Sensible Flesh

On Touch in Early Modern Culture

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it were flesh. It is, then, an ideal medium in which to fashion bodies made to be touched. These scientific models served to illustrate anatomical structure when the numbers of cadavers available for dissection was severely limited and when the practical considerations for preserving a corpse dictated haste in dissection. As pedagogical tools, they were made not only to be seen but also to be touched.[42] Most of the bodies are male and flayed, exhibiting, according to the Galenic isomorphic principle, the anatomical features of the generalized human body. Even without skin, even eviscerated, these bodies retain a haunting life. Their glass eyes are open, seeming to evince an impossible range of emotion through their expressive gaze, and their languid, even rapturous poses paradoxically suggest a lingering responsiveness in corpses from whom all traces of consciousness must necessarily be extinguished. Like Ovid's Marsyas, who continues to speak even as his skin is torn from his body, who questions in his anguish why he is being divided from himself ("quid me mihi detrahis?" "Why do you tear me from myself?"),[43] these wax cadavers seem to transpose the tactile sensation that inheres in the cutaneous membrane into a register of emotive "feeling." The female figures, unlike the male bodies, are not flayed, which makes the juxtaposition between the undisturbed ivory surface, beautifully coifed hair, and jewelry and the dissected torso all the more disturbing. Some of these models contained removable parts, so that the outer layers of the body could be successively peeled away, revealing the human organs and female reproductive system.[44] Interiority, as these models demonstrate, is not only seen but also actively handled, thus clearly announcing the complicated, shifting ways in which skin and tactility are implicated in the body's volatile boundary between surface and innerness. This border simultaneously demarcates the edges and limits of the corpse and is the dynamic interface between the cadaver and the anatomist's touching hand.

Chapter 6

As Long as a Swan's Neck? The Significance of the "Enlarged" Clitoris for Early Modern Anatomy

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Tangible. *Syn.: material, touchable, physical, corporeal, graspable, visible.*
—Webster's New World Thesaurus

In 1660 the French anatomist and author of the much acclaimed *Anatomia Reformata* Thomas Bartholin wrote in his chapter "On the Clitoris": "It is absolutely true and it is not natural and it is monstrous that it grows to the length of a goose's neck."[1] Bartholin's remark refers to a case described by the Swiss anatomist Felix Platter in his 1583 *De corporis humani structura* whose observation soon became a popular topos in the anatomical writing about the clitoris. In 1691 Tobias Peucer, editor and translator of Stephen Blancaert's *Reformirte Anatomie* (*Reformed Anatomy*), even claims "Platter testifies to having seen one as long as a swan's neck."[2] Bartholin, Platter, and Peucer are no exceptions among early modern anatomists. In general, seventeenth-century physicians, surgeons, and midwives seem very much preoccupied with the size of the clitoris. While the references to a swan's neck underline the extraordinary size of the clitoris, anatomically this organ was considered a "female penis." As Bartholin observes in the first sentence of his chapter on the clitoris, this organ is "similar to the penis as concerns its position, substance, composition, the production of semen as well as erection."[3] Adrian Spieghel, author of *Fabrica corporis humani libri decem*, published in 1627 reports that an enlarged clitoris "often deceives those inexperienced in anatomy to believe that women have been transformed into men, because what hangs out of their privities looks like a male member."[4]

The "monstrosity" of an enlarged clitoris troubled anatomists for

several reasons. Women might pass as men or they might hurt their male lovers during intercourse. Moreover, it was regarded as the cause and embodiment of female homoeroticism. Spieghel illustrates the homoerotic implications of an enlarged clitoris: "And even those women are brought to such insane lust that they sinfully lie with other women."[5] In fact, as Valerie Traub has noted, the way early modern anatomy fashioned female sexuality and desire reflects an anatomical essentialism that transmutes "a paradigm of desire into a paradigm of bodily structure."[6] It is because of this homoerotic disposition that Bartholin and many of his colleagues refer to the clitoris as "contempt of men."[7] This "contempt of men" was made visible and intelligible in the figure of the so called "Tribade"—a woman who because of her enlarged clitoris desired and had sex with other women. Bartholin states "sometimes they [women with an enlarged clitoris] abuse the clitoris as if it were a penis and they lie with each other."[8] As Traub notes: "It is not the 'tribade's' inconstant mind or sinful soul but her uniquely female yet masculinized morphology that propels her to engage in illicit behavior."[9]

Feminist critics have argued that anatomy's preoccupation with the clitoris expresses male anxieties about female sexuality and negotiates social and political gender conflicts.[10] In its analogy to the penis as well as in its homoerotic disposition the clitoris figures as a threat to male heterosexual as well as homosocial hegemony. Just how threatening the enlarged clitoris was may be judged from its medical and legal treatment. As Park observes, physicians began considering clitoridectomy, and they recommended this measure not only in cases of clitoral hypertrophy but also as a more general treatment to discipline any kind of transgressive female sexuality.[11] And yet this interpretation is not entirely satisfying because it does not account for the reasons why the early modern Tribade is so prominent in the realm of anatomy and why, despite the anatomist's extraordinary appetite for the Tribade, her anatomy is denied visual representation.

Considering the frequency with which the medical and anatomical literature described the enlarged clitoris it seems significant indeed that those books do not contain illustrations of Tribades or their enlarged clitorises. Rather, anatomical illustrations of the clitoris included in those books are usually small featuring the "normal,"—not enlarged—clitoris, which often enough is barely visible in these small-size images. However, if we leave the realm of anatomia we find numerous visual examples of what the clitoris as long as a swan's neck might look like. Renaissance paintings rendering the mythological story of how Jupiter in the disguise of a swan raped Leda

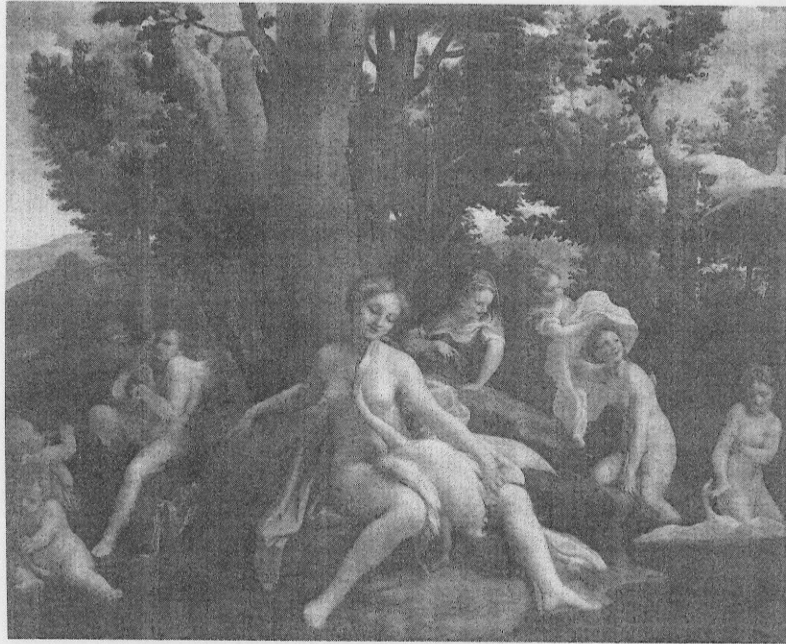

Figure 1. Correggio, *Leda and the Swan*, ca. 1530. Reproduced by permission of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie. Photo: Jörg P. Anders.

convey a visual impression of the enlarged clitoris's erotic and sexual possibilities. This motif, which abounded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was rendered by artists like Giorgione, Michelangelo, and Tintoretto.[12] Correggio's version of *Leda and the Swan*, for instance, albeit painted about 1530, before the anatomical rediscovery of the clitoris, might from an anatomical point of view very well be read as an illustration of tribadic sexuality (Figure 1). Early modern anatomy thus associates the clitoris with Jupiter's legendary sexual potency and fertility.[13] But what does it mean that both penis and clitoris are imagined as swan's necks? And why are there no *anatomical* illustrations of the enlarged clitoris? In what follows I argue that this invisibility allows insight into the relation between touch, vision and the tangibility of the phallus.

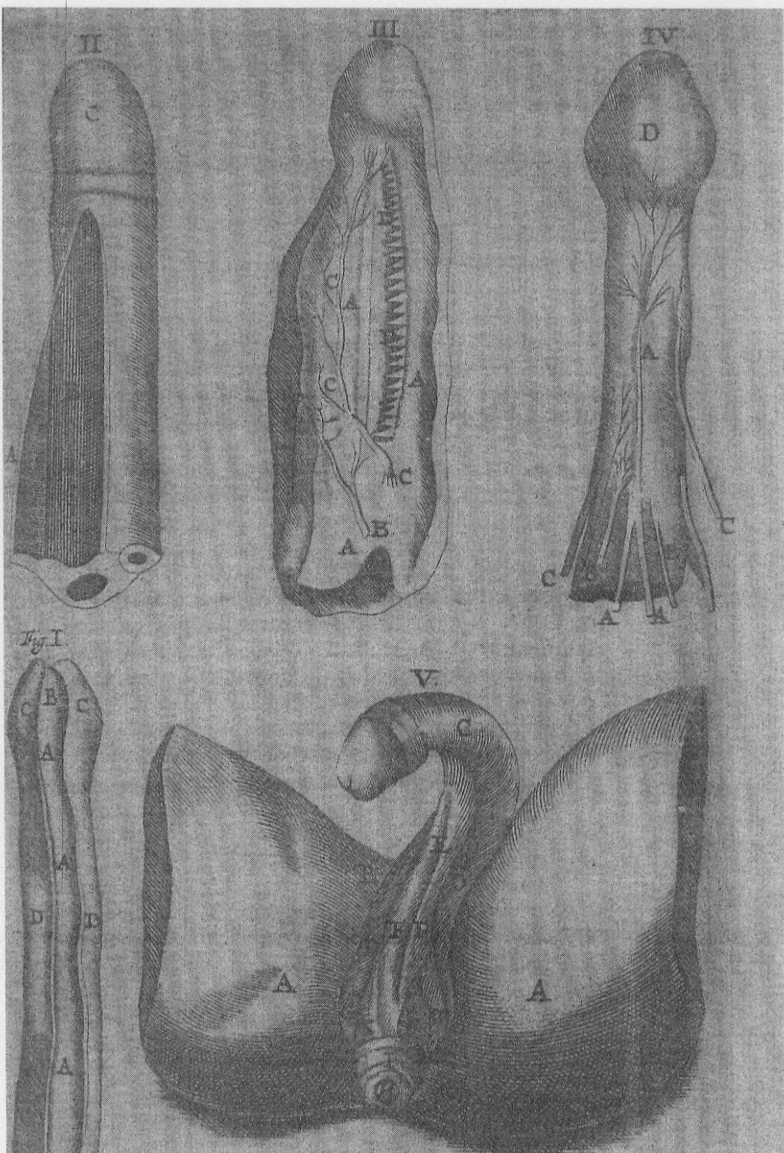

Figure 2. "Anatomy of the Penis," in Thomas Bartholin, *Anatomia Reformata* (Haga-Comitis: Vlacq, 1660), 149. Reproduced by permission of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abt. Historische Drucke.

Typography, Tangibility, and the Phallus

As a starting point for the problematization of this context I turn to some well-known but rarely discussed anatomical illustrations of the penis. The first one is included in Bartholin's *Anatomia Reformata* (Figure 2). It shows the male genital from different perspectives and in different states of dissection. View V features "the penis and its muscles in situ."[14] Perhaps the most unusual feature about this illustration is the shape of the penis, which looks like a question mark. In fact, it almost perfectly matches the question mark of the Antiqua type. In this context, it is interesting to note that the German edition of the *Anatomia*, which uses the image the wrong way round, draws attention to the relation between body part and typography. From this inversed perspective the shape of the penis is said to "represent the shape of the letter S," which of course is the mirror image of the question mark.[15] Notably it is the typographical sign that governs the shape of the penis.

An even more spectacular and clearly sexualized representation of the penis as question mark is featured in Giulio Casserio's *Tabulae anatomicae*, published posthumously by Daniel Bucretius in 1627 together with Spieghel's *Fabrica* (Figure 3).[16] The volume contains 78 large size anatomical plates, "all of them," the subtitle notes, "new and never seen before."[17] The plate displays, according to Casserio's explanation, "the penis in its natural situation without the skin in order to make visible all of its parts." This "natural situation" is a young man in a semirecumbent position with his legs wide open, surrendering his circumcised penis and anus to the gaze of the beholder. Obviously, the carefully designed engraving shows much more than seems necessary for the anatomical visualization of the penis.

This complex image with its multiple layers of meaning profoundly questions the relation between sex and gender. While the penis suggests the maleness of this figure, the excised testes as well as the circumcised penis point to his lack of masculinity. Furthermore, the image suggests that the male is about to give birth: as Sander Gilman notes, the youth's "position of parturition" as well as the protruding anus propose the male's motherhood.[18] Gender ambivalence is furthermore expressed through an iconography that makes use of binarisms. The left foot resting firmly on the ground contrasts with the instability of the right foot's position. The strong left arm clutching the tree and stabilizing the body contrasts with the awkwardly distorted right arm. The stretched upper half of the body contrasts with the twisted lower half. And, finally, the quiet pastoral setting in which the man rests is opposed to the presence of a castle in the background. This

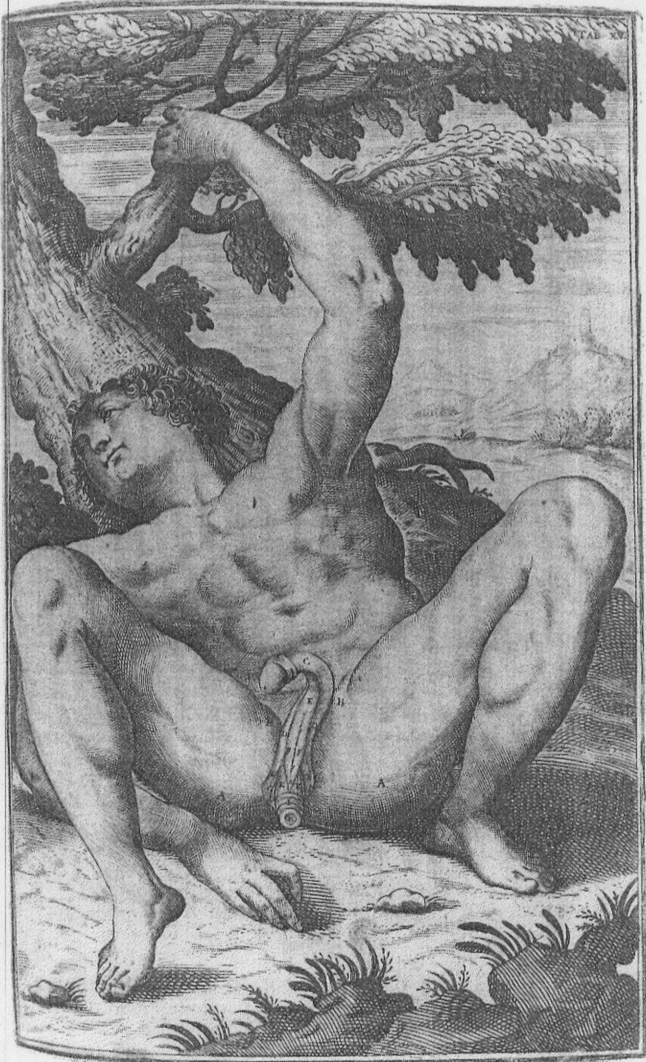

Figure 3. "Anatomy of the Penis," in Giulio Casserio, *Tabulae Anatomicae* (Venice: E. Deuchine, 1627), 78. Reproduced by permission of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abt. Historische Drucke.

"incongruence" between sex and gender as well as the combination of masculinity and femininity seem to suggest that the figure represents a hermaphrodite—although he does not possess two sets of genitals.[19] Or does he?

Most interesting in this context is the shape of the penis as a question mark. The relation between penis and question mark not only refers to questions of shape; penis and question mark are also connected by the phenomenon of erection. Remarkably, the question mark, which had been introduced in the early middle ages, becomes erect only during the late middle ages. Before that time it rests horizontally covering the full stop. With regard to the representation of the penis in Bartholin and Casserio, one is tempted to say that the erection of the question mark reflects the questionableness of the erection of the penis. But what exactly is so questionable about an erection? Let me briefly turn to a modern expert regarding the relation between masculinity, sexuality, and typography. In *The Signification of the Phallus*, Jacques Lacan provides the following reason why the phallus "naturally" materializes in the penis: "It can be said that this signifier is chosen because it is the most tangible element in the real of sexual copulation and also the most symbolic in the *literal* (*typographical*) sense of the term" (emphasis mine).[20] Lacan proposes a connection between the penis and writing governed by the phallus. In this view, the erect penis is the incarnation of the symbolic order—the letter turned into flesh, if you will—and the phallus its primary signifier.[21] But what of the question mark? Although Lacan remains significantly silent on this point, I want to argue that the penis as question mark draws attention to both the "costs" and "rewards" that the signification of the phallus entails for the male body. By saying this I do not propose that Lacan's theory contains a historical argument; rather I am concerned with historicizing Lacan. His theory of the phallus has often been discarded by historians precisely because of its ahistorical scope. But although Lacan himself regarded the signification of the phallus as a kind of transhistorical truth, there can be no doubt that his theory is the result of historical processes. Thus even if Lacan's theory tells us nothing about the historicity of early modern bodies, these bodies tell us a lot about the history of the phallus—a history that is concerned with the relation between the body and systems of representation. In this sense, early modern anatomy as a practice that was concerned with providing a visible body for the symbolic order (a body that was fashioned according to the rules of rationality and visuality) must be regarded as an important "step" toward the theory of the signification of the phallus.[22] And from this perspective anatomy allows insight into what the *Signification of*

the Phallus remains silent on, namely, that the materialization of the phallus as penis inflicts a "wound" onto the male body.

Of course, the question then is: what kind of penis is this penis as question mark? And in what way is it "wounded"? Again Lacan may lead the way. In the aforementioned quote he characterizes the penis/phallus as "the most *tangible* element in the real of sexual copulation" (emphasis mine). Here he seems to suggest that the penis is the phallus incarnate, because it is "material," "touchable," "physical," even "graspable"—to invoke some synonyms for "tangible."

This is indeed an awkward notion for Lacan considering that the phallus is characterized as actively touching but not as being touched. What does Lacan mean when he talks about tangibility in connection with the penis/phallus? To answer this question I must return to the relation between symbolic order—writing, typography—and the male body. Lacan has argued that the signification of the phallus depends on the threat of castration embodied by woman. This castration, however, also symbolically affects the penis, for the "signifier [the phallus] has an active function in determining the effects in which the signifiable appears as submitting to its mark, *becoming through that passion the signified*" (emphasis mine).[23] In other words, the penis becomes the phallus on the basis of its symbolic castration or circumcision, and this "castration" implies that signification and symbolic castration are inseparable. In her recent *Versuch über den Schwindel* Christina von Braun has elaborated on this context. Drawing on the connection between the ancient Mithras cult, which stages the transformation of biological into symbolical fertility through the castration and killing of a bull, and the history of the letter alpha, which represents the bull's head, she argues that

> the Greek alphabet [and the symbolic order it created] must be read as a "circumcision": a "circumcision," that is, which affects the whole body. There is no other sign system which so clearly implies the fantasy of controlling the body and corporeality through the mastery of spoken language as does the Greek alphabet (precisely because as opposed to the semitic alphabet it also writes the vowels). This mastery is experienced as an "act of castration" recurring in every individual. . . . This interpretation implies that the "symbolic castration" does not represent an external threat. Rather, just like the alphabet itself it must be regarded as one of the great inventions of western civilisation—as a self-made "threat" which . . . has become the driving force behind the western search for invention and innovation."[24]

Of course, the Greek and later the Latin alphabet with their dissociation between body and language inflict a "wound" onto the female body as well. But

unlike the male's hers is "not chosen"—to borrow Lacan's choice of words—to incarnate the symbolic order but rather its "Other."[25]

While von Braun describes the *symbolic* "cuts" the male body is subject to, early modern anatomists used *real* knives, cut into *real* flesh, and produced *real* castrates in order to create an ideal and rational body. In this sense, the practice of anatomical dissection is itself—literally—an *incarn-ation* of the symbolic order's castrating power. It is exactly this reality of the symbolic castration that Casserio's image makes visible. The male body has been circumcised and castrated by the dissector's knife, his penis and testes have indeed been tangible. But this castrated penis has also become the ideal penis, the visible embodiment of the phallus.

At this point I could have ended my consideration by concluding that early modern anatomy translated symbolic violence into carnal violence in order to provide a body designed according to the laws of the symbolic (phallic) order. It was the question mark that urged me to further explore this context. For the image poses two questions: how do we deal with this wound and what are its rewards? The answers early modern surgeons provided are evasive, because the surgeons went at length to distance themselves from the tangibility of th(eir) penises. Curiously, it is the clitoris and the swan's neck that came in handy when the anatomist struggled to cope with the threat of castration. And from this perspective it will also become clear why "visible" may serve as a synonym for "tangible."

Therefore, I want to suggest that we take a fresh look at anatomical illustrations of the genitals, a look that is not guided by the verbal explanations fixing the putative meaning of these illustrations. In what follows I want to suggest that it is precisely the penis as question mark that provides a "disguise" for the *visual* representation of the tribadic clitoris in early modern anatomy books. The reason why the clitoris as long as swan's neck is imag(in)ed as the penis as question mark has to do with the specific tactility and tangibility of anatomical illustrations that produced and requested a *visual* touch that proved different from the dissector's *manual* touch. And, second, I argue that the wound inflicted by the symbolic might be "closed" by the fantasy that man and woman become "one flesh"—a fantasy that is dear to Christianity and also structures anatomical images in Christian Europe during the early modern period. To develop this context I shall now turn to the dissector's hands and the reader's eyes—before I come back to penis and clitoris.

Touch and Vision

In 1543 Andreas Vesalius published the *Epitome*, a "less expensive companion book to the *Fabrica*."[26] It contains a very brief summary of the structure of the human body along with nine larger than folio-size anatomical illustrations, which "may be compared to fugitive sheets."[27] In the preface the author writes about the purpose of this book: "Here, we have dismembered the human body's history on a few pages, so that now the most important part of Nature's course may stand clear before the readers eyes just like a mirror."[28] Vesalius furthermore places particular emphasis on the fact that this knowledge about the body's anatomy can only be gained by opening up the body with one's own hands: "No-one will be able to gain knowledge about the human body unless he dissected bodies with his own hands."[29] Thus those large size plates that the *Epitome* as well as the *Fabrica* became famous for are based on the dissector's handiwork. Although Vesalius strives to make visible the body's interior, it is important to note that he does not mention his own gaze into the corpse, but seems more concerned with his touch. What in the *Epitome* appear to be two distinct activities—touching and looking—are really a complex negotiation between tactility and visuality.

Vesalius's emphasis on the importance of manual investigation for anatomy was in part a reaction to medieval teaching traditions, where university-trained physicians used to lecture about anatomy while leaving the actual dissection to low-ranking barber-surgeons. In the preface to the *Fabrica* he sharply condemns anatomists who shied away from using their hands: "we see learned physicians abstain from the use of the hands as from a plague lest the rabbins of medicine decry them before the ignorant mass as barbers and they acquire less wealth and honor than those scarcely half physicians."[30] He also deplored that "everything is wrongly taught in the schools," because the physician "has never applied his hand to the dissection of the body" and thus "haughtily governs the ship from a manual."[31] Vesalius did not stand alone in his plea for the physician's hands-on investigation. Frequently, as Katherine Rowe has observed, early modern anatomists reflected on the function of the hands for their work. Helkiah Crooke, for instance, warned his colleagues that without the sense of touch physicians "must of necessity grope uncertainlie in dark and palpable ignorance."[32] Consequently, for Crooke "the sense of Touching . . . so without doubt deserves the first place: For this is the ground of all the rest," even the "only Sense of all senses" (293). While Crooke acknowledged that the "tactive quality be diffused through the whole body both within and without," he

nevertheless claimed that "we do more curiouslie and exquisitely feele and discerne [those] qualities which strike the Sense in the Hand than in other parts" (296). What makes the hand so very meaningful for anatomical dissection are not only its tactile qualities but also its connection to reason. Crooke fashioned the hand into an instrument of the surgeon's will when he noted that the "proper action of the Hand is Apprehension, and Apprehension a Motion depending on our will" (299). For the surgeon to perform a perfect dissection, it is essential, Crooke says, to combine cutting, "the action which is done with the hand," with the rational "habite of the minde" (291). The anatomist's hands are thus so "curious" and "exquisite" precisely because they execute his will: "The hand executeth those things which are commanded, our comandments are subject and obedient to Reason, and Reason it selfe is the power, force and efficacie of understanding" (285). Crooke thus does not simply praise the mechanical skill of the hand; he also celebrates it as an instrument without which the surgeon would not be able to control and master the bodies he dissects: "Reason, is the hand of understanding, Speech the hand of Reason, and the Hand it selfe, is the hand of Speech" (285).[33] Speech in this rational context must, of course, be understood as written speech. And within this framework, the hand, acting as the agent of writing, inscribes the symbolic into the body. The dissector's touch is celebrated for its rational and distancing qualities advancing a notion of dissection that is predicated upon a clear split between subject and object, or rather: between the passivity of the corpse on the dissection table and the anatomist's touch.

Two things become obscured in this praise of the anatomist's handiwork. The first, of course, is the violence with which his hands cut into the flesh and tear apart tissue. Crooke's rhetoric betrays his anxious attempt to obscure this violence when he writes that "the first requisite [is] that the parts bee so separated from another that they may all be preserved whole, not rent and torne asunder. Next, that those which grow not togither, be gently divided. Thirdly, that those which do grow together, be carefully separated" (293). As Rowe has observed, "In other contexts, this activity would produce pain and physical outrage," for the manual investigation of the body's interior involves "placing the hands inside it, lifting successive layers of tissue to reveal their point of origin and arrival" (293). Moreover, the dissector's touch seems to be a touch whereby the hand that touches remains itself untouched. This kind of touch is, of course, deeply gendered. As Sander Gilman notes, by the seventeenth century touch and the tactile were regarded as feminine while the act of touching (without being touched) was

construed as masculine.[34] By penetrating the corpse with his hands the surgeon both provides new knowledge about the body's interior and constitutes his masculinity. This split between touching and being touched is a version of either having or being the phallus. The dissector's rational and controlling hand "has" the touch (and the phallus) while the dissected corpse "is" the touch (and the phallus). It is this phallic potential of the hand that charged its dissection with special meaning for anatomy. In the anatomical literature the dissection of the hand is usually treated with special attention and dealt with either at the very beginning or at the very end.[35] Vesalius's famous portrait on the front page of his *Fabrica* represents the hand's outstanding position for the anatomist as well as for anatomy (Figure 4).

The anatomist is fashioned as someone whose work is characterized by manual penetration and who best proves his anatomical skills by dissecting the hand, which, notably, is represented in such a fashion that obscures its state of decay and powerlessness. As if to underscore the priority of touch over vision, Vesalius himself does not look at the anatomized hand he puts up for display. And yet these efforts to honor the primacy of the hand are, albeit unintentionally and perhaps unnoticed, subverted by the practice of anatomical illustration, which since the times of Vesalius had gained increasing importance in anatomy. Starting with the *Fabrica*, "illustrated texts in anatomy became the predominant format and by 1650 anatomical knowledge was conveyed as much by illustrations as by texts."[36] As opposed to their medieval predecessors, early modern anatomists were very much concerned with the visual representation of the knowledge they had gained by their manual investigations. Vesalius's *Fabrica* contains 17 page-size plates and more than 250 smaller woodcuts; Casserio's *Tabulae* contains 78 very sophisticated copper plates larger than folio format. Both Vesalius and Casserio had been concerned with finding new ways to visualize the human body, and they may be considered pioneers in this field. Vesalius's books were most famous not for their written text, which did not substantially differ from older works, but for their illustrations, which were widely copied.[37] The illustrations in the *Fabrica* and the *Tabulae* display great artistic skill, and they are believed to stem from the workshops of famous artists like Titian and Tintoretto.[38] Early modern anatomists, artists, and readers of anatomy books alike were so enthusiastic about anatomical illustrations because they regarded the information conveyed by visual images as more reliable than that conveyed by verbal descriptions.[39] Leonardo da Vinci, who was himself very much interested in anatomy and who also performed dissections, wrote about the inadequacy of language in his *Notebooks*: "And you who think to

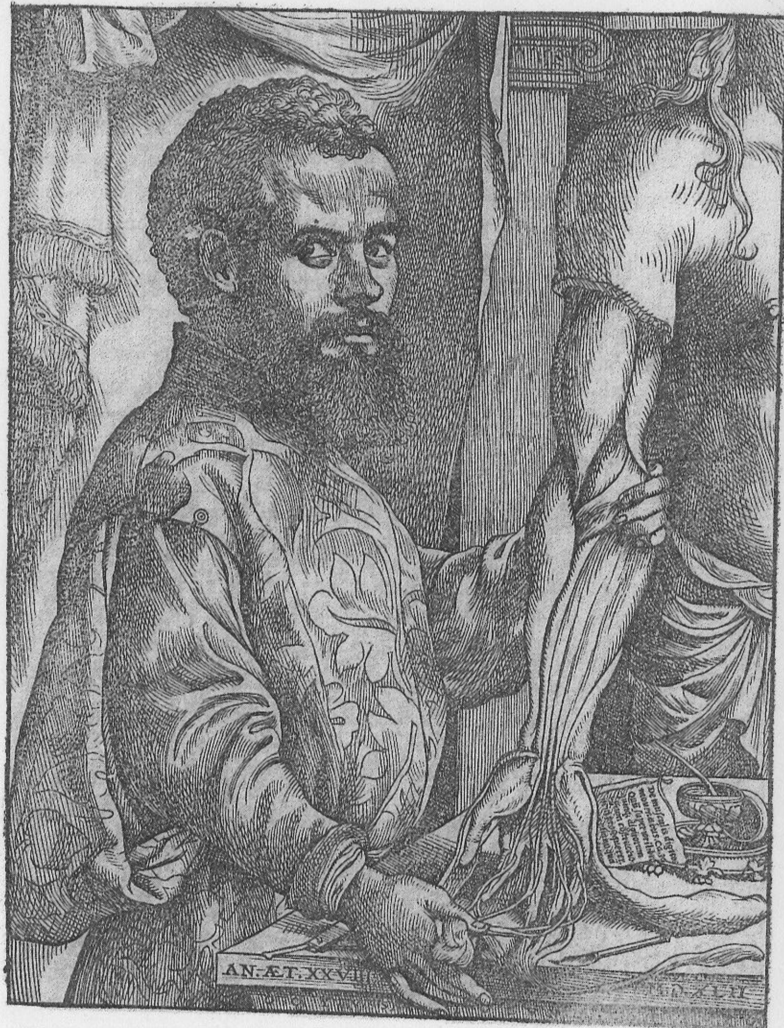

Figure 4. "Portrait of Andreas Vesalius," in Andreas Vesalius, *Fabrica corpore humanis libri septem* (Basel: Johannes Oporimus, 1543), n.p. Reproduced by permission of the Staatlsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stuftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abt. Historische Drucke.

reveal the figure of man in words, with his limbs arranged in all their different attitudes, banish the idea from you, for the more minute your descriptions the more you will confuse the mind of the reader and the more you will lead him away from the knowledge of the thing described."[40] Da Vinci's preference for images is based on a critique of writing, that is, on the experience of a distance between body and the language representing it that could not be bridged. Images, however questionable this may seem today, seemed to promise unmediated representation of the body. Anatomical illustrations were regarded as truthful substitutes for the body's structure, shape, and functions. They were even regarded as superior to actual dissections since they were not subject to decay, spared the viewer feelings of "natural repugnance," and brought together the information of several dissections, since it was not possible, as Leonardo da Vinci notes, "to observe all the details shown in these drawings in a single figure, in which, with all your ability, you will not see nor acquire a knowledge of more than some few veins; while in order to obtain an exact and complete knowledge of these, I have dissected more than ten human bodies."[41]

The confidence in as well as the success of the visual representations of the body's interior were very much enhanced by the reintroduction and technical innovation of linear perspective into European culture during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Technically linear perspective was considered a technique for representing three-dimensional space on the two dimensions of the flat canvas. But since it involved the construction of a vanishing point, the artificial partition of the visible world into geometrical space as well as the fiction of a fixed, one-eyed, distant, and sovereign spectator, it possessed broad social and cultural consequences.[42] As John Berger has noted, linear perspective "makes the single eye the centre of the visible world. . . . The visible world is arranged for the spectator as the universe was once thought to be arranged for God."[43] This controlling, distant, separating, voyeuristic, and uncorporeal gaze, which allows no visual reciprocity, displays the same phallic features as does the anatomist's touch. And although contemporaries regarded linear perspective as opposed to the abstraction and fragmentation caused by writing, it adheres to the same logic. In fact, perspective succeeds in making abstraction seem natural by making it visible. Considering that anatomical dissections, which had been performed on a regular basis since the end of the thirteenth century, gained new meaning during the Renaissance and also considering that anatomical illustrations played an important role in this process, it seems that both are indeed a result of linear perspective.[44] Linear perspective thus appears as the medium in which the "culture of dissection" comes to be communicated.[45] Envisaged in this way, the anatomist's phallic touch seems to be an effect of linear perspective as well as an integral element of visuality. This formative function of perspective seems to modify Foucault's theory of the "speaking eye," on which Sergei Lobanow-Rostovsky bases his argument when he notes that "what is created by this process of dissecting the body is not knowledge but a gaze that affirms the anatomist's subjectivity. Anatomy solicits the gaze, constitutes it as a form of language."[46] This argument, however, tends to underestimate the way linear perspective structures early modern anatomy. The perspectival gaze charged anatomy with this specific logic of partition, separation, detachment, and visibility that distinguishes it from its medieval tradition.

Just how far-reaching perspective was for anatomy may be judged from the fact that it not only revolutionized the visual representation of the body's interior but also created a new dimension of touching. The anatomical illustrations translate the dissector's manual touch into a visual touch for the viewers and readers of anatomy books. Instead of just putting the anatomist's handiwork before the reader's eyes—as Vesalius would have it—the images developed a tactile dynamic of their own. It is precisely because theses images stand in for the mortal and decaying body that they translate not only the body's structure and shape but also its tactility and tangibility into the realm of visuality. Indeed, anatomical illustrations request this kind of touch and tangibility, for the spectators are supposed to reiterate the surgeon's handiwork with their eyes. Far from denying the corpse's tangibility or the anatomist's handiwork, anatomical illustrations create their own kind of tactility and tangibility. Anatomical illustrations "work" because and only if the spectator has accepted, or rather learned to accept, that visuality implies the substitution of visual for manual touching. It is the gaze that assumes (part of) the function of the hand, and seeing thus becomes a form of touching.

The science of anatomy is, of course, by no means the only discourse negotiating the relationship between touch and vision. Oil painting, which just like anatomical illustration is connected to the use of linear perspective in the early modern period, also engaged in translating touch into vision. As Berger observes, "What distinguishes oil painting from any other form of painting is its special ability to render the tangibility, the texture, the lustre, the solidity of what it depicts."[47] The painter's rendering of different materials appeals to the spectator's sense of touch and "what the eye perceives is already translated, within the painting itself, into the language of tactile sensation."[48] As a cultural practice relying on both touching *and* looking, early

modern anatomy thus seems a particularly interesting example if one wants to find out more about the relation between manual and visual touches.

Quite a number of frontispieces represent precisely this translation of touch into vision and are therefore conclusive for a discussion of this process. Although these images certainly function as a visual introduction to the complex practices of anatomy, they also tell us about the displacements that occur when the surgeon's handiwork is turned into an anatomical illustration. What critics so far have tended to overlook is the fact that in most of the frontispieces in which the anatomist invites the reader to take a look into the body's interior the anatomist himself does not look at the body he presents. The *Fabrica*'s well-known frontispiece is a very good case in point. The image shows an anatomist proudly presenting the opened-up body of a woman to a curious crowd. The pointing gesture of his right hand leads the spectator's gaze into the body's interior, promising deeper and more detailed insight on the pages that follow. The image suggests that the anatomist's mastery of the female corpse is based on his manual investigation, for he does not even look at the body whereas the readers'/spectators' mastery of the body's interior depends upon their reiteration of this touch through their gaze. In other words, whereas the dissector's potency is constituted by the touch the viewer's potency is constituted by the gaze. In this view, the anatomist's authoritative gesture at the women's body with his left hand might be read as a reminder not to forget that seeing is touching. Notably, it is the surgeon himself who is implicated in the production of this visual touch, not only because of his emphasis on the visual aspects of touch but also because of his interest in visibilizing what his hands had touched. Just like Vesalius's portrait in the same volume, the frontispiece suggests that what the reader/spectator sees is what the anatomist had touched. However, manual and visual touches are not identical. First of all, they belong to different "worlds," since the touch of the anatomist's hands is connected with decay, while the touch of the viewer's gaze connects to immortality. And second, the translation of touch into vision is much more complicated than the mere substitution of one sense for another. As Christina von Braun has argued, since the early modern period "visuality has created its own sense of touching," which in turn has affected notions of corporeality, sexuality, and gender.[49]

Genitals: Same and Different

In 1536 Andreas Vesalius claimed to have had a professional, albeit gruesome encounter with a female corpse.

> While out walking, looking for bones in the place where on the country highways eventually, to the great convenience of students, all those who have been executed are customarily placed, I happened upon a dried cadaver. . . . I climbed the stake and pulled off the femur from the hip bone. While tugging at the specimen, the scapulae together with the arms and hands also followed, although the fingers of one hand, both patellae and one foot were missing. After I had brought the legs and arms home in secret . . . [I] allowed myself to be shut out of the city in the evening in order to obtain the thorax which was firmly held by a chain. I was burning with so great a desire . . . that I was not afraid to snatch in the middle of the night what I so longed for. . . . The next day I transported the bones home piecemeal through another gate of the city . . . and constructed that skeleton which is preserved at Louvain.[50]

Vesalius's rhetoric combines his anatomical interest to obtain corpses for dissection with his desire for the possession of a female body. The dismemberment of the corpse is staged at once as a passionate and illegal endeavor compelled by "so great a desire . . . that I was not afraid to snatch in the middle of the night what I so longed for." As Jonathan Sawday has noticed, "the language with which Vesalius arranged the nocturnal rendezvous with the object of his desire is the language of courtly love: illicit, secretive. . . . All that is missing is the balcony—an office supplied, however, by the gibbet upon which Vesalius clambered."[51] For Sawday this translation of courtly love and erotic poetry into the realm of anatomy is an example of the exchanges and circulations constituting the culture of dissection: "Both sought to gaze upon the body which they dismantled, piece by piece" (197). However, Vesalius's desire was directed not at gazing on but at "snatching" the body he "so longed for." Observing the importance of touch in this eroticized professional endeavor is crucial for an understanding of the way sexuality and desire are constituted and figured within anatomy. The manual possession and dismemberment of the female corpse allows the male dissector the fulfillment of his barely disguised sexual desire, indeed his sexual and erotic desires depend upon manual investigation and penetration. What the episode clearly shows is that the practice of anatomical dissection fashions sexual potency in terms of tactile potency. The female corpse and the male anatomist indeed show what strange "bedfellows"—to invoke Sawday's term—the culture of dissection could encourage (196).

Anatomical illustrations, by contrast, encouraged a very different kind of sexual and erotic satisfaction. The eroticized illustrations of female corpses in anatomy books, which very often "echo representations of female sexuality in Renaissance art," draw on the voyeuristic gaze.[52] The penetration these images requests is, however, performed not by the surgeon's touch but by the viewer's gaze. Sexual potency and pleasure are thus represented in terms of visual potency and pleasure, and sexual penetration equals visual penetration. Considering that during this same period syphilis spread all over Europe, the visual penetration the image invites might be regarded as "a form of safer sex," as von Braun has pointed out.[53] In this sense, tangibility indeed means visibility. Of course, this kind of "safer sex" not only promises protection against infection but also, as von Braun notes "serves as a protection against losing control" (82). In this context, Casserio's illustration invites an unusual sexual gaze. The image represents the early modern heteronormative stereotype of the "passive," "feminized" sodomite whose passivity is characterized by his desire to be penetrated like a woman by other men. This desire is represented not only by the inviting gesture of the right hand but also by the protruding anus (which can also be found on Bartholin's plate, Figure 2). Casserio's illustration might thus be read as an early (modern) instance of gay male pornography produced under the auspices of anatomical illustration, because the voyeuristic gaze is supposed to be the anatomical gaze as well. But there is more than sexuality at stake here. As the male's parturient position suggests, this gaze is a fertile one. Obviously, the fertility of the gaze contrasts with the dismemberment the surgeon's handiwork performs, just like the male's castration and hence infertility is a contrast to his potential motherhood. Furthermore, Vesalius's nocturnal rendezvous as well as Casserio's pornographic encounter create nonphallic Others and rely on phallic binarisms for the representation of desire and sexuality. But the Others they create are not the same. It is precisely in this context that the construction of the enlarged clitoris gains significance. The fashioning of the clitoris into a monstrous and yet invisible imitation of the penis yields insight into the way manual and visual touches created different bodies. Let me first look at the way the dissector touches the clitoris.

Early modern anatomists anxiously point out that the clitoris immediately responds to (their) touch and that this tactile response is always a sexual response. Colombo states, "not only if you *rub* it vigorously with a penis, but *touch* it even with a little finger, semen swifter than air flows this way" (emphasis mine).[54] Bartholin also connects the anatomist's touch to female sexual pleasure: "if [the clitoris] be gently touched in such as have long abstained from carnal Embracements, and are desirous thereof, Seed easily comes away."[55] Considering that the release of semen was believed to be accompanied by orgasm, the anatomist's touch suggests a pleasurable, even desirable experience for the woman. Moreover, considering that the easily excitable clitoris belongs to a female corpse, its "awakening" might be read as an example for the "resurrection of the flesh" which at least in the early modern period was tied to the erection of another penis: namely that of the resurrected Christ. As Leo Steinberg has demonstrated in *The Sexuality of Christ* the representation of the resurrected Christ's erection—what the author calls the "erection-resurrection equation"—in Renaissance paintings (albeit hidden under prominent loincloths and thus all the more conspicuous) symbolizes victory over death and mortality by a sheer act of the will.[56] Because this erection does not so much refer to the sexuality of Christ, as the book's title suggests, as to his ability to master the flesh, that is, to fertilize dead matter, through the power of his will.[57] In this sense, the erection (and ejaculation) of a dead woman's clitoris assumes the quality of resurrection—albeit with a crucial difference: the clitoridal erection does not prove volitional and autonomous female power over the flesh, since it is the anatomist's finger that causes the erection and awakens the female corpse to life. However, the penis *is* involved in this resurgence of female flesh.

Apart from the strange morbidity of this scene (how did the anatomist turn on a female corpse?), two things are important here. First, the touch of the surgeon's fingers repeats the touch of his penis, thereby fashioning his "Handy Worke" into a supplement of his sexual potency; second, it is this skillful touch that arouses and satisfies women's sexual desire. But while the women the anatomists "have sex with" cannot help but surrender to their touches, the surgeons themselves remain untouched, rational, and distant, thus denying the way this close physical and sexual contact might affect themselves. The clitoris's tangibility allows the anatomist to fashion the touch of his hands into a manifestation of (his) sexual potency and intellectual fertility. When turning his attention to the clitoris, the anatomist's touch—so dear to the authors of anatomy books—testifies to his skillful victory over mortality.

This tangibility of the female genitals is also reflected in the anatomical terminology. Clitoris referred to the verb form *klitorizein*, which, Spieghel notes, was an "obscene verb meaning to rub this part lasciviously with the fingers," and Crooke explains that clitoris "cometh of an obscoene worde

signifying contrectation."[58] The term "Tribade" is derived from the Greek *tribein*, meaning "to rub," which first and foremost seems to refer to the enlarged clitoris's extraordinary tangibility. Crooke mentions that the Tribade's clitoris "groweth to such a length that it hangeth without the cleft like a mans member, *especially* when it is fretted with the touch of the cloaths, and so strutteth and groweth to a rigiditie as doth the yarde of the man" (emphasis mine).[59] Despite the fact that anatomists regarded the enlarged clitoris as an organ with which women could actively rub and penetrate each other, they nevertheless focused on its tangibility. For them the Tribade's sexual pleasure is predicated on the need to be touched. Because of this tangibility even the Tribade supports the primacy of the dissector's phallus. Describing and mapping the clitoris as "the most tangible element," as the Other of the penis, finally, offers a welcome occasion to bring the uniqueness of the penis into play as well as to efface the circumcision/castration of the penis through the anatomist's knife. Again and again anatomical texts invoke the originality and superiority of the penis in relation to the clitoris. Not only do its descriptions in anatomy books usually appear before those of the clitoris, thereby introducing the penis as standard and norm. Even more important are the repeated hints that the penis is an organ of extraordinary singularity whose "own character . . . is special and only referring to itself / nothing similar is to be found in the whole of the human body."[60] Although this is certainly true for the clitoris as well, this organ is never characterized as such. On the contrary, as I have indicated, the texts emphasize its derivative nature, its status as imitation of the original penis. For the anatomist, the construction of the clitoris as female penis clearly functions as a device to strengthen and confirm the singularity of the penis. Thomas Laqueur's widely disputed contention that the rediscovery of the clitoris proved largely insignificant for anatomy because all genitals were construed as male genitals so far represents the latest attempt at propounding the singularity of the male member.[61] By the denial of the visual representation of the anatomy of the erect and enlarged clitoris, it remains in the hands of the anatomist, subject to his exclusive touch. Here the different gendered logics that structure the dissector's handiwork on the one hand and its visual representation on the other become obvious. The tangibility of the clitoris is translated into its invisibility while at the same time the penis's putative untouchability is translated into visibility.

And yet for three reasons it would be wrong to assume that visuality implied the complete suppression of the visual representation of the enlarged clitoris. First and foremost, visuality is not a *technique* that one intentionally exploits *in order to* represent reality, rather it is a cultural paradigm that fashions bodies, subjectivities, and realities. Second, visuality does not "aim" at making bodies invisible, but makes them visible *within* its own logic. And third, this logic in the Christian tradition implies the appropriation of the feminine by the masculine.

Let me therefore return to Casserio one last time. Ironically, the image itself brings the enlarged clitoris—or, if you will, Correggio's swan—into play. Indeed, the lower part of the figure's body looks like a swan, with the thighs and legs as the wings and the penis as the neck. With a bit more fantasy even Bartholin's illustration of the penis resembles a swan or goose (Figure 2). In Casserio's image the penis/question mark seems to provide a perfect "disguise" for the visual representation of the enlarged clitoris, and in so doing the image points to the very specific constraints of visual potency and tangibility that seem to have thwarted any undisguised display of the Tribade's anatomy. Envisaged in this way, the image represents an attempt at bringing the enlarged clitoris to bear on the penis. But does this body really represent a hermaphrodite, as I suggested at the beginning of this essay? It is true, he has got both penis and clitoris, but he does not possess two *separate* sets of genitals. Rather the male genital *contains* the female one. In the anatomical image penis and clitoris indeed become "one flesh": the penis. It is this visual "oneness" of penis and clitoris in the name and shape of the phallus/penis that I consider the "reward" for the circumcision/castration of the penis. In opposition to Thomas Laqueur's famous description of the one-sex body fashioned by early modern anatomy I argue that this image shows a *male* body with *two* sexes.[62] The "femaleness" of the male figure is furthermore suggested by his "vaginal" anus through which he seems ready to give birth to a child. Thus the "inconsistencies" or "contradictions" between text and illustrations in anatomy books do not necessarily have to reflect "a lack of comprehension of anatomy" nor "a lack of artistic capability," as K. B. Roberts and J. D. W. Tomlinson suggest; they also reflect the different bodies that manual and visual touches create.[63]

This contradictory function within the phallic economy of early modern anatomy explains why the enlarged clitoris figures so prominently in anatomy books and yet remains (almost) invisible. These displacements and conjunctions show that in order to reach an understanding of the cultural significance of gender and sexuality, it is necessary to take into account the formative power of the media over the senses. Thus the "broader contemporary

concerns related to male privilege and the status of women," which, as Park argues, are reflected in the construction of the clitoris by early modern anatomists might be described as part of the history of touch and vision.[64] Early modern anatomists' and artists' investments with the clitoris (and the penis) not only indicate that visuality created a new sense of touch, they also suggest that the hand and they eye touched very different bodies indeed.

Chapter 7

New World Contacts and the Trope of the "Naked Savage"

Scott Manning Stevens

How deep are the purposes and Councells, of God? what should be the reason of this mighty difference in One mans children that all the Sonnes of men on this side the way (in Europe, Asia *and* Africa*) should have such plenteous clothing for Body, for Soule! and the rest of* Adams *sonnes and Daughters on the other side, or America (some thinke as big as the other three) should neither have nor desire clothing for their naked Soules, or Bodies.*

—*Roger Williams,* A Key into the Language of America *(1643)*

Some three decades ago Walter Ong examined Western culture's predilection for visual metaphors and tropes over those based on aural or tactile experience.[1] In a suggestive schema of the five senses, ranging from touch through taste, smell, hearing and sight, Ong notes that the movement from sight to touch is one that may be understood as movement "toward propinquity of the sense organ to the source of stimulus; toward concreteness; toward matter; toward subjectivity." When characterizing the opposite movement from touch to sight Ong describes this as movement "toward greater distance from the object physically; toward greater abstraction; toward greater formalism; toward objectivity; toward idealism divorced from actual existence."[2] I would like us to apply this conceptualization of the senses to the discourse of the encounter between the inhabitants of the Old World and the New during the early modern period. Traditional Western historiography has tended to privilege the notion of "discovery" over "contact" or "encounter." In so doing the reciprocal aspects of cultural exchange and trauma are obscured by a unidirectional and objectifying rhetoric. The New World ("New" of course only to the Europeans) is thereby transformed into an object to be revealed through European exploration. By focusing

Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1975). He cites exemplars of the body-castle trope that range from Plato's *Timaeus*, Lactantius, *Piers Plowman*, and most important, the New Testament (151–74). See also Louise Vinge, *The Five Senses: Studies in a Literary Tradition* (Lund: Royal Society of Letters at Lund, 1975), which surveys the figure in relation to the depiction of the five senses.

25. Kenelm Digby in his 1624 commentary on this stanza attempts to understand the ligature between the body and the soul in terms of Aristotelian generation: "as in corporall generations the female affords but grosse and passive matter, to which the Male gives active heat and prolificall vertue. . . . So there is betweene the bodie and soul of Man, but what ligament they have, our Author defineth not." *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, The Faerie Queene Book Two*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw et al. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933), 2: 475. See Michael Schoenfeldt's discussion of Digby's interpretation in *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* (55–57).

26. Gordon Teskey," Allegory, Materialism, Violence," in *The Production of English Renaissance Culture*, ed. David Lee Miller, Sharon O'Dair, and Harold Weber (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 293–318; see also his *Allegory and Violence* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).

27. See Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England*, 62–67 and Miller, *The Poem's Two Bodies*, 164–91.

28. Miller, *The Poem's Two Bodies*, 174–83, esp. 170, 174, 178.

29. For a discussion of the relationship between the skin and weaving, see my Introduction to this volume, " 'The 'Sense of All Senses.' "

30. Monica Green discusses the convergence of this tradition with treatises on the diseases of women in "From 'Diseases of Women' to 'Secrets of Women': The Transformation of Gynecological Literature in the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30, 1 (Winter 2000), 5–39.

31. John Banister, *The Historie of Man, sucked from the sappe of the most approve Anathomistes.* (London, 1578), fol. 88v.

32. Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned*, 176.

33. Marta Poggesi, "The Wax Figure Collection in 'La Specola' in Florence," in *Encyclopeaedia Anatomica* (Florence: Taschen for the Museo La Specola, 1999), 6–25, 21.

34. The three statues are allegorical representations of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. Vasari designed the monument, and each statue was completed by a Florentine sculptor (Battista, Giovanni dell' Opera, and Valerio Cioli). See Vasari's description of the monument in *Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull (New York: Penguin, 1965), 441–42.

35. His treatise on technical method was originally published as an introduction to his *Lives of the Artists* in 1550. My references are to *Vasari on Technique*, trans. Louisa S. Maclehose, ed. G. Baldwin Brown (New York: Dover, 1960).

36. Vasari says in his "Life of Michelangelo Buonarotti" that, when Michelangelo's corpse was carried to Santa Croce where it was to be interred, the coffin was opened. Although Michelangelo had then been dead for twenty-five days, his body showed no sign of decomposition, but was as "clean and intact" "as if he had died only a few hours before." *Lives of the Artists*, 438. By contrast, Zumbo's open coffin reveals a rotting corpse.

37. Georges Didi-Huberman, "Wax Flesh, Vicious Circles," in *Encyclopeaedia Anatomica*, 64.

38. Poggesi, "The Wax Figure Collection," 12, 13.

39. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 35.41–14; Polybius 6.53–54, quoted in Harriet I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 302–6, 308–10. See also J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971). I am grateful to Michael Koortbojian for supplying references on this topic.

40. B. Lanza et al., "Historical Notes on Wax Modelling," in Rumy Hilloowala et al., *The Anatomical Waxes of La Specola*, trans. Joseph Renahan (Florence: Arnaud, 1995), 45–49, 45.

41. Sigmund Freud, "A Note upon the 'Mystic Writing-Pad'," in *On Metapsychology: The Theory of Psychoanalysis*, gen. ed. James Strachey, Penguin Freud Library, 11, ed. Angela Richards (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), 428–34, 430. This observation is expanded in *Civilization and Its Discontents* to include the camera and gramophone as mnemonic extensions of the visual and auditory senses.

42. For a brief history of the use of anatomical models, see Rumy Hilloowala, "Anatomical Dissection and Models," in *Anatomical Waxes of La Specola.*

43. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1916. rpt, 1977), 6: 385.

44. See Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989) for a discussion of wax anatomical models in relation to art history and eighteenth-century gender politics.

Chapter 6. As Long as a Swan's Neck? The Significance of the "Enlarged" Clitoris for Early Modern Anatomy

An earlier version of this chapter was given at the conference, Virile Women, Consuming Men: Gender and Monstrous Appetite in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 25–27 April 2000. I am grateful to the participants for their comments, especially to Bettina Bildhauer, Ruth Evans, and Mary Nyquist. I thank Christina von Braun for inspiration.

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1. Thomas Bartholin, *Anatomia Reformata: ex Caspari Bartholini parentis Institutionibus, omnique recentiorum & propriis observationibus tertium ad sanguinis circulationem reformata* (Hagae-Comitis: Vlacq, 1660), 186; copy in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

2. Stephen Blancaert, *Reformirte Anatomie oder Zerlegung des Menschlichen*

unity of parts" (299) as well as to fashion anatomy into a divine undertaking. She has also suggested that the treatment of the hand confounds the split between agent (anatomist) and anatomized cadaver.

34. Gilman, *Sexuality*, 148–60.

35. Cf. Rowe, "Handy Worke," 290.

36. Roberts and Tomlinson, *Fabric*, 208.

37. Ibid., 126.

38. Ibid., 137, 263.

39. Ibid., 104–11.

40. Quoted in ibid., 101.

41. Ibid.,104.

42. For a discussion of the cultural and corporeal implications of linear perspective and the perspectival gaze, see Norman Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (London: Macmillan, 1983) and Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

43. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 16.

44. On the practice of anatomical dissection in medieval medicine, see Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990). For a more thorough discussion of the influence of linear perspective on anatomy, see Bettina Mathes, *Verhandlungen mit Faust: Geschlechterverhältnisse in der Kultur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Königstein/Ts.: Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 2001), 95–130.

45. The term "culture of dissection" was coined by Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London: Routledge, 1995), 3.

46. Sergei Lobanow-Rostovsky, "Taming the Basilisk," in *The Body in Parts*, ed. Hillman and Mazzio, 195–217, 200.

47. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 88.

48. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 90.

49. Christina von Braun, "Ceci n'est pas une femme: Betrachten, Begehren, Berühren—Von der Macht des Blicks," *Lettre International* 80 (1994): 80–84, 82.

50. Quoted in Sawday, *Body Emblazoned*, 196.

51. Sawday, *Body Emblazoned*, 197.

52. Gilman, *Sexuality*, 127.

53. Braun, "Ceci n'est pas une femme," 82.

54. Quoted in Thomas W. Laqueur, "Amor Veneris, vel Dulcedo Appeletur," in *Fragments for a History of the Body*, ed. Michel Feher, Ramona Nadaff, and Nadia Tazi (New York: Zone, 1989), 3: 90–131, 103.

55. Bartholin, *Anatomia*, 186.

56. Leo, Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion*, 2nd ed., rev. and exp. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 86.

57. For an elaboration of this context see Mathes, *Verhandlungen mit Faust*, 91–94.

58. Spieghelius, *Fabrica*, 278; Crooke, *Microkosmographia*. See also Laqueur, "Amor Veneris," 110.

59. Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia*, 238.

60. Bartholin, *Zerlegung*, 254.

61. Laqueur writes: "It [the discovery of the clitoris] does not matter . . . because the dominant medical paradigm of his day held that there was only one sex anyway, differing only in the arrangement of a common set of organs. The problem in Columbus's day well into the seventeenth century was not finding the organic signs of sexual opposition but understanding heterosexual desire in the world of one sex. . . . But the clitoris was only a very small part of the problem, if a problem at all, when the entire female genitalia were construed as a version of the male's" ("Amor Veneris," 113). For a critique see Park, "Rediscovery," 187 and Traub, "Psychomorphology," 84.

62. Cf. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender From the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990). The *two-sexed male body* is also visible in the common representation of vagina and uterus as penis. Thus, these images do not so much illustrate the prevalence of the one-sex body—as Laqueur suggests in *Making Sex*. Rather, they attest to the deeply rooted fantasy that man and woman become "one flesh"—with the male body serving as the role model for this "oneness." It would therefore be more accurate to talk about a *two-sexed male body*. Especially the images in anatomy books prove how much early modern anatomy was indebted to Christian ideas and traditions; cf. Gilman, *Sexuality*, passim.

63. Roberts and Tomlinson, *Fabric*, 246.

64. Park, "Rediscovery," 173.

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I wish to acknowledge both the generous support of the Ford Foundation, which made possible my research at the John Carter Brown Library, and the help and advice of Dr. Norman Fiering and the library staff.

1. Walter Ong, " 'I See What You Say': Sense Analogues of Intellect," in Ong, *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 121–44.

2. Ibid., 136.

3. Debora Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 16.

4. Edward Morick, "Introduction," *Wittgenstein and the Problem of Other Minds*, ed. Edward Morick (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), xiv.

5. Hayden White, "The Noble Savage: Theme as Fetish," in *First Images of America*, ed. F. Chiappelli (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 133.

Leibes, trans. Tobias Peucer (Leipzig: Moritz Georg Weidmann, 1691); copy in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

3. Bartholin, *Anatomia*, 186.

4. Adrianus Spieghelius, *Fabrica Corporis Humani Libri Decem* (Venice: E. Deuchin, 1627), 278; copy in Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Zweigbibliothek Wissenschaftsgeschichte.

5. Spieghelius, *Fabrica Corporis*, 278.

6. Valerie Traub, "The Psychomorphology of the Clitoris," *GLQ* 2 (1995): 81–113, 94. The reemergence of the "Tribade" in Europe is much more complicated and complex than I have suggested here. For a thorough discussion see Traub's essay and Katharine Park, "The Rediscovery of the Clitoris: French Medicine and the Tribade, 1570–1620," in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. H. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1997), 171–93.

7. Bartholin, *Anatomia*, 186. Bartholin refers to the apostle Paul's remarks in Romans 1: 26: "Unde haec pars contemptus virorum dicitur." For the use of the term as synonym for clitoris see Park, "Rediscovery," 186.

8. Park, "Rediscovery," 186.

9. Traub, "Psychomorphology," 94.

10. See Park, "Rediscovery," 173 and Traub, "Psychomorphology," 98.

11. Park, "Rediscovery," 184.

12. Jane Davidson Reid, *Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 2: 628–35.

13. Although anatomists did not relate their findings to contemporary art, there are in fact numerous invisible ties and negotiations between art and anatomy, especially concerning the representation of the female genitals; for a discussion of these negotiations see Bettina Mathes, "From Nymph to Nymphomania: 'Linear' Perspectives on Female Sexuality," in *The Arts of Science: Representations of the Natural World in Seventeenth-Century European and American Culture*, ed. Claire Jowitt and Diane Watt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

14. Bartholin, *Anatomia*, 149.

15. Thomas Bartholin, *Neu-verbesserte Kuenstliche Zerlegung deß Menschlichen Leibes*, trans. Elias Wallner (Nürnberg: Johann Hoffmann, 1677), 255; copy in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Stiftun Preußischer Kullturbesitz, Abt. Historische Drucke.

16. Giulio Casserio, *Tabulae Anatomicae LXXIIX, omnes novae nec ante hac visae* (Venice: E. Deuchin, 1627); copy in Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Zweigbibliothek Wissenschaftsgeschichte.

17. The tables are grouped into ten books, each book dealing with the representation of a different bodily system. The well over a hundred figures—many plates contain more than one illustration—are accompanied by short verbal descriptions in Latin on the opposite pages. Casserio's volume was published together with Adrian Spieghel's *Fabrica corpore humani libri decem*, an anatomy book describing the function of the human body parts. Spieghel's book does not contain any illustrations. Although gathered in one volume, Spieghel's verbal descriptions and Casserio's engravings are separate works altogether, without references to one another.

18. Sander L. Gilman, *Sexuality, an Illustrated History: Representing the Sexual in Medicine and Culture from the Middle Ages to the Age of AIDS* (New York: Wiley, 1989), 127. On the popularity and meaning of metaphors of male motherhood in the early modern period see Elizabeth D. Harvey, "Matrix as Metaphor: Midwifery and the Conception of Voice," in *John Donne*, ed. Andrew Mousley (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 135–56. See also Bettina Mathes, "Die Schönste der Nymphen: Verwandlungen weiblicher (Homo-)Sexualität," in *Geschlecht weiblich*, ed. Carmen Franz and Gudrun Schwibbe (Berlin: Edition Ebersbach, 2002). On the possibility of giving birth through the anus, see Eve Keller's chapter in this volume.

19. For a discussion of hermaphrodites in early modern medicine, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, "The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature: Sexual Ambiguity in Early Modern France," in *Premodern Sexualities*, ed. Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero (New York: Routledge, 1996), 117–36.

20. Jacques Lacan, "The Signification of the Phallus," in *Écrits: A Selection*, ed. and trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Tavistock, 1977), 281–91, 287.

21. For a feminist discussion of the phallus, see Jane Gallop, *Thinking Through the Body* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) and Elizabeth Grosz, *Jacques Lacan: A Feminist Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

22. Anna Bergmann discusses the different steps of abstraction that led to the emergence of this new rational body: "Töten, Opfern, Zergliedern und Reinigen in der Entstehungsgeschichte des Körpermodells," *metis: Zeitschrift für historische Frauenforschung und feministische Praxis* 11 (1997): 45–64.

23. Lacan, "Phallus," 283.

24. Christina von Braun, *Versuch über den Schwindel: Religion, Schrift, Bild, Geschlecht* (Zürich: Pendo, 2001), 140–42.

25. In her pathbreaking study *Nicht ich: Logik, Lüge, Libido* (Frankfurt am Main: Neue Kritik, 1985), Christina von Braun describes how the symbolic order created by the alphabet translated into real gendered bodies.

26. K. B. Roberts and J. D. W. Tomlinson, *The Fabric of the Body: European Traditions of Anatomical Illustrations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 128.

27. Ibid.

28. Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corpore fabrica Epitome: Von des menschen coerpers anatomey / ein kurtzer / aber fast nützer außzug*, trans. Albanus Torinus (Basel: Oporinus, 1543), 2.

29. Ibid.

30. Quoted in Katharine Rowe, " 'God's Handy Worke': Divine Complicity and the Anatomist's Touch," in *The Body in Parts*, ed. Hillman and Mazzio, 285–309, 293.

31. Roberts and Tomlinson, *Fabric*, 133.

32. Quoted in Rowe, "Handy Worke," 293. Helkiah Crooke, *Microkosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man Together with the Controversies Thereto Belonging* (London: John Clarke, 1615); copy in SUB Göttingen. References to Crooke in the text will be to Rowe's work.

33. Rowe, "Handy Worke," 285. Rowe has argued that the hand is embedded in a complex net of meanings. It is used to "signify effective, voluntary action and the