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9. From Charles Estienne, *De la dissection des parties du corps humain* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1546).

The Rediscovery of the Clitoris

French Medicine and the Tribade, 1570–1620



KATHARINE PARK

In his treatise *Des monstres et prodiges* (On monsters and prodigies), first published in 1573, the French surgeon Ambroise Paré concluded his chapter on hermaphrodites with a detailed description of the female genitals under the rubric “Extremely monstrous thing that occurs in the labia [*nymphes*] of some women.” On occasion, he wrote, these are so developed that they can erect when stimulated, “like the male penis, so that they can be used to play with other women.”¹ In the second edition (1575), he expanded this discussion with a detailed account of the activities of the female diviners of Fez, in Mauritania, taken almost verbatim from the French translation of Leo Africanus’s *Historical Description of Africa* (1556). These were supposedly called in by other women, who pretended to be ill or possessed in order to enjoy the diviners’ sexual services and who even used their own gullible husbands as go-betweens. Some of these, however, “having perceptively recognized the ruse, exorcize the bodies of their wives with fine blows and beatings,” as Paré put it. “This is described by Leo Africanus, who indicates elsewhere that there are people in Africa who go around the city like our [livestock] castrators and make a career of cutting off those excrescences.”²

Paré’s projection of sexual irregularity onto the exoticized bodies of women of another race and continent was a familiar trope in early modern

European topographical literature.³ Nonetheless, some contemporaries found his inclusion of this material ill advised. Taken to task by the physicians of the Parisian Faculty of Medicine for detailing a “dangerous example of sodomy”—especially in a book written in the vernacular and hence accessible to a female audience—Paré protested that he was only following ancient medical authorities: Hippocrates, Galen, Aetius, and Paul of Aegina.⁴ In 1579, however, he capitulated to the faculty on this one point, replacing most of the African material with a brief reference to the trial of two French women, from the section on “abominable lust” in Jean Papon’s *Receuil d’arrestes notables des cours souverains de France* (Collection of notable rulings of the sovereign courts of France of 1565).⁵

As Thomas Laqueur has pointed out, Paré’s discussion, in both its original form and its subsequent revision, is remarkable for the slippages that structure it.⁶ Having begun with hermaphrodites, defined as beings with “two genitals [sexes] in a single body,”⁷ Paré moved without discernible transition first to women with enlarged labia, as ostensibly described by Greek medical authors, then to Leo Africanus’s diviners of Fez and their clients, to whom Leo had attributed no genital irregularity, and finally to an apparent recommendation for clitoridectomy, taken from another section entirely of Leo’s work. This loose set of associations, between hermaphrodites, women with enlarged external genitals, female homoeroticism, and clitoridectomy was not idiosyncratic but figured in a number of French medical works both before and after Paré’s, receiving what was perhaps its most extreme formulation in the *Discours sur les hermaphrodits* (Discourse on hermaphrodites) (1614) of the Parisian anatomist Jean Riolan the younger; there the author argued, apropos of yet another legal case involving two French women, that most so-called hermaphrodites were in fact women with clitorises as large as fingers. Riolan noted that the ancient Greeks called such women *tribades* (from the Greek word “to rub”), “insofar as they take on both sexual roles and would rather have sex with women than with men.”⁸

The great interest of these French sources lies in the fact that they were the first postclassical European medical texts to accord significant visibility to sexual contacts and sexual desire between women; whereas men occasionally figured in medieval medical discussions of what was construed as the “unnatural” sexual habits and anatomy that led men to seek out sex with other men, and such discussions tended to deemphasize women or elide them altogether.⁹ In the works of these sixteenth-century French writers, however, the situation dramatically reversed itself, and accounts of sex between women assumed a much greater prominence than those of sex

between men. Furthermore, they did so in a very specific context: the rediscovery of the clitoris. Although the clitoris as an anatomical organ (rather than a general locus of female sexual pleasure) had been well known to late Greek writers on medicine and surgery, that knowledge had been lost to medieval European medical authors.¹⁰ Misled by the linguistic imprecision of their Arabic sources, exacerbated by the uncertain terminology of Latin translators, they tended either to identify it with the labia minora or, following the eleventh-century Persian medical authority Avicenna, to think of it as a pathological growth found in only a few women.¹¹ In the middle decades of the sixteenth century, however, European anatomists rediscovered the clitoris through a rereading of the ancient Greek works, supplemented by their own anatomical researches on female cadavers. As the texts of Paré and Riolan suggest, this rediscovery proved explosive, triggering a host of contemporary cultural concerns about female sexuality.

In the rest of this chapter, I will explore the complicated nature and meanings of the clitoris, the *tribade*, and female genital hypertrophy in early modern French medical literature. I will show that this complex of themes was connected with certain specific mid-sixteenth-century changes in medical and anatomical thought concerning sex and sex difference, but I will also argue that these changes carried the emotional charge and elicited the popular interest they did because they ultimately reflected deeper and broader contemporary concerns related to male privilege and the status of women. Paré's own treatment of the diviners of Fez can stand as emblematic of this point. What appears initially as a story about sex between women reveals itself eventually as a story about male authority in the household, challenged by a female conspiracy but happily restored by physical force. A story about anatomical monstrosity, located in the transgressive female body, reveals itself as a story about political monstrosity, located in the household and, by association, I will argue, in the French realm. In this period, if male sodomy was a crime of divine *lèse-majesté*, as Alan Bray has shown, then sex between women—or at least certain kinds of sex between women—was a crime of what Marie-Jo Bonnet has called *lèse-patriarcat*.¹²

In focusing on medical writing, I do not intend to suggest that medicine functioned as a “master discourse” in sixteenth-century France in the way that it does to a large degree today; gender was produced and maintained in many different sites in early modern Europe.¹³ But it is important not to underestimate the degree to which medical treatises, particularly vernacular medical treatises, both reflected and shaped literate lay views. Furthermore, in France—at least in urban middle-class and aristocratic circles—doctors were generally recognized as the relevant authorities in cases

of sexual ambiguity and the apparently sodomitical liaisons that could ensue. Families or judges faced with problematic situations regarding sex difference regularly deferred to the judgment of physicians and surgeons, rather than leaving the decision up to the individual in question, as (wish-fully) argued by Foucault.¹⁴ Thus medical opinion could and did dramatically alter the lives of individuals, forcing them to change their gender, leave their marriages, or submit to dangerous surgery, and sometimes condemning them to punishment, exile, or imprisonment.¹⁵

Finally, early modern medical writing on the clitoris reveals a persistent inclination to reduce what was considered deviant female sexual behavior to deviant genital anatomy: to use what Valerie Traub has called “a paradigm of bodily structure” where we would use a “paradigm of desire.”¹⁶ This strategy had precedents: Joan Cadden has recently analyzed the attempt of Pietro d’Abano, a fourteenth-century Italian physician, to relate some men’s pleasure in passive anal intercourse to a malformation in the passages that were thought to carry the spermatic fluid to the penis.¹⁷ But, as Traub and Laqueur have both emphasized, the association of the clitoris with female sexual “deviance” has had a much longer and more influential history than Pietro’s theory and has significantly shaped Freudian and post-Freudian debates on female sexuality and the modern construction of “lesbianism.”

I hope that this chapter, paired with Traub’s important piece, will illustrate the advantages to be gained from an alliance of theoretical and historical approaches to material of this sort. In it I aim to expand the archival and empirical base available to scholars, with special emphasis on the Latin medical tradition. But I hope to show in addition the importance of untangling not only individual positions in early modern anatomical writing but also national schools and specific intellectual traditions, emphasizing in this case the “Frenchness” of the earliest sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century discussions of the clitoris from which other European treatments derived.¹⁸

Thus I have tried above all to preserve the complexities, confusions, and controversies of the early modern medical tradition. In so doing, I wish specifically to underscore the impossibility of reducing contemporary ideas to a “one-sex body,” in the phrase of Laqueur, or indeed to a single model of any kind. Such heuristic simplifications can perform a useful initial role in staking out problems and issues in a nascent field like the history of sexuality, but their accuracy and utility is limited.¹⁹ The topography of medical thought and writing on sexual difference was as complicated and contested in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as it is today (and as it had been for millennia), molded by the crosscurrents of professionalization, personal rivalry, and national tradition, as well as by the impact of new methods of

inquiry and the rereading of ancient texts. It is these crosscurrents and fault lines, far more than any retrospectively constructed consensus, that reveal the complicated relationships between sex and gender in the early modern period.

Constructing the Tribade: the Rediscovery of the Clitoris

As I have already indicated, Paré's description of the female diviners of Fez was not original. He took both his account of their activities and his term for such women (*fricatrices*, the Latin counterpart of the Greek *tribades*, meaning women who rub one another) from the recent French translation of Leo Africanus. But his description of their putative anatomical peculiarity came almost verbatim from a closer source: the *Chirurgie française* (French surgery) (1570) of Jacques Daléchamps, erstwhile professor of medicine at the University of Montpellier. Written in the vernacular for "journeymen and master surgeons, who have not been educated in Greek and Latin,"²⁰ this work was intended to make broadly accessible the surgical knowledge of medieval and, especially, ancient authorities. Structured as a translation of and commentary on the *Surgery* of the Greek writer Paul of Aegina (fl. 640), it also included observations from Aetius (early sixth century) and Caelius Aurelianus (a fifth-century Latin medical compiler, whose work Daléchamps had edited), in addition to traditional Arabic authorities such as Avicenna and Albucasis.

Like Paré, Daléchamps first introduced the issue of sex between women in his chapter on hermaphrodites, noting that some writers thought that the women called *tribades* by Caelius Aurelianus were "female hermaphrodites, who abuse human nature" (422). In the following chapter, he took up Paul's discussion of "nymphotomia," the operation to amputate an unusually large *nymphe*; according to Daléchamps, this unusual anatomical feature occurred in almost all Egyptian women, as well as "some of ours, so that when they find themselves in the company of other women, or their clothes rub them while they walk, or their husbands wish to approach them, it erects like a male penis, and indeed they use it to play with other women, as their husbands would do." Thus, Daléchamps wrote, the Egyptians cut off this part, as described in both Aetius and (pseudo) Galen's Introduction (425).

There are two things to note about the latter passage. First, Daléchamps was obviously unclear about exactly which part of the female genitals Paul of Aegina, Aetius, and pseudo-Galen were describing; although he used the word *nymphe* (a French version of *nympha*, one of the Greek words for

clitoris), he seems to have identified it with the labia minora (usually called *nymphes* in French), thus perpetuating the medieval confusion concerning the organ I have described above. In the second place, despite Daléchamps's copious citation of Greek, Latin, and Arabic medical authors in support of his account of the anatomical peculiarities of the *tribade*, none of these authors in fact connected an enlarged clitoris (or labia) with female homoerotic desire or behavior. Paul of Aegina, Aetius, and pseudo-Galen referred to the operation to be performed on a hypertrophied clitoris—and Aetius and pseudo-Galen described this operation as particularly common in Egypt—but neither indicated that the structure allowed or encouraged women to have sex with other women.²¹ Caelius Aurelianus, on the other hand, in the chapter of his *De acutis morbis / De diuturnis* (On chronic diseases) devoted largely to male sex role inversion, described the activities of *tribades* (women who “practice both kinds of sex and desire women more than men”) without any reference to anatomy at all.²² Thus Daléchamps seems to have fabricated the connection between clitoral hypertrophy and female homoeroticism by consolidating what were in fact two separate topics in his ancient texts and then to have authorized his construction by projecting it back onto those texts.²³ The amalgamation of these two separate ideas became standard in French (and eventually other European) medical writing after Daléchamps, as is clear from both Paré's *Des monstres et prodiges* written shortly after Daléchamps's *Chirurgie françoise*, and Jean Liébault's *Trois livres appartenant aux infirmités et maladies des femme* (Three books relating to women's infirmities and illnesses), first published in 1582.²⁴

Daléchamps constructed this preliminary version of the *tribade* on the basis of Greek and Roman anatomical texts, newly translated or edited as part of the initiative by humanist medical writers to purify and render accessible the works of ancient authorities. But the definitive *tribade*, in all her phallic glory, was a product of a second set of developments in sixteenth-century medicine: the explosion of anatomical knowledge based on systematic human dissection by Andreas Vesalius and his contemporaries and the anatomical debates surrounding the newly rediscovered clitoris. Although contemporaries generally attributed this rediscovery to Gabriele Falloppia, professor of anatomy at Pisa and Padua, the first early modern writer clearly to identify the clitoris in a work of anatomy based on human dissection seems in fact to have been the Parisian Charles Estienne. In his *La dissection des parties du corps humain* (Dissection of the parts of the human body), published in Latin in 1545 and in French translation in 1546, Estienne described the clitoris as part of woman's “shameful member” (*membre honteux*)—“a little tongue [*languette*] . . . at the place of the neck

of the bladder”—and included it in one of his highly eroticized woodcuts of female reproductive anatomy, where it is indicated by the letter F (Fig. 9).²⁵ Estienne related the function of the clitoris to urination rather than sexual response; perhaps as a result, his observation made no discernible impact, for Falloppia celebrated what he considered his own rediscovery of the clitoris in his *Observations anatomicae* (Anatomical observations), written around 1550 though not published until 1561. “Modern anatomists have entirely neglected it,” he wrote, “and do not say a word about it. . . . And if others have spoken of it, know that they have taken it from me or my students.”²⁶

Falloppia’s discovery caused an immediate stir in the European medical community. At Padua, Realdo Colombo tried to appropriate it, staking his own claim in his treatise *De re anatomica* (On anatomy), which he brought out two years before his rival’s work, in 1559. While later writers generally discounted Colombo’s assertions of priority, they nonetheless acknowledged him as the first to emphasize its role in female sexual pleasure. “It is the principal seat of women’s enjoyment in intercourse,” he wrote, “so that if you not only rub it with your penis, but even touch it with your little finger, the pleasure causes their seed to flow forth in all directions, swifter than the wind, even if they don’t want it to.”²⁷ But not all of Falloppia’s contemporaries were equally impressed with his discovery. In particular, Andreas Vesalius, éminence grise of the new anatomy, explicitly rejected it, reasserting the traditional opinion that the clitoris was a pathological structure found only in what he called “women hermaphrodites.” He chided Falloppia,

It is unreasonable to blame others for incompetence on the basis of some sport of nature [*naturae lusum*] you have observed in some woman, and you can hardly ascribe this new and useless part, as if it were an organ, to healthy [*integris*] women. I think that such a structure appears in hermaphrodites who otherwise have well formed female genitals, as Paul of Aegina describes, but I have never once seen in any woman a penis (which Avicenna called *alpathara* and the Greeks called an enlarged nympha and classed as an illness) or even the rudiments of a tiny phallus.²⁸

As Vesalius’s strenuous resistance indicates, the anatomical rediscovery of the clitoris carried a special charge. For Vesalius and many of his contemporaries, a large part of this charge lay not only in Colombo’s identification of the clitoris as the locus of female sexual pleasure, as Laqueur rightly emphasized, but also in the fact that Falloppia and his followers emphasized its exact structural analogies with the male penis.²⁹ The finding was

momentous because it was generally acknowledged that women already had a full set of genitals corresponding in general terms to their male counterparts: ovaries to testicles, uterus to scrotum, vagina to penis. If they possessed in addition a miniature penis, lacking only a perforation, this meant that all women were in some sense hermaphrodites, bearing both female and male organs. The corollary, drawn by some Italian writers, most notably Constantino Varolio, professor of anatomy at Bologna, was that most hermaphrodites were really women with enlarged genitals.³⁰ In this way, the discovery of the clitoris, far from being easily absorbed into the resilient earlier model of male and female as occupying different points on a vertically continuous hierarchy of complexional heat, as Laqueur has argued, seems rather to have contributed to its dissolution.³¹

But the anatomical rediscovery of the clitoris as a normal structure in women, rather than as an illness or anatomical peculiarity, had even more powerful and troubling implications for the view of female sexuality, in the context of the now newly visible *tribade*. In particular, it suggested that many more women than previously thought—indeed perhaps every woman—could potentially penetrate and give pleasure to another woman. Paré, writing without reference to the clitoris, had reassured his critics in the Faculty of Medicine that the deformity that allowed a woman to have sex with another woman was extremely rare—so much so, he wrote, “that for every woman that has it, there are ten thousand who don’t.”³² His successors had no such consolation.

Writing in the 1570s, Paré, like Daléchamps, seems still to have been confused about the relationship between the labia and the clitoris.³³ Twenty years later, however, the confusion between the clitoris and the labia in French medical circles seems to have been resolved. André Du Laurens clearly distinguished the two in his *Historia anatomica humani corporis* (Anatomical history of the human body), first published in 1593,³⁴ and Séverin Pineau underscored the point in his *De integritate et corruptionis virginum notis* (Notes on the integrity and corruption of virgins) of 1597, describing the clitoris as “that part with which imprudent and lustful women, aroused by a more than brutal passion, abuse one another with vigorous rubbings [*confricationibus*], whence they are called *confricatrices*. [They do not do this] by inserting their labia into one another’s vaginas, as some imagine, since the body of the labia . . . is unfitted to erecting, and is much less suitable for rubbing and titillation on account of its softness.”³⁵

Jean Riolan’s chapter on the clitoris in his *Anthropographia* (first edition 1618) was the most explicit of all. After an elaborate account of the various names given to it by ancient and contemporary authors, he described the

enormous size it could attain, describing one as large as a “goose’s neck” and two—one of which he had seen personally—as “as long and thick as my little finger.”³⁶ He concluded his discussion by citing in considerable detail a wide range of ancient and modern authorities, from Saint Paul to Lucian and Martial to Leo Africanus, who had described (and for the most part roundly condemned) sex between women. Both the escalating size of the clitoris and the increasing prominence of accounts of female homoeroticism in medical discussions of it indicate its importance as a cultural construct in late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century France.

Tribades and Hermaphrodites: The Duval-Riolan Debate

Thus by 1600, the phallic *tribade* was no longer confined primarily to the African periphery, as she had been for Paré and his contemporaries; she had moved from the margins to the European center, ultimately taking up residence in France itself. With this change came a new emphasis in French medical writing: whereas sixteenth-century discussions of the subject dealt mainly in abstractions—establishing the norms and exceptions of female sexual behavior and anatomy—seventeenth-century treatments dealt increasingly with particular cases involving identifiable individuals and, in consequence, with more pressing and specific issues of gender and sex.

One of the most famous of such cases was that of Marie le Marcis, a young chambermaid from Rouen, who in 1601 had defended herself against charges of sodomy with her female lover on grounds that she was in fact a man with a hidden penis.³⁷ Condemned to death after visual inspection by two commissions of doctors, who failed to corroborate her claim, she appealed to the Parlement of Rouen. A third medical commission, composed of six physicians, two surgeons, and two sworn midwives, was on the verge of confirming the opinion of the two previous, when one of its members, a physician from Rouen named Jacques Duval, inserted his finger into Marie’s vagina, found the hidden member, and filed a dissenting opinion declaring her a predominantly male hermaphrodite. A decade later, when Marie (now Marin) was living as a bearded male tailor, Duval published an extended account of the story, as the centerpiece of his *Traité des hermaphrodites, partis génital, accouchemens des femmes, etc.* (Treatise on hermaphrodites, female genitals, and childbirth) (1612). Duval’s work was rebutted two years later by no less than Jean Riolan, professor of anatomy at the University of Paris, in his *Discours sur les hermaphrodites* (1614), which Duval answered shortly afterward in his *Responce au discours . . . contre l’histoire de l’hermaphrodit de Rouen* (Reply to the Discourse . . . against the

Story of the Hermaphrodite of Rouen) (n.d.). Duval and Riolan took opposing positions on the case of Marie le Marcis. Duval held that she was a male-dominated hermaphrodite and hence innocent of sodomy; Riolan argued that she was a woman and hence guilty. In his treatise, Riolan denied the existence of true hermaphrodites; he argued that most people identified as such—though not Marie, to whom he attributed a prolapsed uterus³⁸—were in fact *tribades*, with enlarged clitorises.

Duval's and Riolan's opinions in the matter of Marie le Marcis reflected their commitment to two different theories of sex difference, with radically different sexual, and ultimately social and political, implications.³⁹ Duval subscribed generally to the theory of generation associated with Galen and Hippocrates, which interpreted hermaphrodites as beings of genuinely intermediate sex.⁴⁰ According to this tradition, the sex of the fetus was determined by two important oppositions: between the male and female principles in the maternal and paternal seed and between the left and right sides of the uterus. Depending on which seed from which parent was dominant and the position of the fetus in the womb, the offspring would occupy one of a number of discrete points on a sexual spectrum, ranging from unambiguously male to wholly female. Intermediate points corresponded to offspring of intermediate sexual nature: fragile and effeminate males, strong and masculine viragos, and—in the rare event of perfectly or nearly perfectly balanced male and female factors—the occasional hermaphrodite, fertile in both sexes.⁴¹ The tradition subscribed to by Duval, in other words, gave equal emphasis to both the maternal and paternal seed in generation and admitted a wide range of variation between the poles of male and female.

Riolan, on the other hand, aligned himself specifically with Aristotle, who had treated hermaphrodites not as intersexual beings but as a special case of twins. In *The Generation of Animals*, Aristotle had devoted a passage to beings with doubled or redundant genitalia, explaining that these developed when the matter contributed by the mother at conception was more than enough for one fetus but not enough for two. If located on the foot, for example, the extra matter would produce a sixth toe; if in the groin, a second set of genitals.⁴² Even in this latter case, however, Aristotle emphasized that the sex of the hermaphrodite was never more than apparently ambiguous, since the operative genital, like the sex of the whole fetus, was always determined by the heat of the heart. A local “cold spot” in the doubled groin of a hot-hearted body might produce a female genital alongside a male one, for example, but the temperature of the heart ensured that only the corresponding male genital would be operative.⁴³ Thus Aristotle, like his medieval and early modern followers, was already a believer in what

Foucault called “true sex.”⁴⁴ For them, there were no true hermaphrodites; the heart was always hot or cold, the animal was always effectively male or female, and the inoperative set of genitals was attached, as Aristotle put it, “like a growth.”⁴⁵

Riolan subscribed to Aristotle’s highly dichotomized model of sex difference, which emphasized the absolute incommensurability of male and female. In Riolan’s words,

The male genitals are different from the female genitals in species, . . . and their temperament is also dissimilar. For men are hotter than women; thus a single person cannot have both the genitals and temperaments of both man and woman together, so as to be able to use both—insomuch as the male is defined by Aristotle as that which can engender in another, and the female, as that which receives from outside to engender in herself. Furthermore, the two principles of human generation are different and cannot be supplied by the same person: the woman contributes matter, and the man gives the active and shaping seed of the child.⁴⁶

According to this theory, women were not only radically different from men but also inferior: as Riolan put it, echoing Aristotle’s famous formula, the female was an “imperfect male.”⁴⁷ For this reason, the “vice of hermaphroditism is more common in women than men”; according to Riolan, most so-called hermaphrodites were in fact simply women with enlarged clitorises, which “in the lascivious can grow and thicken to the size of a finger, [so that they] can abuse it to give themselves pleasure, by having sex [*habitant*] with each other” (79).

What was at stake in this early-seventeenth-century anatomical and physiological debate? On the one hand, it involved issues of professional authority and prestige. Like Paré before him, Duval found himself, as a relative outsider, locked in conflict with a highly placed representative of the Parisian medical establishment; Riolan was a professor of anatomy and botany at the University of Paris, while Duval was only a provincial physician, unversed in any but the most basic anatomy, as Riolan did not hesitate to point out (46–47). Whereas Riolan wrote primarily in Latin, for an audience of students and professors of anatomy, Duval professed to have composed his vernacular *Traité* to inform (presumably female) patients and to help young surgeons and midwives in their obstetrical practice and their legal testimony.⁴⁸ From this point of view, his embrace of Hippocratism represented an attempt both to reassert the authority of a more traditional medical position regarding sex difference, in the face of the radical Aristotelianism of some medical academicians, and to align himself with the

fashionable new Hippocratism being promoted by other scholars.⁴⁹ From this point of view, the debate between Duval and Riolan shows the ways in which the activities of sixteenth-century medical humanists like Daléchamps, dedicated to recuperating the original meanings of ancient medical texts, forced a kind of clarification of classical positions and issues that had been obscured by the syncretizing tendencies of medieval medical thought.

But Duval's Hippocratism also involved a more specific set of ideological commitments concerning sex and gender, one no doubt intended to appeal to his lay audience of both women and men. Unlike Riolan, Duval presented a highly positive view of women; after a paean to the uterus ("a lovable temple, august, holy, venerable, and wonderful"), he concluded that "woman is not a failed male or imperfect animal, as maintained by Aristotle, who did not realize that she was formed by God the Creator, who makes nothing that is not whole and perfect."⁵⁰ For Riolan's stern suspicion of human lustfulness and irrationality, he substituted what might be termed a "sex-positive" reading of the Biblical injunction "Be fruitful and multiply," praising the "natural inclination, needlings of the flesh, and curious will" bestowed by God on humans to help them follow his command.⁵¹

Finally, Duval rejected Riolan's Aristotelian commitment to a starkly binary model of sex difference. Not only did he accept the existence of a spectrum of people whose temperament and conformation—each unique—made them genuinely intermediate between male and female; he celebrated that diversity as a manifestation of natural variety and divine creativity: "Thus we should consider diligently the excellent work of Nature here represented to us, admiring more and more her divine effects."⁵² In particular, Marie/Marin le Marcis, formed by nature "of doubtful sex," was an ornament of creation. Whereas the ancients might have tried to destroy her/him, Duval argued, we should keep her/him just as she/he was born.⁵³

It is tempting to see Duval as representing a general premodern tolerance of transgenering and intersexuality and an acceptance of sex difference as artificial and unstable, along the lines proposed first by Foucault. But the situation is more complex. For one thing, Duval was hardly representative of European medical orthodoxy (even French medical orthodoxy): not only is it impossible to identify an orthodox position on these matters but the specific issues Duval raised were hotly contested—by Riolan among many others—and his position was in some respects idiosyncratic and extreme. For another, neither he nor Riolan believed that people should be left alone to determine their own sexual preferences: both concurred with the courts that those preferences should follow the individual's sexual anatomy, as determined by medical experts (and neither believed that peo-

ple ever spontaneously changed their sex).⁵⁴ It was only because Duval had concluded on the basis of a thorough medical examination that Marie/Marin was a predominantly *male* hermaphrodite that he rejected the court's finding of sodomy in her/his liaison with her/his lover, Jeanne. The free choice fantasized by Foucault existed only for the "perfect" or "true" hermaphrodite, functional in both sexes—a quasi-mythical being thought to be either nonexistent or, at best, extremely rare. Doctors continued, as they had for centuries, to be the gatekeepers of a functionally dichotomous sexual world.⁵⁵

A striking sign of this general commitment to sexual binarism was the early modern French medical writers' promotion of clitoridectomy as a feasible remedy for clitoral hypertrophy and its inconvenients, not just in faraway Africa but in Europe itself. Medieval surgical authors, following Albucasis and Avicenna, had described the operation,⁵⁶ which was further detailed in the newly edited works of Paul of Aegina and Aetius, as well as those of Daléchamps and his followers. Writing in mid-sixteenth-century Italy, Realdo Colombo was uncertain about its safety; asked by an "Ethiopian" to perform it, so she could have sex "like a woman," he demurred.⁵⁷ But the operation may have been more current in France: Duval cited a legal case from the 1560s in Anjou, where the judge had annulled a marriage at the request of the husband, after the wife refused to have her one-to-two-inch clitoris removed, and he relayed the testimony of a medical colleague, who had been asked by Guillaume Frerot of Honfleur to "cut" (*tailler*) his six-year-old daughter. The same doctor had also examined the fourteen-year-old daughter of the sieur de Blangues from Caux, and having pronounced her female, despite a clitoris as large as a man's index finger, saw her successfully married, unaltered, to another local notable.⁵⁸

Such cases, if Duval is to be believed, suggest not only that clitoridectomy was not unknown but also that this impulse to police sexual boundaries was not imposed by medical or legal authorities alone, as is often suggested;⁵⁹ rather, it seems also to have been initiated by individuals and their families, moved by the desire to contract durable marriages, as well as by what Duval called "shame" and fear of being "a popular tale."⁶⁰ The accounts testify to the varying ways in which people in early modern French society navigated the ambiguities of sex and gender, occasionally engaging surgeons to make that passage easier, but more often, as with the daughter of the sieur de Blangues, trusting to the flexibility of contemporary sexual practice.

Writing several years later in his *Anthropographia*, however, Jean Riolan proposed another use entirely for clitoridectomy. Where Duval, like ancient

and medieval surgical writers, presented the operation as a remedy of last resort for an unusually large clitoris, Riolan suggested that it might be performed on *all* contemporary women, as a way of disciplining unbridled female sexuality. Noting that “Ethiopians” not only regularly amputated the clitorises of their women but also sewed up the entrance to their vaginas, he described this custom as “cruel” but “perhaps not without its utility in this depraved period, when the modesty of virgins is easily overcome by gold, flattery, and licentiousness, and when virgins allow themselves to be conquered by either the weakness of their minds or an almost masculine jealousy.”⁶¹ Although doubtless partly facetious, Riolan’s comment, with its clear verbal echoes of Caelius Aurelianus’s discussion of female homoeroticism, suggests that the clitoris and clitoridectomy had acquired a broader cultural meaning than in the work of Duval or even of Paré.

From Dildo to Clitoris: Penetrating Women

The phallic *tribade* was not confined to medical works, as I have already mentioned, but fascinated and preoccupied French writers in other genres. In their works the sexual concerns that lay beneath the often more neutral surface of the medical texts took clearer form, crystallized in an increasing preoccupation with sex roles and penetration. This issue had a special resonance in late-sixteenth-century France, where it formed part of a virulent and escalating political polemic that swirled around the French monarch Henry III, and his mother and regent, Catherine de’ Medici. During the two decades after Henry’s accession in 1573, he became a target first of Protestant and then of Catholic invective, both of which played upon the themes of sodomy, hermaphroditism, and sexual inversion.⁶²

A few examples suffice to convey the general tone and content of this invective. Thus when Henry founded a penitential order of flagellants in 1583 and led them together with his favorites, in a procession on Holy Thursday, the diarist Pierre de l’Estoille recorded a verse that read: “Favorites who carry behind you [*en croupe*] the French king, beat not only your backs but also your offending arsens.” Another, in the same vein, described the group as “coupled side by side in a devout enough manner, but I find them full of vice when they take each other from behind.”⁶³ Other polemicists condemned Henry and his circle as “hermaphrodites” fond of passive anal intercourse and elaborate dress.⁶⁴ Catherine received analogous treatment. In *Les tragiques*, the Huguenot writer Agrippa d’Aubigné lamented France’s current rulers as “hermaphrodites” and “effeminate monsters,”⁶⁵ but he reserved his most virulent polemic for the king’s mother, whom he

described in 270 violent verses couched in the language of monstrosity and sexual inversion (1:89–109). “Happy the Romans,” he wrote, “who had for tyrants the Caesars, lovers of arms and art, but unhappy he who lives as an infamous slave under a manlike woman and a female man” (2:53–54).

Political polemics of this sort used the trope of sodomy to brand Henry and his mother as sinners not only against French laws and customs but also against the natural order instituted by God.⁶⁶ Penetration was a central topos in these, for the ultimate figures of unnatural sodomy were the penetrating woman and the penetrated man. It was in this charged rhetorical context that even relatively apolitical medical writers such as Daléchamps and Paré first constructed their fantasies of female genital hypertrophy. Paré used the *tribade* to represent the inversion of household order and the expropriation of the husband’s authority, but she also came to stand for contemporary French concerns about the perceived subversion of the state by female political authority, which fed contemporary debates on female succession and Salic law.⁶⁷

In addition to these specific political associations, however, the rediscovery of the clitoris raised more general social and sexual concerns. As Lillian Faderman has argued, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French writers made a clear distinction between female homoerotic behavior that involved rubbing the genitals—the etymology of the word *tribade*—and any activity that involved the penetration of one woman by another. The former was seen as regrettable but fundamentally benign because it hardly counted as sex in the phallogentric world of the Renaissance male writer.⁶⁸ The latter, in contrast, was a serious transgression. As a true sex act, it was the only form of sexual behavior between women to qualify as sodomy, a mortal sin and (at least in theory) a capital crime, threatening both the natural/theological and the social order.⁶⁹

In the mid-sixteenth century, before the rediscovery of the clitoris—or before knowledge of the clitoris was widespread outside the medical community—legal authorities and lay writers could conceive of penetration of one woman by another only as involving a dildo, as appears in a story told by the humanist Henri Estienne in his *Apologie pour Hérodote* (Apology for Herodotus) (1566). A young woman from the town of Fontaines assumed male dress and took a position as a stableboy in an inn in the faubourg of Foye. After seven years, she married a local girl and worked as a vinedresser. Two years later, according to Estienne, “the wickedness that she used to imitate the role of husband was discovered,” and she was arrested, convicted, and burned alive.⁷⁰ The very language used by Estienne—as well as by Montaigne, who several decades later described a similar case—betrays the

charged nature of the topic. Neither could bring himself to use the word *godemiché* (dildo) itself, employing instead cumbersome circumlocutions: “the wickedness that she used to imitate the role of a husband,” in Estienne’s words; “illicit inventions to remedy the defects of her sex,” in Montaigne’s.⁷¹ And even the generally tolerant Pierre Bourdeille de Brantôme, approving chronicler of the sexual foibles of the Valois court, made do with the elliptical abbreviation “g. . . .”; according to Brantôme, the form of “female loving” that involved only rubbing the external genitals “does no harm,” but the use of dildos is “very dangerous,” since it “engenders sores in the womb by unnatural motions and frictions.”⁷²

Like Daléchamps, Brantôme knew nothing of the clitoris and associated naturally enlarged labia mainly with the women of distant Persia.⁷³ But his uneasy reflections on penetrative female sex, like those of Estienne and Montaigne, testify to a preexisting cultural space that the clitoris would come to fill. By the early seventeenth century, the correspondence of clitoris to dildo was enshrined in vernacular terminology; according to Duval, French prostitutes called it the *gaude mihi* or *godemiché*.⁷⁴

What was the cultural meaning of these stories, and what contemporary concerns did they reflect? On the most obvious legal and theological level, the fact that a woman was newly imagined as being able to penetrate another woman with her clitoris meant that at least one kind of sex between women qualified unambiguously as sodomy, which was generally defined as the insertion of an inappropriate organ into an inappropriate orifice. In addition, however, the concern had to do with sexual and social usurpation, as is clear from Brantôme’s discussion. If a woman could penetrate another woman, they could give each other real pleasure, as opposed to what Brantôme considered the pale imitation produced by rubbing. This might awake in them a generalized promiscuity, but, more disturbing, they might choose to forgo sex with men altogether, thereby avoiding the dangers and inconveniences of pregnancy.⁷⁵ In this way, sex between women might no longer function merely as a preparation or inferior substitute for heterosexual sex: Brantôme specifically envisaged the possibility of women interested exclusively in sex with one another and “unwilling to suffer men” (10:195). Another of the other vernacular names of the clitoris, according to Duval, was *le mespris des hommes*.⁷⁶

Sex between women, removed from a heteronormalizing context, became significant as a social as well as a sexual threat; it imperiled not only marriage and reproduction, but also the “natural” position of men as heads of household. Of certain “very great ladies” who “loved other ladies, honored them, served them more than men, and made love to them like a man

to his mistress," Brantôme wrote that they "maintained [their favorites] in hearth and home and gave them whatever they wished."⁷⁷ Thus penetrative female sex, with dildo, clitoris, or labia, as in the case of Paré's diviners, represented in a more abstract sense an unacceptable usurpation of male status, especially when accompanied by other forms of pretension to male identity, including transvestism and certain kinds of work. It was in this context that Jean Riolan called for wholesale clitoridectomy to control the new tide of female licentiousness he perceived as menacing French society as a whole.⁷⁸

The prominence of the clitoris, tribadism, and clitoridectomy in French medical discourse runs counter to Laqueur's description of these issues as of relatively little concern in the world of the putative one-sex body. According to Laqueur,

[T]he problem . . . well into the seventeenth century was not finding the organic signs of sexual opposition but understanding heterosexual desire in the world of one sex. Being sure that "jackdaw did not seek jackdaw," that "like did not seek like," as Aristotle had put it, took tremendous cultural resources. . . . 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.⁷⁹

Laqueur is surely right to stress the "social problem of the clitoris"—of "making sure that women engage in sexual intercourse as befits their station and not as befits men." But he is wrong to dismiss the anatomical significance of the clitoris and of medical discussions of tribadism. French medical writers recognized analogies between the genitals of men and women, but they did not by that token deny the fundamental anatomical reality of sex difference—a difference in degree so great as to be a difference in kind. It was not male homoeroticism that worried them in the first instance, but female: their concerns focused not on the naturalness of heterosexuality (about which none expressed any doubts), but on the perversity of women, as embodied in the penetrating *tribade*.

Notes

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1. Ambroise Paré, *Des monstres et prodiges*, ed. Jean Céard (Geneva: Droz, 1971), 26.
2. *Ibid.*, 27, citing Leo Africanus, *Historiale Description de l'Afrique*, 2 vols. (Lyon: Jean Temporal, 1556), 1:161–62.
3. See, for example, Patricia Parker, “Fantasies of ‘Race’ and ‘Gender’: Africa, *Othello*, and Bringing to Light,” in *Women, “Race,” and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (New York: Routledge, 1994), 84–100; and Valerie Traub, “The Psychomorphology of the Clitoris,” *GLQ* 2 (1995): 85–89, esp.
4. Ambroise Paré, *Responce de M. Ambroise Paré, premier chirurgien du Roy, aux calomnies d'aucuns médecins et chirurgiens, touchant ses oeuvres*, in *Le Paulmier, Ambroise Paré d'après de nouveaux documents* (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1884), 232. For background to the controversy, see Le Paulmier, *Ambroise Paré*, 87–93, and Alison Klairmont Lingo, “Print’s Role in the Politics of Women’s Health Care in Early Modern France,” in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, ed. Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 207.
5. Paré, *Des monstres*, 27; cf. Jean Papon, *Recueil d’arrests notables des cours souveraines de France* (Geneva, 1609), 1256–57. Paré claimed erroneously that the two women were burnt; in fact, according to Papon, they were ultimately released for lack of evidence.
6. Thomas Laqueur, “Amor Veneris, vel Dulcedo Appeletur,” in *Fragments for a History of the Body*, ed. Michel Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi, 3 vols. (New York: Zone, 1989), 3:117.
7. Paré, *Des monstres*, 24.
8. [Jean Riolan the Younger], *Discours sur les hermaphrodits, ou il est desmonstré contre l’opinion commune, qu’il n’y a point de vrays hermaphrodits* (Paris: Pierre Ramier, 1614), 79.
9. See, e.g., Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 155–60; and Patricia Simons, “Lesbian (In)Visibility in Italian Renaissance Culture: Diana and Other Cases of *donna con donna*,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 27 (1994): 85–87, esp.
10. This does not mean that its general location or function was unfamiliar. In addition to what I presume to have been lay knowledge, the medieval medical theorist Pietro d’Abano had noted in the early fourteenth century that rubbing the area between the vagina and the pubis could lead to orgasm; see Jacquart and Thomasset, *Sexuality*, 46, and in general 44–47. This knowledge must also have been available to midwives and other female medical practitioners, who treated women for suffocation of the uterus by masturbating them.

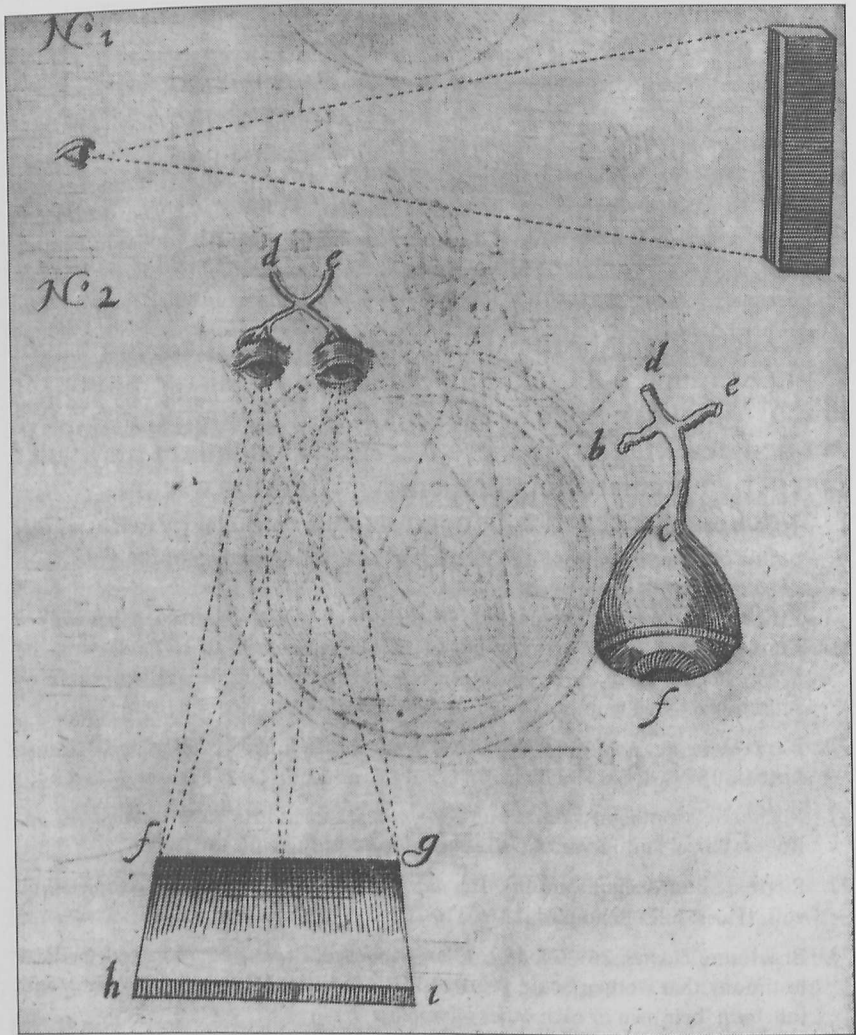
11. Avicenna, *Liber canonis* (Venice: Paganini, 1507), fol. 377v.
12. Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982), 23–26; Marie-Jo Bonnet, *Un choix sans équivoque: recherches historiques sur les relations amoureuses entre les femmes, XVIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: Denoël, 1981), 57.
13. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, “Fetishizing Gender: Constructing the Hermaphrodite in Renaissance Europe,” in *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, ed. Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (New York: Routledge, 1991), 80–92.
14. Michel Foucault, *Herculine Barbin, Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-Century Hermaphrodite*, trans. Richard McDougall (New York: Pantheon, 1980), vii–viii.
15. Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, “Hermaphrodites in Renaissance France,” *Critical Matrix* 1, no. 5 (1985).
16. Traub, “Psychomorphology.”
17. Joan Cadden, “Sciences/Silences: The Natures and Languages of ‘Sodomy’ in Peter of Abano’s *Problemata* Commentary,” in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. K. Lochrie, J. Schultz, and P. McCracken (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming 1997).
18. For later English recapitulations of this theme, for example, see Emma Donoghue, “Imagined More than Women: Lesbians as Hermaphrodites, 1671–1766,” *Women’s History Review* 2 (1993): 199–216.
19. Laqueur, “Amor Veneris,” 106; Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). A detailed critique of Laqueur’s argument concerning the one-sex and the two-sex body appears in Katharine Park and Robert M. Nye, “Destiny Is Anatomy,” *New Republic*, January 31, 1991: 53–57. On the importance of retaining complexity in this area, see also Estelle Cohen, “The Body as a Historical Category: Science and Imagination, 1660–1760,” in *The Good Body: Asceticism in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Mary G. Winkler and Letha B. Cole (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 67–90.
20. Jacques Daléchamps, *Chirurgie françoise* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1573), preface.
21. Paul of Aegina, *Chirurgie de Paul d’Egine*, ed. and trans. René Briau (Paris: Victor Masson, 1815), 292–93; Aetius of Amida, *Contractae ex veteribus medicinae tetrabiblos*, trans. Ianus Cornarius (Basel: Froben, 1549), 906; [pseudo-] Galen, *Introductio, seu Medicus, in his Opera . . . omnia*, ed. Conrad Gessner, 4 vols. (Lyon: Jean Frellon, 1550), 1:170.
22. Caelius Aurelianus, *De acutis morbis/De diuturnis morbis* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1567), 493. Caelius Aurelianus in fact emphasized that this disease of women, like the corresponding disease of men, was wholly nonorganic: “a passionibus corporis aliena, sed potius corruptae mentis vitia”; see p. 492.
23. The only conceivable textual justification for this move is a single clause in Caelius Aurelianus, *De diuturnis morbis*, 493: “Nam sicut foeminae Tribades

- appellatae quod utranque Venerem exerceant, mulieribus magis quam viris festinant, et eadem invidentia pene virili sectantur” (my emphasis). It is barely possible that Daléchamps confused the Latin *pene* and *paene*, both spelled *pene* in standard sixteenth-century orthography; thus he may have misread this clause as “they chase after them [with] jealousy [and] a masculine penis” rather than “they chase after them with almost masculine jealousy.”
24. Jean Liébault, *Trois livres appartenant aux infirmités et maladies des femmes* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1582), 509–11. Liébault further muddied the waters by confusing the clitoris with uterine prolapse.
 25. Charles Estienne, *La dissection des parties du corps humain* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1546), 312. On these illustrations and on the vexed publishing history of Estienne’s work, see C. E. Kellett, “Perino del Vaga et les illustrations pour l’anatomie d’Estienne,” *Aesculape* 37 (1955): 74–89; and Robert Herrlinger, “Carolus Stephanus and Stephanus Riverius (1530–1545),” *Clio medica* 2 (1967): 275–87. Estienne described the instruments lying on the ground at the front of the image as those “desquelz lon a de coustume user tant a l’apertion de la dicte matrice, qu’au sonder et iniection que se peut faire en icelle”; Estienne, *Dissection*, 312.
 26. Gabriele Falloppia, *Observationes anatomicae*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1561; reprint Modena: S.T.E.M. Mucchi, 1964), 1: fol. 193r–v.
 27. Realdo Colombo, *De re anatomica libri XV* (Venice: Niccolò Bevilacqua, 1559), 243.
 28. Andreas Vesalius, *Observationum anatomicarum Gabrielis Fallopii examen* (Venice: Francesco de’ Franceschi da Siena, 1564), 143.
 29. Falloppia, *Observationes*, 1: fol. 193r; see Laqueur, “Amor Veneris,” 103–5.
 30. Constantino Varolio, *Anatomicae, sive de resolutione corporis humani libri IIII* (Frankfurt: Johann Wechel and Peter Rischer, 1591), 99.
 31. Cf. Laqueur, “Amor Veneris,” esp. 112, 119. Insofar as there was a shift between Renaissance and modern ways of thinking about sexual differentiation, I argue that this in fact began much earlier than the eighteenth century; one can find strong statements of dimorphism as early as the later sixteenth century, especially in the works of Aristotelians such as Varolio and Riolan and mostly in the context of debates of the possibility of sex transformation and of the existence of so-called perfect hermaphrodites, fertile in both sexes. There is some evidence that the attention given to the clitoris in fact acted to promote this shift; see, e.g., Riolan, *Discours*, esp. 67–68, 102–3.
 32. Paré, *Responce*, 232.
 33. Paré’s discussions of the clitoris are complicated and puzzling: he described it clearly, with appropriate references to Falloppia and Colombo, in the earlier version of his treatise on anatomy that appeared in the editions of his *Oeuvres* published in 1573, 1575, and 1579, although he dismissed it there as “very obscure.” In the fourth edition of the *Oeuvres* (1585), however, he dropped these lines from the work, replacing them by the passage concerning the

- enlarged labia of the female diviners of Fez that had been excised in the meantime from his treatise *Des monstres*; see 26–27.
34. André Du Laurens, *Historia anatomica humani corporis et singularum eius partium multis controversiis et observationibus novis illustrata* (Paris: Marc Orry, 1600), 356.
 35. Séverin Pineau, *De integritate et corruptionis virginum notis*, in his *Opusculum physiologum [sic] et anatomicum* (Paris: Etienne Prevosteau, 1597), 62–63.
 36. Jean Riolan [the Younger], *Anthropographia*, in his *Opera anatomica*, 6th ed. (Paris: Gaspard Meturas, 1650), 188.
 37. We have discussed this case at length, together with other contemporary ones, in Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, “Hermaphrodites in Renaissance France”; see also Patricia Parker, “Gender Ideology, Gender Change: The Case of Marie Germain,” *Critical Inquiry* 19 (1994): 336–64. Stephen Greenblatt’s analysis of this case is based on Laqueur’s hypothesized “one-sex body”; see Greenblatt, “Fiction and Friction,” in his *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 66–93.
 38. Riolan, *Discours*, 38–42.
 39. For a detailed survey of ancient and medieval ideas on this topic, see Joan Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); these issues are also discussed in Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, “The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature: Sexual Ambiguity in Early Modern France,” *GLQ* 1 (1994): 419–38.
 40. The core texts in this tradition were the Hippocratic works *De spermate* and *De natura pueri*, and two treatises *De spermate* attributed to Galen, one authentic and one pseudonymous. See in general Cadden, *Meanings*, 12–21, 30–37, together with the literature cited there.
 41. Jacques Duval, *Traité des hermaphrodites, parties génitales, accouchemens des femmes, etc.* (Rouen, 1612; reprint, Paris: Isidore Lisieux, 1880), 297–98.
 42. Aristotle, *The Generation of Animals*, trans. Arthur Platt, in *The Works of Aristotle*, ed. J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 772b13–29.
 43. Aristotle, *The Generation of Animals*, 766b3–7.
 44. Foucault, *Herculine Barbin*, vii–ix.
 45. Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 772b30. On the complexities of medieval writing on this matter, see Cadden, *Meanings*, 198–202.
 46. Riolan, *Discours*, 67–68; cf. Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 726a29–730b31. In his theories of sex difference, Riolan echoed the opinions of the Bolognese anatomist Constantino Varolio, who was also strongly influenced by Aristotle; see Varolio, *Anatomicae*, 88–101.
 47. Riolan, *Discours*, 72.

48. Duval, *Traité*, 9.
49. There has been no comprehensive work on the meanings and uses of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hippocratism, but see, for example, Iain M. Lonie, "The 'Paris Hippocratics': Teaching and Research in Paris in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Wear, R. K. French, and I. M. Lonie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 156–74. On the impact of Hippocratism on contemporary theories of generation, see Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), chap. 3.
50. Jacques Duval, *Responce au discours fait par le sieur Riolan docteur en médecine et professeur en chirurgie et pharmacie à Paris, contre l'histoire de l'hermaphrodit de Rouen* (Rouen: Julian Courant, n.d.), 29.
51. Duval, *Responce*, 26.
52. Duval, *Traité*, 384.
53. Duval, *Traité*, 8.
54. Duval, *Traité*, 322, 342; Riolan, *Discours*, 102–3.
55. In Italy, Spain, and France, there is evidence that doctors were acting as private and public consultants in these matters from at least the early fourteenth century; see, for example, Michael R. McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague: Practitioners and Their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285–1345* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 206.
56. Guy de Chauliac, *La grande chirurgie de Guy de Chauliac . . . composée l'an 1363*, ed. E. Nicause (Paris: F. Alcan, 1890), 547; Albucasis, *Chirurgia*, in Pietro da l'Argellata, *Chirurgia Argelate cum Albucasis* (Venice: Giunta, 1520), fol. 141v; Avicenna, *Liber canonis*, fol. 356r.
57. Colombo, *De re anatomica*, 268–69.
58. Duval, *Traité*, 331–32.
59. See, e.g., Julia Epstein, "Either/Or-Neither/Both: Sexual Ambiguity and the Ideology of Gender," *Genders* 7 (1990): 102–3, esp.
60. Duval, *Traité*, 323–24.
61. Riolan, *Anthropographia*, 195.
62. David Teasley, "The Charge of Sodomy as a Political Weapon in Early Modern France: The Case of Henry III in Catholic League Polemic, 1585–1589," *Maryland Historian* 18 (1987): 17–30; J.H.M. Salmon, "French Satire in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 5, no. 3 (1975): 64–65.
63. Pierre de l'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux*, ed. P. Brunet, 10 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Bibliophiles, 1875), 2:113, 114.
64. [Thomas Artus], *Description de l'isle des hermaphrodits nouvellement découverte* (Paris: n.p., 1605); see Donald Stone, "The Sexual Outlaw in France, 1605," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2 (1992): 597–608.

65. Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Les tragiques*, ed. A. Garnier and J. Plattard, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Droz, 1932), 2:46.
66. Teasley, "Charge of Sodomy," 18; cf. Bray, *Homosexuality*, 23–32.
67. Ian Maclean, *Woman Triumphant: Feminism in French Literature, 1610–1652* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 58. On the perceived parallelisms between gender roles in the political and domestic order in early modern France, see in general Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975); Sarah Hanley, "Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16 (1989): 4–27; and Constance Jordan, "The Household and the State: Transformations in the Representation of an Analogy from Aristotle to James I," *Modern Language Quarterly* 54 (1993): 307–26.
68. Lilian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Morrow, 1981), 23–27.
69. Louis Crompton, "The Myth of Lesbian Impunity: Capital Laws from 1270–1591," *Journal of Homosexuality* 6, nos. 1–2 (1980–1981): 17–19. Bonnet points out that in none of the few French cases brought to court does the death penalty seem to have been applied, casting doubt on the narratives of both Estienne and Montaigne included by Crompton and mentioned below; see Bonnet, *Choix*, 55. Note that none of these statements apply to England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, where legal definitions of sodomy excluded women: Bray, *Homosexuality*, 17.
70. Henri Estienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, ed. P. Ristelhuber, 2 vols. (Paris: Isidore Lisieux, 1879), 1:178.
71. Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de voyage en Italie*, in his *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Robert Barral and Pierre Michel (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1967), 456.
72. Pierre de Bourdeille Brantôme, *Des dames galantes*, in his *Oeuvres complètes*, 11 vols. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1876), 10:202–3.
73. Brantôme, *Dames*, 269–70. In the same passage, Brantôme also cited medical testimony that women could produce this condition artificially by pulling and touching their own or each other's genitals.
74. Duval, *Traité*, 68.
75. Brantôme, *Dames galantes*, 10:24 .
76. Duval, *Traité*, 68.
77. Brantôme, *Dames galantes*, 10:195.
78. Riolan, *Anthropographia*, 195.
79. Laqueur, "Amor Veneris," 113.



10. Anatomy and physiology of the eye from Robert Fludd's *Tractatus secundus, De natvrae simia seu Technica macrocosmi historia* (London, 1624).

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in
Parts

Fantasies of Corporeality in
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