbin, *Village Bells. Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (New York, 1998), trans. M. Thom, and *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the Social Imagination* (Leamington Spa, 1986).

[43] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) focused attention on the interaction between environmental cues and spatial orientation, a subject developed in the concept of 'mental mapping' utilised by behavioural geographers in the 1970s and subsequently applied to the cultural interpretation of the use of space and the interpretation of the geographies of everyday life; see C.C. Pooley, 'Getting to know the city: the construction of spatial knowledge in London in the 1930s', *Urban History*, 3, 2 (2004), pp. 210–28.

traffic, song, industry, church bells and street cries.[44] Specific localities were identified by the distinctive sounds associated with their industrial activities as much as the smells that went with them. As Wheeler comments, Dante noted the noise emanating from the Venetian Arsenal in his *Inferno*. In the pre-modern city, sound was an important and practical aid to vision in judging distance at night and, until the late nineteenth-century improvements in street lighting,[45] acuteness of hearing was an essential weapon in avoiding danger after dark. Seasons and times of the year were marked by particular types of sounds, such as those of carnival, while diurnal rhythms were registered through the sound of church bells and clocks, the night watchman's cries or the rumble of the night soil cart. Auditory experiences were directly influenced by nature of the material environment. Gas lighting generated its own distinctive sound while changes in the pattern of sounds generated by urban traffic were mediated by the appearance of new types of vehicle and the laying of cobbles, pavements and asphalt. The sound of trains, trams and the motor car gradually began to drown out the clatter and rumbles of horse-drawn vehicles while the expansion and growth of cities was invariably accompanied by the noise of construction.

In both pre-modern and modern cities, different kinds of sounds carried social and symbolic meanings and as such marked out the boundaries and limits of social interaction. As Wright demonstrates, demographic, social and educational changes were mapped out in the variety of speech patterns, dialects and accents audible on the streets. Like smells, particular sounds were associated with the behaviours of the different social orders as well as with gender and ethnicity, and classified accordingly. Such perceptions depended upon the social and cultural position of the audience. Changes in conceptions of what constituted 'noise' led to shifts in the way that particular types of sound were evaluated and registered as dissonant, disordered and impolite. Chaotic noise was traditionally perceived as typically urban, while relative levels of noise or quietness differentiated types of locality. From the fifteenth century onwards fireworks were used for celebrations and, until the 1830s, appreciated more for sound than for visual effects. The 1749 firework display in London's Green Park was accompanied by music composed by Handel. In nineteenth-century Paris, as Hahn shows, mobile forms of advertising led to a commensurate increase in the

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[44] J. Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (Minneapolis, 1985), trans. B. Massumi. See D. Garrioch, 'Sounds of the city: the soundscape of early modern European towns', *Urban History*, 30, 1 (2003), p. 6.

[45] W. Schievelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: the Industrialisation of the Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1988), trans. A. Davies.

volume of street noise, represented by sensitive souls as an attack on the senses. Control of noise, such as that made by drunken revellers or street hawkers, was one of a number of ways in which attempts were made to regulate and discipline the urban environment. In Victorian London, middle-class campaigns against noise were associated with the emergence of new forms of sensibility that served as markers of social distinction.[46]

More musical features of the auditory landscape were the sounds produced by the aural traditions and practices of city life ranging from the collective singing traditions of popular culture and the festivities and celebrations of religious and civic life to commercial entertainments such as pleasure gardens and the Victorian music hall and the rituals and protests of political organisation and protest.[47] The fight against street music represented a struggle for control over urban territory against, not just the lower orders, but also foreign influences. Conversely the production of noise was a favoured tactic of popular protest. Wakeman's essay demonstrates the way that the noisy reoccupation of public spaces and outpourings of celebratory music that accompanied the 1945 Liberation of Paris were rooted in the indigenous music and song of Parisian working-class life and the 'distinctively rebellious, disputatious patterns' of civic life with which it was associated.

Smell

If the embodied self used ears to navigate the city streets, it also used its nose. In the early modern city smell was an important indicator of locality, since the residential areas of particular social groups were differentiated by their smells. Tanners and dyers, for example, used strong-smelling by-products as part of the production process. In the case of dyers before the introduction of chemical dyes in the nineteenth century, this was human urine. Prevailing winds could extend the zones of impact considerably, filling the air with the not unpleasant odours of brewing or cooking on the one hand, and the stench of concentrations of coal smoke on the other. Abattoirs, commonly located on the edge of cities where the animals could be driven in from the countryside on foot, combined the smells of slaughter and of live herds of farm animals.[48]

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[46] J.M. Picker, 'The sound-proof study: Victorian professionals, work, space and urban noise', *Victorian Studies*, 42, 2 (1999–2000), pp. 427–53.

[47] P. Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, 1998).

[48] On attempts to control abattoirs in London, see C. Otter, 'Cleansing and clarifying: technology and perception in nineteenth-century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 43, Jan. (2004), pp. 44–53.

Even in the pre-modern city attempts were made to control the olfactory environment.[49] The subjectivity that informs the categorisation of smells is evident in Jo Wheeler's study of stench in early modern Venice in which he draws a distinction between 'the gut-wrenching odours of festering rubbish and excrement, discarded entrails, putrid meat and fish', and the by-products of shipbuilding at the Arsenal, located on the edge of the city and associated with the positive qualities of official ships built to increase the well-being of the Venetian Republic.

If the case can be made for a lessening of the tactile nature of urban culture between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, it is even stronger for reductions in the level of smells and their symbolic meaning in the face of the sanitising and suppressive regimes of the modern era.[50] What constituted acceptable smells? The answer is only to be found by elimination. Odours that were imbued with characteristics neither positive nor negative were so integrated into daily urban experience that they were rarely remarked upon except by visitors from the countryside, whose olfactory ranges were substantially different from those of city dwellers. 'Acceptability' is a value-loaded way to describe them for many were tolerated out of a sense that they could not be eliminated. The smell of poverty, which exercised the ruling classes from the Middle Ages onwards, was one from which it was impossible to escape and created the desire to keep away from others whose odour was too strong.

Many odours acceptable to pre-modern townspeople ceased to be so under the influence of new scientific thinking about the nature of disease and the composition of the air, as Inglis demonstrates in his essay on sewers and sensibilities. In the nineteenth century, the introduction of factories and gaslight added a new series of smells to the city.[51] The smell of the gas used in street lighting was indicative of technological progress, but also revealed its limitations since many regarded it as a threat to health.[52] Changes in the quality of soap and detergents changed the odours given off by clothing and skin. The constant emphasis on the

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[49] This point was well made in Lynda Nead's discussion of the blind man in a metropolitan world in which experience was increasingly described in visual terms: *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 61–2.

[50] For an overview of dominant attitudes to smell, see Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant*; C. Classen, D. Howes and A. Synnott, *Aroma. The Cultural History of Smell* (London, 1994).

[51] E. Baret-Bourgoin, 'Sensibilités publiques et privées aux nuisances industrielles: l'exemple du travail des peaux à Grenoble au XIXᵉ', *Cahiers d'Histoire*, 4, 1 (1999), pp. 127–50.

[52] A. Beltan and J-Pierre Williot, 'Lights and modernity in nineteenth-century European cities', draft paper presented at the Seventh International Conference of the European Association of Urban Historians, Athens, 29 October 2004.

smell of the poor in writings on health issues also reflected the extent to which smell functioned as a social marker for individuals as well as amorphous social groups. A merchant or lawyer and their wives in the eighteenth century may have perfumed themselves in certain ways in order to signal to their peers that they belonged to the same social group with the same cultural insistence on covering bodily odours with pleasant smells, but they also did so in order to distinguish themselves from artisans and shopkeepers, whose work-related odours impregnated their clothes wherever they went. Similarly, the newly emergent 'respectable urban poor' in the later nineteenth century placed a heavy insistence on the cleanliness of their homes both inside and out to distinguish themselves from those nearby. Odours were associated with those identified as 'outsiders' or 'other' such as ethnic minorities, and given positive or negative values by those of the host community around them.[53]

Taste

Smells associated with the production and consumption of food and drink were a major feature of city life, and both played an important role in the creation of particular types of urban space.[54] Travellers, ancient and modern, were invariably quick to identify places by the gustatory and olfactory experiences they offered and to recall impressions of taste and smell. What, where and how people ate and drank was a function of social class and gender, ethnic and religious affiliation, climate and local tradition.[55] As cities grew they were dependent on an increasingly complicated infrastructure for the production, distribution and retailing

[53] B. Beer, 'Geruch und Differenz: Körpergeruch als kennzeichen konstruierter "rassicher" Grenzen', *Paideuma*, 46 (2000), pp. 207–30.

[54] W. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York, 2003). For histories of eating and drinking, see S. Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford, 1985); P. Clark, *The English Alehouse: a Social History* (London, 1983); T. Brennan, *Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, 1988); G. Hirschfelder, *Alkoholkonsum am Beginn des Industriezeitalters (1700–1815) Vergleichende Studien zum gesellschtlichen und kulturellen Wandel. No. 1. Die Region Manchester* (Vienna, 2003); G. Hirschfelder, 'Das Wassertrinken: Prolegomena zu einer Kulturgeschichte', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 80, 2 (1998), pp. 325–50.

[55] A Spanish picaresque novel of the sixteenth century set in Rome associates taste in food with cultural identity. When the heroine, Lozana, is told of another woman cooking meat with quinces, she replies, 'I'm not surprised; she's Valencian.' Quoted in J. Edwards, 'The culture of the street. The Calle de la Feria in Cordoba, 1470–1520', in A. Cowan, ed., *Mediterranean Urban Culture 1400–1700* (Exeter, 2000), p. 77.

of foodstuffs. In the nineteenth century, one of the signs of modernity was the appearance of advertisements for industrially processed foods. Modern means of preparation also changed patterns and levels of consumption. As Carpenter shows, new technologies influenced beer production, as well as the availability of bottled water, while dried food in packets was later followed by frozen food. In the nineteenth century, middle-class access to a wider range of foodstuffs and the influence of cookery books and magazines on styles of presentation led to increases in the quality of food, as well as raising health issues. Middle-class women were encouraged to eat less and less while working-class consumption was based on a limited diet of copious quantities.

Designated retailing spaces such as markets and shops were also coterminus with social spaces in that they were regulated by cultural conventions as well as economic codes, as were those in occupations associated with them, such as merchants, traders and street vendors. In the pre-modern period, inns and cook shops, alehouses and taverns not only provided food and drink, but also performed a number of different functions and were important public arenas for the circulation and dissemination of information and ideas.[56] At the same time, as potential centres of dissent and disorder, they were regulated by various kinds of ordinances relating to public order and to the establishment of gender and group identities expressed in particular attitudes to drunkenness, gambling and brawling. A recent study of biconfessional Augsburg argues that the rules that governed the use of alcohol in the early modern period reflect the rules within a city at large.[57]

As a greater variety of foodstuffs became available patterns, types of foodstuffs and modes of consumption became even more important markers of social and cultural distinction and, as Stewart shows in her essay on Vienna, 'signifiers of urban modernity'.[58] Over time items originally associated with particular social groups became adopted by others, generating new forms of exclusiveness. From the seventeenth century, coffeehouses and cafes were important popular meeting places in most European cities. Eighteenth-century London coffeehouses

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[56] B. Kuemin and B.A. Tlusty, eds, *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002); G. Hirschfelder, *Europäische Esskultur; eine Geschichte der Ernährung von der Steinzeit bis heute* (Frankfurt and New York, 2001); J. Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures. A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London and New York, 1999).

[57] B.A. Tlusty (2004), *Bacchus and Civic Order: the Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany*, Studies in Early Modern German History (Charlottesville and London, 2004).

[58] See, for example, N. Elias, *The Civilising Process*; J. Goody (1982), *Cooking, Cuisine and Class* (Cambridge, 1982).

constituted important forms of semi-public space for commercial intelligence and political intrigue, where information and ideas circulated, supporting a culture increasingly oriented towards consumption.[59] At the same time, they were venues for the performance of masculinity, as were Parisian restaurants until the end of the nineteenth century, unlike tearooms that were patronised primarily by women.[60] In Vienna, as Stewart notes, the coffeehouses became 'a ubiquitous culinary signifier' of the city.

In nineteenth-century Paris, the growth of restaurants and cafés encouraged the habit of eating out and a discourse centred on gastronomy.[61] These establishments were also locations from which the spectacle of urban life described by Hahn could be watched in comfort. Working-class Parisian cafés have been identified as interstitial 'transitional spaces' between the public world of early modern France and the private worlds of the late twentieth century, particularly for nineteenth-century women.[62] Carpenter shows how, in Munich, the consumption of beer played a central role in its evolution from small provincial capital into a modern city, marking its difference from wine-drinking localities. Breweries and taverns allowed the lower classes to establish a new sort of semi-public urban life as the consumption of beer played a central role in the production of lower-class identity and patterns of sociability, while the city's beer culture became a permanent feature of its urban life and tourist place-image, persisting into the present day. As cities became more homogenous in terms of the facilities

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[59] H. Berry (2003), *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the* Athenian Mercury (Basingstoke, 2003). See also I. Khmelnitskaia, 'Restaurant life of St-Petersburg and Moscow in late imperial Russia', paper presented at the Seventh International Conference of the European Association of Urban Historians Association, Athens, 29 October 2004.

[60] B. Cowan, 'Feature: public faces and public spaces. What was masculine about the public sphere? Gender and the coffeehouse milieu in Post-Restoration England', *History Workshop Journal*, 51 (2001), pp. 127–57; R. Spang (2001), *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge and London, 2001); K. Becker, 'The French novel and luxury eating in the nineteenth century', in M. Jacobs and P. Scholler, eds, *Eating Out in Europe: Picnics, Gourmet Dining and Snacks since the late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford and New York, 2003), pp. 209–10.

[61] M-F. Boyer, *The French Cafe* (London, 1994); S. Mennell, 'Eating in the public sphere in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in Jacobs and Scholler, eds, *Eating Out in Europe*, pp. 245–52.

[62] See W.S. Haine, *The World of the Paris Café: Sociability among the French Working Class: 1789–1914* (Baltimore, 1999); J. Burnett, *England Eats Out* (London, 2004); K. Allen, *Hungrige Metropole. Essen, Wohlfahrt und Kommerz in Berlin* (Hamburg, 2002).

they offered, it was often the distinctive nature of the food and drink associated with them and the places where it was consumed that constituted one of their distinguishing features.[63] Cafés offering different types of coffee accompanied by apple strudel, *Sachertorte* and whipped cream became as much part of tourist images of twentieth-century Vienna as its wine taverns (*Heuriger*) and Strauss waltzes, an image, according to Stewart, the critic Adolf Loos condemned as belonging to a bygone era.

Vision

If touch was generally ranked as the lowest of the senses then the highest position was accorded to vision, over the last few centuries,[64] particularly after the invention of the printing press enhanced the power of the written word and the maps and images discussed by Strohmayer. Urban life and visual spectacle have long been bound up together. Carnival, religious events and the urban promenade were all visually important features of pre-industrial society, while architectural monuments and city planning from the Renaissance onwards constituted the city itself as a visual spectacle, in theory, if not in practice. In his essay on the innovatory conception, construction, usage and representational after-life of the Pont-Neuf in Paris, Strohmayer focuses on the aesthetic vision represented by the building of the bridge and its visual representations. He characterises the Pont-Neuf as a space of reduced functionalities intended to ease the flow of goods to sites elsewhere, an example of a material change of the kind that makes for epochal changes which can be regarded as 'openings to modernity'.

Two centuries later, nationalist and imperialist ideologies influenced the development and reconstructions of the urban environment, producing vistas and settings that emphasised the power of the state, while the controlling and distancing effects of the visualising process signified the 'separation' of the visual sense, particularly from touch and hearing.[65] In central Paris, however, despite Hausmannisation, it was the old multifunctional Grands Boulevards that became the centre of the new spectacular culture and where, as Hahn argues, the city's modern commercial economy was most visibly linked to a visually-oriented culture of consumption. At the same time the noisy and disruptive

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[63] See B.M. Gordon, 'Going abroad to taste: North America, France and the continental tour from the late nineteenth century to the present', *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, 25 (1998), pp. 156–70.

[64] Classen, *Worlds of Sense*, pp. 3–4.

[65] See Urry, 'City Life and the Senses'; also Driver and Gilbert, *Imperial Cities*.

advertising on the Grands Boulevards led the city authorities to try and maintain the public spaces of the streets as controlled and orderly sites in which a well-behaved public could experience the spectacle of the city. This anticipates Wakeman's account of the way that the efflorescence of the dynamic and popular public life of the post-Liberation period was gradually replaced by staged performances and facile spectacles that confined the people to the role of spectators rather than participants in a manner that anticipated modern mass entertainments.

These particular examples support the argument that the pre-eminent position ascribed to vision in nineteenth-century discourse about urban modernity was inherently unstable in the twentieth century as the modern metropolis became a key site in a struggle for control in which cultural discourse played an important part. Rowe, for example, demonstrates that, in Berlin at least, the hegemony of vision characteristic of earlier decades was no longer so significant, in that, as Crary argues, it constituted only one layer of a body that could be captured, shaped or controlled by a range of external critiques.[66] Rowe considers the way that the changes accompanying the transformation of Berlin into a *Weltstadt* generated conflicting discourses. She places this in the context of a discussion of the celebratory and aestheticising images of a narrow range of sites in central Berlin by the painter Lesser Ury articulated within visual codes that function as dominant signs of cultural stability. Spatial tropes linking visuality and modernity have been applied to the construction of the self in Western societies. While Strohmayer focuses on citizenship, both Hahn and Rowe comment on the gendering of the visual: Rowe argues that the discourses supporting Ury's work are structured by masculinist tropes that prepare the way for a visual culture of urban modernity. What these essays make clear is that, despite the theoretical prominence given to the visual sense in the modern period, the other non-visual senses continued to play an important part in the experience and representation of city life. For, as Rowe points out, in the struggle for political and social control, the deployment of sensory tropes can operate as a key strategic element in that struggle.

Ways forward

These detailed studies demonstrate the complexity of urban society and the multiplicity of ways in which interaction took place between the embodied self and the spaces of habitation, and between one individual

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[66] Crary, *Suspensions of Perception*, 3.

and others through the medium of the senses. These elemental sensuous experiences were also infinitely complex.

In a book of this size, we have only been able to discuss certain aspects of each of the five senses, but, as they are discussed and illustrated here, we believe these essays make a contribution to a broader discussion about ways in which it might be possible to develop a multisensory historical investigation into the study of urban culture. There are many areas for further exploration. The capital cities discussed in this collection need to be placed in a broader comparative context to establish how far they were typical of other large urban centres in Western and Central Europe. There is no doubt that some of the characteristics of the capitals in question were also present in other, smaller or less highly developed centres, but on a smaller scale and in many cases at a later date. This volume has also emphasised the centres of cities, rather than peripheral areas, the built environment rather than the green spaces which did exist in a number of cities and the nineteenth-century suburbs, as well as leaving underexplored much of the cultural liminality of these key areas that so often linked the urban and the rural, the recent arrival and the established inhabitant, the outcast and the socially acceptable. While some of our studies have referred to the cultural dimension of the physical relations between the sexes, gendered cultures and the significance of physical relationships in the city, amply explored from other historical perspectives, remain a fruitful field for research in the history of urban culture.