Woman, Æsthetics and Natural History: From French Medical Book to German Handbook

by Anne-Marie Link

In 1810 a publication appeared in Leipzig entitled *Naturgeschichte DES WEIBES. Ein Handbuch fuer Aertze und gebildete Leser und Leserinnen aus allen Klassen, Vier Baender mit Kupfer (A Natural History of WOMAN: A Handbook for Physicians and Educated Readers (Male and Female) of All Classes in Four Parts, with Engravings).* The text was a German translation, by a teacher of philosophy and medicine,[1] of Jacques L. Moreau's[2] 1803 *Histoire Naturelle de la Femme, suivie d'un traité d'Hygiène. Appliquée à son Régime physique et moral aux différentes époques de la vie*, a volume also containing engravings. While the French text was written for a professional medical audience, the German text was aimed at "educated and cultivated men and women of all classes," a universalizing description commonly used to refer to Germany's "reading class," that mainly bourgeois (*buergerlich*) "Lesepublikum" so frequently acknowledged in Germany's press.[3] For these readers Johann Karl Friedrich Leune promised a book purged of all "pedantic, pretentious erudition," a book which would make a French natural history of woman "understandable" for "world-at-large" readers (1: x).

While both French and German texts can be located in that outpouring of natural historical publications which had begun in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, these claims of the German text place it into another category as well, one which consciously addressed the relationship between learned, often "foreign" knowledge, and public knowledge. This category, destined for that "public sphere" of enlightened and "free" opinion which has been the subject of much recent analysis, has tended to be subsumed under a generalizing notion of the spread of "knowledge" in the age of "enlightenment," a generalization which has often dulled the distinctions between what was originally intended as either specifically "professional" or

"lay" knowledge, or, as in this case, French or German knowledge as well. Since the eighteenth century itself recognized these distinctions, and was particularly interested in the "new" discoveries or ideas of other countries, this category of writing seems one which should be explored and considered in terms of the difference in which it was originally conceived.

The following discussion will therefore consider some aspects of the way in which ideas generated in the French eighteenth century were extended beyond its boundaries and transmuted into something which had resonance with a German audience composed of quite different readers than those assumed by the original French text. To do so, it will consider the French natural history of woman text mentioned above and its fate in the hands of a German translator. A focus on the specificity of the books themselves, particularly on their use of engraved images, is here proposed, for as Rogier Chartier has pointed out, such study can reveal much about the strategies deployed by text and image in the making of meaning to specific audiences.[4] This focus will also provide an opportunity to consider at close range the very real problem that in fact called a German translation of a French medical work into being, that is, how could a self-styled "enlightened" age ensure that its knowledges, in this case a knowledge about "woman," moved fluidly from one audience to another, from one country to another; or, put another way, how did the concept of woman produced by a French natural history text for physicians translate into a woman that would be "public," "understandable" and "German" to "men and women of all classes"?

As already indicated, both the French and German versions of a natural history of woman can be located into the genre of "scientific"[5] writing in the eighteenth century, a category of work which had already "gone public" in the sense that it was no longer written exclusively in a scholarly Latin, nor was it concerned entirely with an hermetic text-based learned debate, but rather with the project of "enlightening" through explanation and often, visual

display.[6] This genre of text/image combination was already part of the domestic space of many professional and non-professional homes in both France and Germany, for the latter decades of the eighteenth century had witnessed a large increase in the output and consumption of printed material in all categories. Natural history formed a particularly strong component of "scientific" material for the home, having made the move from a form of knowledge based in private curiosity cabinets and museums to a form of knowledge relying on the classificatory and taxonomic skills of "professional," often university-based natural historians whose work appeared in periodicals or books such as the ones under discussion.[7] Along with this move came an increase in the number of publications dedicated to natural history, most of which, because of the centrality of visual comparison in taxonomic methodology, included engraved images of a generally high quality.

All natural historical endeavour was concerned with the description and classification of living forms, an endeavour which however had excluded the study of the human body and the human species. It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that a study of the human species was integrated into natural history, appearing in the work of the most famous contemporary natural historians such as Albrecht von Haller, Carl von Linnaeus and especially Georges Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon.[8] Buffon's massive *Histoire Naturelle* (1749), which included sections on both the study of the human form and speculations on the effect of history and environment on the variations in this form, was particularly well known in that it became a topic of interest and discussion beyond the smallish circle of scholars and naturalists working directly in the area. This was due in great measure to Buffon's aggressive disagreement with Linnaeus' system of classification, a disagreement which aroused public interest, putting the work of both men into a wider arena.[9] Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, for instance, had been quickly translated into German and its ideas discussed

in Germany's general periodical press, an instrument whose specific purpose was to bring "learning" of all kinds to an educated, but lay readership.

For my purposes here, I will put aside the Buffon-Linnaeus arguments over taxonomy, and concentrate instead on the fact that both men included humanity as a "species" and that natural history, as Buffon put it, proposed to organize this species through a study of the "exterior man" thereby creating a "history of his body" (4: 512-14). By so doing, Buffon was subjecting the body of "man" to eighteenth century natural history's "science of the outer form of bodies"(as one German contemporary put it) (Esper 1), and thus integrating this body into a classificatory system of orders, genera and species. This integration was however based upon the notion of the female body as a subset of a historical body of humankind signified by the male form. Thus, while studies of anatomical difference between male and female existed as a common part of eighteenth century naturalism, appearing in a wide range of publications from medical texts to popular almanacks, the "standard" body was assumed to be male . When Moreau, then, as author of the *Histoire Naturelle de la Femme*, claimed that natural historians had "completely forgotten" the female body, he meant that it had not been considered as a natural form with its own separate history.

Although his claim was somewhat of an exaggeration, for works had sporadically appeared in the eighteenth century which did raise the question of a separate female history,[10] Moreau's consequent *Histoire Naturelle de la Femme* was an attempt to present such a history for the use of physicians in the accessible form of a medical book. In this case, the book appeared in two volumes addressed to the needs of the practicing physician, thus a reader who was almost certainly assumed to be male and who was also most likely the possessor of a professional library into which Moreau's volumes would fit. For this professional male reader Moreau supplied both the "newest" in theories of the female body as well as instructions on how this body

should be professionally cared for in order for it to achieve or maintain the form which theory had mapped out for it. Moreau's book thus ranged from the distinguishing of human female forms from the female of other species to chapters on female nutrition and reproduction and finally, and a point I will return to later, to a consideration of woman's beauty as a vital component of her natural history. In its theoretical-practical aims Moreau's book fits in with a whole genre of books produced for the medical practitioner, many of which dealt specifically with the supervised care of the female body in the context of the maintenance of "naturalness" or health and beauty, and, like many of these books, it was of a size and price intended for the "serious" library.

While each of Moreau's chapters provide ample material for a study of the relationships between medicine, science and the concept of woman in early modern Europe, I will restrict the focus here to the notion of understandability mentioned at the outset and the role of the visual image in this intelligibility, for it is in particularly this respect that both texts make claims and it is also in this respect that the German text differs most greatly from the French. Moreau's book contained eleven engravings, ten of which were situated near a textual part of the book dealing with the same subject matter, and therefore serving as illustration to it. The book thus followed the standard for "scientific" texts, in which the image provided an extra "proof," via visual detail and the assumption that such detail was an unmediated representation of "true" fact, of what the text had already stated. This is particularly apparent in those engravings which were especially "medical,"such as those displaying a female skeleton, a womb and foetus, and female and hermaphroditic genitalia, the latter included as a prime example of "monstrosity" as opposed to "naturalness." This "monstrous" image (fig. 1) is particularly representative of the way in which aspects of anatomy, both "natural" and "unnatural," were commonly represented in eighteenth century medical texts, that is, having been

"opened" for the searching professional eye to "excavate" below a surface normally hidden.[11] What is particularly of note in these engravings is that they present to the professional eye aspects of the human form which were not available to the "every-day" viewer, but were rather the privilege of the professional who could interpret the image by applying his reason. What is also of note in the case of the hermaphroditic image, was the conclusion, made in the text, that hermaphrodism did not actually exist but was always an overgrowth of female genitalia. This conclusion the image was intended to make "evident" to the professionally-applied eye, one knowledgeable in the hidden aspects of female anatomy, both "natural" and "unnatural." Thus, where a lesser trained eye might see disturbing evidence of a third gender, for the professional eye the image was to "scientifically" reinforce an *a priori* view of woman based entirely upon a "natural" system of two genders and the sexual differences between them.

While these visual components of the book, according to the French text, aided the professional in a better, that is, a more *complete*, understanding than a consultation of just the text alone, the German translation maintained just the opposite. Before considering why this might have been so, a description of the German text will first help establish some of its more obvious physical differences from the French. The German *Natural History Of Woman* appeared in four slim volumes, published serially and of a size and price commonly associated with the *Handbuch*, a form specifically made for ease of use, in that it could be easily picked up and carried about and was thus suitable for "dipping" into, rather than for sustained study. This form of publication had become increasingly popular over the course of the latter half of the eighteenth century, taking its place alongside other publications aimed at a general reading public, such as the moral weekly, the pocket-book-sized almanack and the magazines of the periodical press. The writers of such texts were very often interpreters, rather than originators of material, although many did add, as in the

case under study here, their own observations, comments, criticism and "corrections" to the original material. The most obvious of the "corrections" applied to the French text by the German "translator" was the changes made to the number of the French text's engravings, for all but two of them were rejected. This was done first of all in the interests of reducing the price of the book; however, more importantly, this reduction of visual material was also claimed by the translator to *improve* on the French original. Readers were told in the foreword that recent trends in the study of nature had shattered nature's "organic whole" into "severed, dead pieces" and had thereby undermined its "ancient, holy union" with the highest aspirations of the human spirit, that is, religion and poetry (Leune 1:xv). The German version of the *Natural History of Woman*, in the new visually-condensed *Gestalt* its translator had given it, would thus "correct" the mechanical and atomistic conception of science found in the French text and provide to its public a "truer" German version.[12]

The retention of only two of the French text's engravings must therefore be seen as a deliberate intervention in the goal of representing a unifed natural order to "lay" readers. The translator himself gives evidence of the deliberateness of this act by openly acknowledging that the French text did have more engravings, but that he had decided to omit them, seeing that they only "decorate[d] the [French] book, rather than being necessary to its elucidation" (Leune 1:xiv). This statement becomes doubly interesting when one considers that the "superfluous" engravings were all those which were the most "scientific," revealing either inner aspects of the female form or representing features of non-white, non-European women, such as those images of a "foot of a Chinese" or a "Hottentot." Instead, the two engravings chosen by the German book for their superior elucidatory qualities were the *Medici Venus* and the *Costume of an Athenian Woman* (figs. 2, 3), both of which appeared as frontispieces to two major divisions in the German text, one on woman in general and one on her history. The first

image, the *Venus*, had also appeared as frontispiece to the first volume of the French work and had been described there as "Cette planche représente la Venus de Médicis, c'est-à-dire, le modèle de toutes graces et de tous les genres de beauté dont l'organisation de la femme est susceptible"(Moreau 737); its chapter three had subsequently discussed these beauties as they corresponded to the various life stages of the female. The German text too used the Venus image to represent woman's beauty, but because it limited the visual representation of woman to this image and that of the "beautiful" Athenian alone, beauty itself becomes the dominant marker of woman for the text, a reduction which effectively screens out any possible transgressive meanings which the unprofessional eye might have found in the "incoherence" of exposed and ambiguous orifices or in the "disorder" of women not of white skin and "European" form.[13] By distilling the visual representation of woman to that of her beauty, especially for that reader who might not read all of the text but only contemplate the "pictures," the German book went some way in its goal of "clarifying" the scientific "evidence" of recent scholarship and ensuring that readers were not led astray by any indistinctness in that evidence.

Thus, it was only the clearest and fullest representation of woman which the German book wanted for its public, and it was this it put before its readers' eyes as they opened the book to find the harmonious, smooth and containing lines of the *Venus*. Here, high and learned culture's classical body is made to represent both nature's and science's female, inviolate and non-violating. This pure form the German text assured its readers needed only the right sort of eye to perceive it, an eye which could "naturally" discern universal principles and, more importantly, an eye which need not be a professional eye. The "true" beholder of the Venus required only "...a proper organization of the spirit and the senses, a calm mind, a healthy judgement...a clear understanding...a high level of cultivation...[and]...a taste that in its comparisons is practiced and established" (Leune

1:194,195). This description of the beholder of the Venus was in fact identical to that worked out in the eighteenth century describing the man of taste and his judgment of beauty, in which the sensations of visible external form were deciphered through a conceptual framework based upon comparison of that form to an ideal standard. And, since the achievement of this conceptual framework was believed to be only a male capacity, the eye "properly" beholding the Venus could belong to only one group of readers referred to in the book's title, that is, the cultivated male beholder, whether he were a physician or not. In addition, the German text consistently acknowledged differences between its anticipated male and female readers, an acknowledgment not required by the French text with its assumption of a male and professional readership. Thus, female readers of the German text were, for instance, specifically advised on several occasions to either skip sections or to consult other works, in which a textual, rather than a visual study of the female form was to be found. Thus, Kant's pre-critical *Beobachtungen ueber das Gefuehl des Schoenen und Erhabenen (Observations on the Feeling for the Beautiful and Sublime)* of 1764 was recommended to female readers; here they could find a textual *explanation* of the differences between male and female, rather than a visual display requiring informed critical looking. As the Kantian text would tell the female reader who turned to it, woman is "...known by the mark of the beautiful" and that "all education and instruction must keep these [the differences between a masculine capacity for sublimity and a feminine beauty] before its eyes"(76-77).[14] Thus, female readers were positioned as the object to be known and not as the knower; in viewing the Venus they were not judge of that form, for it was already pre-judged as perfect, they could only judge their own form against it.

The relationship between a theory of observation based on the capacities of gender and on the humanist belief of the unity of nature and beauty were the dominating themes of the German text in its clarifying aims. Although also major

conceptual components of the French text, the dominance of the beautiful and "natural" woman had been "flattened" out there in its necessary "scientific" exploration of internal, "monstrous" and "foreign" aspects of the female form. Thus, the French text had at least to consider the possibilities offered by new visual forms; the German text, however, clearly did not want to risk the inclusion of any possible transgressive material. Its anticipation of readers/viewers of both genders, one of which in particular did not possess the capacities of "looking" properly and thus might be led to a dangerous confusion, must be seen as paramount in that text's evasion of the sometimes uncomfortable jostling together of old and new visualizations of nature found in the French text and in the new sciences of the human body in general.[15]

The concern of the German text was to preserve an image of woman as beautiful, and it did so, not by refuting "new" knowledge, but by claiming to incorporate and transform it into public or "lay" knowledge. Its logic produced a modern scientifically-sponsored Venus easily understandable for contemporary society and it is only by considering this logic that the appearance of the second of the chosen French engravings can be understood. If the Venus represents the physical and conceptual perfection of what modern woman should be, then what role does the engraving *Costume of an Athenian Woman* play? Here, the positioning of the image is crucial, for it was placed quite differently from its positioning in the French book, where it served as an illustration close to that part of the text dealing with loose, health-promoting clothing. In the German text however, the image became the frontispiece to the second part of the text, and thus was not meant to facilitate any particular textual point. It served instead as a powerful visual anchor to a section on civilization whose main point was that female perfection today could only be found in the most civilized of societies, that is, white northern European ones. The "true" historical woman was the beautiful Greek, and the Athenian woman's image in the German text is meant to convey this;

the image thus moves from being "about" costume to representing northern Europe's claims to Greek beauty, heritage and civilization. This claim acted as a "given" in the French text, where eighteenth-century anthropology's notions of white racial beauty and its Greek models were only referred to cursorily,[16] for professional male readers were assumed to know of such things. For German readers however, this point was one both textually and particularly visually underscored, so that woman is solely represented by a white/Grecian Venus and an Athenian woman.

In a history of woman dominated by the images of the white Venus and the white Athenian, it is the beauty of white European women which is being made logical and understandable, a beauty which the French physician is already presumed to "know" and about which the German translator believes the "lay" public needs to know more . By omitting sections of the French text and by adding to that text's discussion of history, civilization and woman's beauty, the German text assumed a bipartite form differing from the French book's multi-chaptered shape. The history of woman and her beauty, and the *Athenian Woman* thus become the sole focus of the second part of the German text. This second part of the text must have been conceived as having direct relevance to that public which formed the present point of history, for it went to great pains to explain the constitution of the present state of civilization, a civilization whose achievements could be measured by the degree of its women's beauty.[17] It is in this context that claims are made for the present state of "civilization," a state in which women are finally allowed the rest and leisure they need to develop their "natural" tendency to beauty. The Venus and the Athenian woman therefore serve as more than long-ago images of white female perfection, having come full circle to represent the renewal of these perfections under the present enlightened and happy circumstances of contemporary northern European society. The forms of these female images now represent present, or at least hoped-for and attainable perfections (with the aid of diet,

dress, occupation and medical advice), of present-day European woman, living in and representing as she does the present state of civilization.

In the French text this "fact" was intended as the *raison d' être* behind the business of doctoring women to enhance, increase or maintain their beauty; for the German text it served as a confirmation of a glorious *status quo*, in which the old and the new seamlessly merge in a Eurocentric and gendered version of contemporary life. The privileged knowledge of the professional *has* been made "lay" and public, useful to both male and female who see a confirmation of their own separate social roles laid out in it. The "Frenchness" of scientific knowledge has also been "Germanized" to maintain national differences of feeling and thought, all however, without destroying a unified concept of woman as knowable, beautiful and dependent on male accomplishment. It is therefore the same woman who appears on the sickbed, the dissecting table and in the domestic spaces of home and hearth, where her "beautiful" form can be doctored, explored after death or admired as an embodiment of female natural perfection. Thus it is that her translation from France to Germany and from medicine to leisured hours at home is easy, having been made so in the safe and knowable packaging of text and image her "compilers" have given her. It is this packaging which extends and shapes a French-produced natural history of woman, and which addresses itself to the fact of a modern, multiple readership, and it is this packaging which makes a scientific and medical *Histoire Naturelle des Femmes* fit the comfortable world of a *Naturgeschichte des Weibes*.

Notes

1. Johann Karl Friedrich Leune (1757-1825) was a teacher of philosophy in Leipzig, with interests extending to medical science. His publications therefore included works on breastfeading, muscle movement, the relationship between the human body and the human spirit and translations of Italian and English medical works. He was also responsible for the establishment in 1793 of the periodical *Gesundheits-Almanach, zum Gebrauch fuer die aufgeklaerten Staende Teutschlands*.

2. Jacques-Louis Moreau (1771-?), also known as Moreau de la Sarthe, had trained as a surgeon at Nantes, but, due to an injury to his hand, did not continue in this profession. In 1796 he went to Paris to continue medical studies, becoming chair of the medical library there in 1815. His publications include works on hygiene, a "Description des principales monstruosités dans l'homme et dans les animaux," reflections on the philosophy of J-J. Rousseau, a treatise on vaccination and a translation of Lavater's treatise on physiognomy, as well as Petrus Camper's work on the same subject.

3. While publications such as the one under discussion may have claimed to address "all classes," most scholars agree that this claim in fact meant Germany's "reading class," composed of (to use Habermas' definition) "....officials...doctors, pastors, officers, professors, and scholars...schoolteachers and scribes...merchants, bankers, entrepreneurs and manufacturers" (J.Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* [Great Britain: Polity P, 1989] 22, 23).

4. The aims in this essay are indebted to Roger Chartier's work on print culture, especially as laid out in his *The Order of Books* (Cambridge: Polity P, 1992) and in *Forms and Meanings. Texts, Performances, and Audiences from the*

Codex to Computer (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1995).

5. The term "scientific" is not an eighteenth-century term; closest to it is the idea of knowledge of "nature," often studied under the auspices of natural philosophy and natural history. I will therefore put the term "science" in quotations to indicate its imprecision in this context and use it in the sense defined by Ludmilla Jordanova: "....a distinctive orientation to the world, pre-eminently to 'nature,' to the generation of coherent systematic understanding of the universe...." (*Sexual Visions. Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* [Wisconsin: The U of Wisconsin P, 1989] 16).

6. For a discussion of eighteenth century "visual persuasion" see Barbara Maria Stafford, *Artful Science. Enlightenment Entertainment and the Eclipse of Visual Education* (Cambridge, Mass., London: The Mit Press, 1994).

7. For a recent study of natural history and its development as a discipline see Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U of California P, 1994).

8. For a recent discussion of these three natural historians see James L. Larson, *Interpreting Nature. The Science of Living Form from Linnaeus to Kant* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1994) Chapter 1.

9. For a discussion of the Linnaeus-Buffon disagreement see Larson, *Interpreting Nature*, 9ff. See also Phillip Sloan, "The Gaze of Natural History," in Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, Robert Wokler, eds., *Inventing Human Science. Eighteenth-Century Domains* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: U of California P, 1995) 112-151. Buffon

opposed the Linnaean system of arranging organisms under abstract universals and what he considered arbitrary categories of individual body parts for comparison. He proposed instead a system which placed human beings among animals in terms of their history, geography and environment.

10. A history of woman had already for instance been undertaken twenty years earlier by Christoph Meiners in his *Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechts* (Hanover: im Verlage der Helwingschen Hofbuchhandlung, 1783) and in William Alexander's *The History of Women, from the earliest antiquity to the present time* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1779). As well, the establishment of sexual difference via comparative anatomy was already very prevalent in "scientific" work of the latter decades of the eighteenth century (best exemplified in France by Pierre Roussel and in Germany by Jacob Ackermann). Moreau's work thus combined current ideas of woman's history with the anatomical comparison and exploration typical of natural history to arrive at his "first" natural history of woman, or at least the first to appear in a unified published form. For a more in-depth discussion of the "science" of woman in the eighteenth century see, Sylvana Tomaselli, "Reflections on the History of the Science of Woman," in Marina Benjamin, ed., *A Question of Identity. Women, Science and Literature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, XX) 25-40. See also Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex?*.

11. Michel Foucault has used this term in his discussion of natural history and "epistemes" of knowledge. Excavation, that is, a biological study of the functions of inner organs, he attributes to the "Modern" episteme, in contrast to the "Classical" episteme, which is dedicated to taxonomic, hence surface, representation (*The Order of Things*, 128-50).

12. Although it is not my intention here to do so, this claim

could be explored in terms of the debate mapped out in James Larson's book, in which he writes of a German history of the life sciences which has fairly consistently seen a "German" science as "characterized by an organic and dynamic conception that made nature subservient to the spiritual aims of the universe" as opposed to the mechanistic and atomistic conception of French and English culture. The result, according to Larson, has been a "grand historical scheme—the rise of a specifically German way of thought on the basis of a common European tradition but in contrast to the French and English enlightenment" (*Interpreting Nature* 2, 3).

13. For an excellent summary of the feminist concepts of "disorder," "incoherence," beauty and the female form see Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude*, particularly part I: "Theorizing the Female Nude."

14. Kant, *Observations* 76, 77. The Kantian text was claimed "better" for female readers than the French text. The *Observations* outlined the differences between male and female in terms of both gendered duties and experience; thus, females were to be charming and beautiful, while male duties lay in the direction of activity, of thinking and protecting and in the experiencing of the sublime and appreciation of the beautiful. Kant's views thus pointedly uphold the divisions found in the *Naturgeschichte* text, in which females are to be looked at and males are to look. For a recent discussion of Kant's *Observations*, see Christine Battersby, "Stages on Kant's Way: Aesthetics, Morality and the Gendered Sublime," in eds. P. Z. Brand and C. Korsmeyer, *Feminism* 88-114.

15. For a good overview of the "invention" state of the human sciences in the eighteenth century, see Christopher Fox, "How to Prepare" 1-30.

16. The names of leading anthropologists appear in the

French text, but without the lengthy explanation of their ideas found in parts of the German text. In brief, much of eighteenth-century racial thought centered round an environmentalist point of view, one which had gained strength during that century. This view, which had already appeared in the work of the Comte de Buffon and his famous *Histoire naturelle*, believed appearance to be dependent on habitat and consequently lifestyle, and was therefore capable of change. As environment became less hostile and thus less demanding in terms of eking out an existence, races could "progress" and become more capable of beauty, as their forms were less "deformed" by hard labour and harsh climate. This view culminated in the 1790s with the theories of the German naturalist/anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, who coined the term "Caucasian" as a way of describing that race which most closely approached the standard of beauty of the Greeks due to its living in the moderate and beauty-producing climes of the Caucasus. For a discussion of eighteenth-century notions of racial beauty see Schiebinger, *Nature's Body* 126-33; also Gould "The Geometer of Race" 65-69.

17. Both texts asserted that woman's beauty in any culture was determined by the treatment she received at the hands of the "stronger gender." The possibility of woman's beauty could thus be traced from the early epochs of hunting/fishing and herding, where opportunities for female beauty were few, due to the rigorous life visited upon women by men, through the "progress" of agricultural life where female beauty first makes its appearance, allowed by the milder tendencies of agricultural man, to the final and present state of "civilization."

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Fig. 3 "Costume of an Athenian Woman". Frontispiece to Part 2 of *Naturgeschichte des Weibes*, 1810, engraving, 13 x 7.5 cm. By permission of the British Library[1174.c.39(3)].

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