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**Metaphors of Body and Home: A Study of the Anatomical Illustration in *Ma'aseh Tuvayah***

A Thesis Presented

by

**Yael Levy Morantz**

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**Yael Levy Morantz**

We, the thesis committee for the above candidate for the  
Master of Arts degree, hereby recommend  
acceptance of this thesis.

**Joseph Monteyne – Thesis Advisor**  
**Assistant Professor, Art History and Criticism**

**Anita Moskowitz – Second Reader**  
**Professor Emerita, Art History and Criticism**

This thesis is accepted by the Graduate School

Charles Taber  
Dean of the Graduate School

Abstract of the Thesis

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An illustration that compares a dissected body to a house is the subject of this thesis. The illustration opens the pathology chapter of *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, a Hebrew encyclopedic manuscript, written by the Jewish physician Tobias Cohen at the turn of the eighteenth century. The body and the house are mirror images that strengthen the metaphor BODY IS HOUSE, a metaphor thoroughly developed in the text that follows the illustration. Aided by architectural terms, this metaphor was designed to assist the medical student in understanding the ailments of the body. This thesis argues that the illustration, as an adjunct to the text, depicts four more metaphors. All five metaphors have a strong socio-political component that stems from both the author's personal biography and the collective history of the Jewish people. This thesis explores the metaphors as well as their extra-pictorial context in order to further the modern viewer's understanding of the illustration's function and its significance to the physician-scholar, Tobias.

**In loving memory of Marga and Walter Jacobsohn**

For Jesse, the love of my life

And for Ori and Noga, the light of my life.

Home is wherever you are.

## Table of Contents

List of Illustrations .....	vii
Introduction .....	1
What is Metaphor? .....	2
The Metaphors of ‘A New House’ .....	5
1. Home is (Literally) Where the Heart Is: BODY IS HOUSE .....	8
A. Body: External Tension .....	11
B. House: Internal Tension .....	14
C. The Jewish Context .....	16
D. BODY IS HOME .....	20
2. Metaphors of the Body .....	22
A. “Jewishness” Anatomized: JEWISH PEOPLE IS BODY .....	22
i. In or Out: Stereotypes and Antisemitism .....	23
ii. An Antithesis to Antisemitism: Tobias’ Response to Christian Images of Jews .....	25
B. “The True Doctor”: IDEAL JEW IS BODY .....	33
3. Metaphors of Home .....	35
A. “Male and Female He Created Them”: HOUSE IS a BODY of PEOPLE .....	35
B. “As We Remembered Zion”: JERUSALEM IS HOUSE and Home .....	38
i. TEMPLE IS HOUSE .....	40
ii. Mnemonic Aid .....	41
iii. A New Home .....	43
Conclusion .....	45
Bibliography .....	46
Appendix: Illustrations .....	54

## List of Illustrations

- Figure 1:** *Anatomical Illustration*, woodcut. In: Tobias Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* (Venice: Bragadini, 1707), p. 94. Image source: <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/dreamanatomy/images/1200-dpi/I-A-2-07.jpg>, U.S National Library of Medicine, accessed December 4, 2013, public domain ..... 54
- Figure 2:** *Image 5.12*, woodcut. In: Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, 1543. Image source: Harcourt, Glenn. "Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture." *Representations* 17 (Winter 1987): 28-61 (p. 33) ..... 55
- Figure 3:** *Human brain, with Cerebellum and Nerves*, engraving. In: T. Willis, *Cerebri anatome: cui accessit nervorum descriptio et usus* (Amsterdam: G. Schagen, 1664), Opp. p.32, fig. 1a. Image source: Wellcome Library, London, Wellcome Images, <http://picturingscience.wordpress.com/image-gallery-2/10032335-t-willis-cerebri-anatome-cui-accessit-n/>, accessed December 4, 2013, copyrighted under Creative Commons ..... 55
- Figure 4:** Odoardo Fialetii (artist), copperplate engraving. In: Giulio Casserio, *Tabulae Anatomicae LXXIIX, omnes novae nec antehac visae* (Venice, 1627), p. 69. Image source: U.S National Library of Medicine, <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/dreamanatomy/images/1200-dpi/I-D-1-15.jpg>, accessed December 4, 2013, public domain ..... 55
- Figure 5:** *Anatomical Illustration*, woodcut. In: Tobias Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, second edition (Jessnitz, 1721). Image source: Samson Collection, Stanford University, reproduced with permission ..... 56
- Figure 6:** *Simon of Trent*, woodcut. In: Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum cum figures et imaginibus ab initio mundi*, 1493. Image source: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Schedel\\_judenfeindlichkeit.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Schedel_judenfeindlichkeit.jpg), accessed December 5, 2013, public domain ..... 56
- Figure 7:** *Frontispiece with Portrait of Tobias Cohen*, woodcut. In: Tobias Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviya* (Venice: Bragadini, 1707). Image source: Wellcome Library, London, Wellcome images, [http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/result.html?\\*sform=wellcome-images&\\_IXACTION\\_=query&%24%3Dtoday=&\\_IXFIRST\\_=1&%3Did\\_ref=L0014928&\\_IXSPFX\\_=templates/t&\\_IXFPFX\\_=templates/t&\\_IXMAXHITS\\_=1](http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/result.html?*sform=wellcome-images&_IXACTION_=query&%24%3Dtoday=&_IXFIRST_=1&%3Did_ref=L0014928&_IXSPFX_=templates/t&_IXFPFX_=templates/t&_IXMAXHITS_=1), accessed December 5, 2013, copyrighted under Creative Commons ..... 57



- Figure 8:** Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Libellus de Judaica Confessione* (Cologne, 1508), fol. 1b. Image source: Wolfthal, Diane. “Imaging the Self: Representations of Jewish Ritual in Yiddish Books of Customs.” In *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, edited by Eva Frojmovic, 189-211. Leiden: Brill International, 2002 ..... 57
- Figure 9:** *Ecclessia* and *Synagoga*, South Portal, Strasbourg Cathedral (original gothic sculptures in Musée de l’Oeuvre Notre-Dame), stone, c. 1230. Image source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Statues\\_%27L%27Église%27\\_et\\_%27La\\_Synagogue%27\\_de\\_la\\_Cathédrale\\_de\\_Strasbourg,\\_original\\_gothique\\_conservé\\_au\\_Musée\\_de\\_l%27Oeuvre\\_Notre-Dame.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Statues_%27L%27Église%27_et_%27La_Synagogue%27_de_la_Cathédrale_de_Strasbourg,_original_gothique_conservé_au_Musée_de_l%27Oeuvre_Notre-Dame.JPG), accessed December 9, 2013, public domain ..... 57
- Figure 10:** *Owl*, Harley MS 4751, fol 47r, thirteenth century. Image source: British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=28727>, accessed December 9, 2013, public domain ..... 57
- Figure 11:** Sebastiano Serlio, *The Five Books of Architecture*, fol 30 (English edition). Image source: Richard J. Goy, *Venetian Vernacular Architecture: Traditional Housing in the Venetian Lagoon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 136 ..... 58
- Figure 12:** *Title Page of Part II*, woodcut. In: Tobias Cohen, *Ma’aseh Tuviyah*, second edition (Jessnitz, 1721). Image source: Samson Collection, Stanford University, reproduced with permission ..... 58

## Introduction

When the Jewish physician Tobias Cohen was sixty-two, he fulfilled a life-long dream. After decades of wandering, he settled in Jerusalem. Fourteen years earlier, in 1707/8,<sup>1</sup> Tobias published his book *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* (“The Tales of Tobias”, or “Tobias’ Deeds”), an encyclopedic work dealing with the subjects of theology, astronomy, physiology, pharmacology and medicine, among others.<sup>2</sup> The book, which is still considered to be “the most influential early modern Hebrew textbook of the sciences, especially medicine,”<sup>3</sup> was republished numerous times, the last being 1978.<sup>4</sup>

The medical section of the book includes a chapter on pathology, which Tobias titled: ‘A New House’. This chapter, he explains, is “the art of surgery... In [this chapter] are all the rooms of the house and the rooms of the abdomen.”<sup>5</sup> The afflictions of the house and the diseases of the abdomen.”<sup>6</sup> This metaphor, in which the body is understood in terms of a house, is thoroughly developed throughout the chapter, and every organ is compared to the structure of the house that functions in the same way. The text is preceded by one of the most intriguing and enigmatic illustrations in a Hebrew medical work, in which the metaphor is visually represented (figure 1).

The body and the house stand side by side on a crepidoma (the platform on which Greek temples were built), in a full-page composition by an unknown artist. On the left, a dissected male figure rests atop a quasi-marble base, his viscera on display. A long scroll, suspended from

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<sup>1</sup> The publication year according to the Hebrew calendar is 5467, which corresponds to 1707 and 1708 in the Gregorian calendar. Etienne Lopicard, “An Alternative to the Cosmic and Mechanic Metaphors for the Human Body? The House Illustration in *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* (1708),” *Medical History* 52, no. 1 (January 2008): 97-8, note 23.

<sup>2</sup> Tobias Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* (Venice: Bragadini, 1707).

<sup>3</sup> David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 229.

<sup>4</sup> Lopicard, “An Alternative,” 98.

<sup>5</sup> This is a direct translation of the Hebrew phrase *Hadrei Ha'Betan*, which appears in Proverbs 20:30: “Blows and wounds scrub away evil, and beatings purge the inmost being.” Inmost being is the English translation of the phrase used by Tobias, but he cleverly uses it to literally mean rooms.

<sup>6</sup> My translation. Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, 93a.

a Doric column, separates it from the narrow five-story building on the right, designed to mirror this human in appearance and in function. The organs of the human and their equivalent structures are labeled with Hebrew letters for reference purposes, and are explained in an alphabetical order on the scroll.

To the best of my knowledge, only one study has concentrated on this illustration and argued that the body-house metaphor served as a mnemonic device for Jewish medical students, the most likely readers of this work.<sup>7</sup> Most studies, however, are concerned with the larger context of *Ma'aseh Tuvayah*, and predominantly emphasize the book's significance within Jewish history in general, and the history of Jewish medicine, in particular. Though not contributing significant scientific or medical discoveries, the book was illustrious not just for the extensive and comprehensive knowledge it presented; it was one of the first medical texts in Hebrew to be illustrated. Yet no attempt has ever been made to study the body-house illustration from an art historical perspective.

This thesis will examine the *pictorial* body-house metaphor to deepen our understanding of its significance and function. Since the illustration is highly detailed and elaborate, especially the face of the human figure and parts of the house, I believe that the illustration goes beyond the textual body-house metaphor, and was utilized by Tobias to proffer a social and political message to his readers.

## **What is Metaphor?**

To unravel the mysteries of the human body, Tobias wished that his readers understand it in terms of a house. Indeed, “the essence of metaphor is understanding,”<sup>8</sup> say pioneer researchers of metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson. Eva Kittay further states that it is the “primary way in which we accommodate and assimilate information and experience to our conceptual organization of the world.”<sup>9</sup> Employing a metaphor in his textbook aligns with Tobias' pedagogical endeavor, since

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<sup>7</sup> Lopicard, “An Alternative.”

<sup>8</sup> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 5.

<sup>9</sup> Eva Feder Kittay, *Metaphor: Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 39.

“[metaphor] is the primary way we accommodate *new* experience. Hence it is at the source of our capacity to learn and at the center of our creative thought.”<sup>10</sup> As a mnemonic device, the illustration would assist in the memorization of body parts. However, his application of a metaphor and its thorough development in the text indicate that Tobias’ objective was to impart a deeper *understanding* of the body’s inner workings.

In the Cognitive Linguistic view, a metaphor is not merely a rhetorical exercise, but is so deeply rooted in our conceptual system that we *think* and, therefore, *act* metaphorically. The metaphorical concept that begins in the brain is then translated into language. Metaphor is generally comprised of two concepts or “domains”: a “source” and a “target”. The properties of the source would be transferred onto the target, such that the target would be understood in terms of the source. In Cognitive Linguistics, the correspondence between them is termed “mapping”.

In Tobias’ chapter, ‘A New House’, both illustration and text depict the metaphor BODY IS HOUSE,<sup>11</sup> in which the body is the target and the house is the source, so that we attempt to understand the body with properties taken from the house. The different body parts are mapped with structures in the house: the kidneys, for example, are equivalent to the fountain in the house; their production of urine can be understood as the production of water by the fountain. The author assumes that we know more about the function of a fountain than that of the kidney, and therefore the metaphor facilitates a better understanding of the role of that internal organ.<sup>12</sup>

Often, the target is an abstract concept while the source is more concrete. When using the metaphor TIME IS MONEY, for example, we are trying to understand the abstract idea of time in terms of the more tangible concept of money. In this case, money is the source and time is the target, and we refer to time with the properties of money in the following manner: “I wasted / spent / lost time.” We do not believe that time assumes the shape of coins; rather, we think about it metaphorically, yet more concretely. Contrary to time, the body is a physical object and not an abstract concept, but its internal organs were not seen in action.

Kittay and Lehrer suggest that the domains of a metaphor are semantic fields, “a set of lexemes which cover a certain conceptual domain and which bear certain specifiable relations to

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> In order to accentuate the metaphors, all metaphors will be capitalized.

<sup>12</sup> Of course, the metaphor relies on our knowledge of the fundamentals of a house.

one another.”<sup>13</sup> The semantic field BODY may consist of the names of the organs that make up the body, but also words from other fields, such as temperature (warm/cold). Recent research has shown that metaphor can also be translated into the visual,<sup>14</sup> in which case it will consist of the various elements depicted in the work of art. In Tobias’ illustration, the organs make up the body’s semantic field, as well as the manner in which the body is illustrated, or its iconography (lean/fat, short/tall, erect/reclining). The same idea applies to the semantic field HOUSE. It consists of architectural elements (such as windows and doors) and the iconography of the house. Here two fields come together: architecture and drawing.

One field of the metaphor (i.e. HOUSE) is the “donor” field and the other is the “recipient field”; the relationship between them is that of “transference of meaning”, so that the lexemes from the donor field are transferred to the recipient field.<sup>15</sup> Aristotle, the father of systematic investigation of metaphor, found that transference of meaning was the paramount process in metaphor.<sup>16</sup> As Kittay and Lehrer put it, this is a “process in which the structure of one semantic field reorders and imposes a new structure on another conceptual domain.”<sup>17</sup> If we look at BODY as the recipient field and HOUSE as the donor field, then the transference of HOUSE to BODY restructures the body so that we think about it in spatial terms, divided into rooms and architectonic structures. This is how Tobias wanted us to read his metaphor, as he explains in the preface to his chapter.

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<sup>13</sup> Eva Feder Kittay and Adrienne Lehrer, “Semantic Fields and the Structure of Metaphor,” *Studies in Language* 5, no. 1 (1981): 32.

<sup>14</sup> For example: Carl R. Housman, *Metaphor and Art: Interactionism and Reference in the Verbal and Non-verbal Arts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Kittay and Lehrer, “Semantic Fields.”

<sup>16</sup> Especially in *Poetics* 1457b. Aristotle, *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, trans. W.H. Fyfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), Vol. 23, accessed September 24, 2012, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0056%3Asection%3D1457b>.

<sup>17</sup> Kittay and Lehrer, “Semantic Fields,” 34.

## The Metaphors of ‘A New House’

In a work of art, maintains Carl Housman, multiple domains (or what he calls “subjects”) can coexist and each domain can interact with the others.<sup>18</sup> Even though Tobias’ text focuses solely on the BODY IS HOUSE metaphor, can his illustration depict more than one metaphor? If so, what was the function of these metaphors and what did they mean to Tobias and his readers? “Metaphorical concepts are often embodied, and hence cultural understandings based on them are also embodied. This embodiment makes meaningful not only language but also a wider range of cultural practices.”<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the illustration will be examined within the context of Jewish experience and history, including Tobias’ biography, Jewish thought and scripture.

From a first glance at the illustration and further reading of the text that follows, the BODY IS HOUSE metaphor is conspicuous. It will thus be the subject of my first chapter, which will investigate the rendering of the metaphor from text into image, and examine its iconography. According to Zoltán Kövecses, “The environment, the social-cultural context, and the communicative situation of groups of people or individuals provide these groups and individuals with experiences that are specific to them...the metaphors we produce are influenced by all of these specific experiences.”<sup>20</sup> Therefore, I will also attempt to place the metaphor in a larger (Jewish) context and explain its implications from the Jewish perspective. I will suggest that the need to maintain good health, for instance, was especially pertinent for Tobias. This is in light of the numerous Jewish migrations throughout Europe due to expulsions, the necessity to flee from pogroms and the impact of antisemitism<sup>21</sup> on everyday life. When a physical structure is less reliable or permanent, the body almost becomes one’s home.

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<sup>18</sup> Housman, *Metaphor and Art*, 137.

<sup>19</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture*, xiv.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>21</sup> Even though this is a modern term coined in the nineteenth century to refer to Jew-hatred more “scientifically”, it will be used throughout this paper to denote any hatred of, hostility, prejudice, acts of discrimination and violence against Jews in any time period. I am deliberately not using the spelling anti-Semitism, since it has been noted that the hyphenation and capitalized S assume the existence of the fabricated term “Semitism”, which characterizes the group based on race or nationality rather than linguistically (Semitic refers to the languages Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic). See: Yehuda Bauer, “In Search of a Definition of Antisemitism,” in *Approaches to Antisemitism: Context and Curriculum*, ed. Michael Brown (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1994). Also discussed in: Jerome A. Chanes, *Antisemitism: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004).

In the visual arts, metaphors can consist of a domain that is not portrayed in the artwork and is only inferred from the work and its context (and where the cultural background comes into play). The context, as Housman maintains, enables recognition of the domains of a metaphor, without which the metaphor cannot be understood.<sup>22</sup> Chapter two will discuss metaphors that exist only in the illustration, not in Tobias' text, and will derive from the Jewish context presented in chapter one. This chapter will focus only on one domain within the work: the dissected body; it will be considered as the source or donor field for two metaphors. The recipient fields of these metaphors will be inferred from the external context. The first of the two metaphors will help understand Tobias' view of his people as a collective: JEWISH PEOPLE IS BODY. The second metaphor will deal with Tobias' notions of the ideal Jew: IDEAL JEW IS BODY. The chapter will argue that with these two metaphors, the dissected body is Tobias' answer to antisemitism, in general, and to the representation of "the Jew" in Christian art, in particular.

Cognitive Linguistic theory states that a metaphor can only follow one direction, because only one of the domains can be the "originating field".<sup>23</sup> Contrary to literary metaphors, studies have shown that, in the visual arts, metaphors can be reversed.<sup>24</sup> In a visual metaphor, each domain can assume both a donor and recipient roles, depending on the "reading" direction of the metaphor. My third chapter will once again explore the relationship between the two domains illustrated in the image – the body and the house, but will look at the metaphor in the following reverse order: HOUSE IS BODY. In this case, the body bears the role of the donor field and the house is the recipient field. This leads to the conclusion that the house becomes a metaphor for a body of people, the Jewish people.

"It is sufficient that [man] be a tower or house among the dwellings of a walled city..."<sup>25</sup> Tobias writes in the preface to his chapter, 'A New House'. This city, as I shall argue, is Jerusalem – the Jewish spiritual home for which Jews have spent centuries yearning, as

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<sup>22</sup> Housman, *Metaphor and Art*, 138.

<sup>23</sup> Kittay, *Metaphor*, 152.

<sup>24</sup> For example: Michael Parsons, "Interpreting Art through Metaphors," *Jade* 29, no. 3 (2010).

<sup>25</sup> My translation. Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, 94a. A house within a walled city, or *Beit Ir Homa* in Hebrew, is part of a law regarding the sale of a house within a walled city, discussed in Leviticus 25:29. Tobias uses many Biblical and Talmudic phrases throughout the book, which attest to both his familiarity with Jewish scripture and the audience he had in mind for his book.

individuals and as a collective. The second part of my third chapter will show that the house, like the body in chapter two, takes part in a metaphor with only one present domain. The metaphor JERUSALEM IS HOUSE will be discussed, with the house as the donor field and the extra-pictorial city of Jerusalem as the recipient. The mapping of this metaphor will show that, just as the body holds one's soul, Jerusalem holds the collective soul of the Jewish people. The chapter will also consider the implications of Jerusalem as "A New Home",<sup>26</sup> and how the illustration, as a whole, is Tobias' resolution to the tribulations of exile.

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<sup>26</sup> *Bait Hadash*, the Hebrew title of Tobias' pathology chapter, can be translated as "A New House" but *Bait* in Hebrew also means home.



## Chapter 1

### Home is (Literally) Where the Heart is: The BODY IS HOUSE Metaphor

In the medical section of his book, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, Tobias Cohen (1652?-1729) dedicated a chapter to the art of pathology, a subject that he chose to teach with the aid of a metaphor. This metaphor was designed to explain the human body in architectural terms, and is first introduced in the title of the chapter: 'A New House'. The entire chapter revolves around the overarching metaphor BODY IS HOUSE; each of the sub-chapters deals with a portion of the body and is mapped to a corresponding feature of the house. In the introduction to 'A New House', Tobias explains his reasons for using this metaphor:

The Sages of old called man a **Microcosm**<sup>27</sup>... [A]nd when King Solomon, may he rest in peace, perceived in his wisdom that their strength had ceased and their life shortened and their wisdom lost, he compared man to a city,<sup>28</sup> saying **Little city** etc.<sup>29</sup> And I, of little worth, considered in my heart<sup>30</sup> to question what benefit is it to compare<sup>31</sup> man to a Microcosm or a City, even a Little City. It is enough that he be as one of the towers or houses among the dwellings of a walled city,<sup>32</sup> as

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<sup>27</sup> Literally: little world. The translation of this part of the introduction is taken mostly from Lopicard, "An Alternative," 101-102, with some of my own changes. The bold words were accentuated in the same manner in the original Hebrew text.

<sup>28</sup> Literally: "took man up the hill to the city" as Lopicard translates it. He also considers the possibility that this is a reference to the Temple that Solomon built on the heights of Jerusalem. Lopicard, "An Alternative," 101, note 49.

<sup>29</sup> This is the beginning of the verse in Ecclesiastes 9:14-16: "There was once a small city with only a few people in it. And a powerful king came against it, surrounded it and built huge siege works against it: Now there lived in that city a man poor but wise, and he saved the city by his wisdom. But nobody remembered that poor man: So I said, 'Wisdom is better than strength.' But the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are no longer heeded."

<sup>30</sup> Hebrew phrase *Natati el Libi* from the first verse of Ecclesiastes 9.

<sup>31</sup> Lopicard's translation of the idea of raising man up the hill to the city, which appears in the original Hebrew.

<sup>32</sup> *Batei Ir Homa* in Hebrew, found in Leviticus 25:29, is a Halachic law dealing with the sale of a house in a walled city (from the time of Joshua) and its redemption (and also related to the laws of Jubilee).

bars and doors<sup>33</sup>, as I show you the form of the house and its instruments. As the **Houses of the Soul**,<sup>34</sup> he has lower, second and third stories, and an attic and roof above, and walls all around, and corners of the house. The wise among the physicians have also divided man into three parts and areas, and these are the head, the chest, and the abdomen.<sup>35</sup>

When turning past the introduction page, Tobias' words immediately come to life and manifest themselves in a beautiful and intriguing illustration: man is compared to a building (figure 1). To further the visual comparison, even at first glance, they appear to be mirroring each other. They are both rectangular shaped and of the same height and width. As mentioned in his introduction, Tobias follows his predecessors' division of the body into three sections, with a minor change: the head is the first part, the chest and abdomen are combined into a second part,<sup>36</sup> and the legs are added as the third part. The house is divided in the same manner to match the human: attic, inner stories, and foundation.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, the individual features of human and house are aligned, so that the top two windows are the same height as the eyes, and the windows are proportionate to the attic, as the eyes, nose and mouth are to the face. With the skin and walls removed, the middle section of both human and house is open, exposing the inner organs and their corresponding room or fixture. Finally, the lower part of the human (or the base that replaces his legs) is of the exact same size as the arched foundation of the house; they both "stand" on the same level. These features allow for a reading of the metaphor at the aesthetic, non-verbal level.

Body and house, the terms of the metaphor in Tobias' text, are also the terms of the visual metaphor. When the metaphor is BODY IS HOUSE, the house is the donor field and the body is the recipient. The mapping of body and house in the illustration is clarified by the labeling of both with Hebrew letters, so that the body part has its clear equivalent in the house. The

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<sup>33</sup> *Bari'ach U'Dlataim* in Hebrew can be translated as bars and doors or gates. The exact expression is found in Job 38:10. The reverse (doors and bars) can be found in places like Deuteronomy 3:5 and I Samuel 23:7. All of these examples are meant to strengthen the idea of a fortress. Lopicard, "An Alternative," 102, note 53.

<sup>34</sup> *Batei Ha'Nefesh* in Hebrew, found in Isaiah 3:20, and refers to the jewelry worn by the Daughters of Zion.

<sup>35</sup> Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, 93b.

<sup>36</sup> The chest and abdomen are divided into sub-chapters in the text and are discussed separately. However, in the illustration the division into thirds is clear.

<sup>37</sup> It is interesting that while the house is shown with its foundation, the legs of the human are absent and are replaced by a quasi-marble base. This is a significant detail, and will be further explored below.

comparison is explicitly written on the scroll that separates man and house. Even though a building is built from the ground up, the two are labeled alphabetically in the ancient head-to-toe manner, *capite ad calcem*.<sup>38</sup>

Starting with *Aleph* (א), the first Hebrew letter, the roof is analogous to the “skin that covers the head,”<sup>39</sup> and the pediment with scrolled moldings resembles the hairstyle of the human. Beneath the roof is the attic, which is compared to the head. The turrets correspond to the ears, the windows of the attic are the eyes, the open window of the attic is equivalent to the mouth and lips. In fact, the windows are arranged in the uppermost storey of the house to specifically resemble a face, rendering the house somewhat anthropomorphic. Furthermore, the attic lies on a flat surface, just as the head of the illustrated human rests on its shoulders.

In the middle section of house and human, each internal organ has an analogous structure in the interior of the building. Although they do not always visually align, Tobias finds similarities in function, so that the kidneys are the fountain or water reservoir within the house and the intestines act as the lavatory. Interestingly, some organs are compared to a household profession rather than a physical fixture. Tobias explains it this way: “the baker, the cook, and the owner of the cellar are the liver, the stomach, and the spleen [that are] the servants of the body that cook and keep the good and reject the waste.”<sup>40</sup>

This is not, however, a simile. As Housman suggests, similes close the relationship between the two terms that are connected by a metaphor.<sup>41</sup> The different mapping options of Tobias’ metaphor, such as STOMACH IS COOK, offer a much more complex relationship between body and house. Also, neither term is a symbol for the other; the metaphor brings together two terms that are otherwise unrelated, and neither of them can stand on its own to evoke the other in the viewer’s mind. The illustration exhibits the transference of meaning from the semantic field of the donor – the house, to the field of the recipient – the body. It clearly presents the metaphor so

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<sup>38</sup> Book 3 of Avicenna’s *Canon*, for example, which discusses diseases and their treatment according to different parts of the body (similar to the way Tobias does in his book) is arranged in a head-to-toe order. Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 84.

<sup>39</sup> Cohen, *Ma’aseh Tuvayah*, 94b.

<sup>40</sup> My translation. Cohen, *Ma’aseh Tuvayah*, 102b.

<sup>41</sup> Housman, *Metaphor and Art*, 17.

that the viewer can *see*, not only read, how the body receives properties from the house. In this way, the viewer can understand the body as if it were a house, or how it becomes a house.

### **A. Body: External Tension**

The semantic field BODY is not limited to the above description. It is derived from a history of illustrated figures in the service of science. Since the internal organs of Tobias' human figure are visible, this figure falls under the category of anatomical illustrations and instruction. Prior to the sixteenth century, human dissection was seldom a part of medical education and surviving manuscripts from the time show a continued dependency on ancient medical texts (Galen, Avicenna, etc.) rather than on observation.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, these manuscripts rarely included diagrams or illustrations, and those that did were again based on textual study.

With the artistic changes of the fifteenth century and the inclination for a more naturalistic portrayal of the human form, the study of human anatomy became valuable to artists. Leon Batista Alberti believed that the artist should strive for a proportionate depiction of the human body, and to do so the artist must inspect a real body:

[A]s in dressing one first needs to know the nude, which we then envelop encircling it with clothes, so in painting it one needs first to arrange the bones and the muscles that you will cover moderately with flesh and skin in such a way that it is not difficult to sense in which position the muscles are found. Moreover, as Nature herself displays to the common good all these proportions arranged well, so the diligent painter will find no little usefulness in examining them through his own work from Nature herself.<sup>43</sup>

Some artists did go into a more thorough investigation of the body and some even dissected cadavers themselves, the most prominent of them being Leonardo da Vinci. It is possible that artists did contribute to the development of more accurate anatomical illustrations in the following century, yet they most likely did not influence the systematic and professional study of anatomy.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> The ecclesiastical prohibition on using cadavers for study purposes certainly interfered with such endeavors.

<sup>43</sup> Leon Batista Alberti, *On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, trans. Rocco Sinisgalli (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 56.

One of the first and most renowned cases of a collaboration between the meticulous artist and the diligent physician is Andreas Vesalius' book *De humani corporis fabrica*, first published in 1543. Vesalius was the first to challenge the dominant Galenic view. Even though others before him had advocated for a direct observation as the basis for the study and instruction of anatomy, he was the first to insist on combining theory and practice. Further, he introduced a scientific approach to anatomical illustrations. Glenn Harcourt described Vesalius' book as an "illustrated masterpiece."<sup>45</sup> Vesalius realized and utilized the full potential of the new medium of printing to convey knowledge based on assiduous observation and study. The *Fabrica*, divided into books, chapters and paragraphs, was innovative in its integration of new and known information, and with the inclusion of over two hundred detailed anatomical illustrations as visual aids. Artistic details, such as a connection between text and image, a title page and a portrait of the author, all contributed to the book's success.<sup>46</sup>

The human body in the *Fabrica* is not only the subject of scientific inquiry but an object of representation.<sup>47</sup> Vesalius and his successors collaborated with artists to create accurate anatomical illustrations and also aesthetically pleasing works of art. Thus, they relied on conventional iconography, such as landscape, mythology and religious scenes. Many of the full body images in the *Fabrica*, mostly the osteological and mycological figures, are placed within a landscape or against an architectural background, and are modeled after well-known works of art.<sup>48</sup> The visceral images of Book 6, with their open abdomen to reveal the internal organs, are based on classical fragmented statues (figure 2).<sup>49</sup> Although the head and limbs are cut off, the

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<sup>44</sup> Nancy Siraisi notes that Leonardo's drawings were not published in his lifetime and likely were not known by his contemporaries. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 97.

<sup>45</sup> Glenn Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius and the Anatomy of Antique Sculpture," *Representations* 17 (Winter 1987): 28.

<sup>46</sup> Andrea Carlino, *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 39. The full impact of the book and Vesalius' methods are beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>47</sup> Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius," 28. Much has been written about the body as object and as object of the Gaze (see the work of Jacques Lacan and Norman Bryson for instance), however these issues will not be discussed in this paper.

<sup>48</sup> For example, the image on p. 174 is modeled after Titian's *The Speech of Alfonso d'Avalo*, c. 1540, in private collection.

<sup>49</sup> Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius."

organs are naturalistic and highly detailed, a feature that has no precedence in the anatomical illustrations of earlier generations.

The use of anatomy for pedagogical purposes was introduced earlier in Bologna and Padua (1405 and 1465 respectively),<sup>50</sup> but it was during the seventeenth century that anatomy had become a discipline.<sup>51</sup> Anatomical demonstrations became an integral part of the medical curriculum and most European universities, including Padua, had a permanent anatomy theater for dissection demonstrations.<sup>52</sup> Although some anatomical accounts retained the Vesalian “artistic” approach to images, they were outnumbered by more scientifically accurate and detailed illustrations of individual organs or structures. As Sean Smith describes it, “no cadavers dancing in fields, no faces with expressions, nor any classical statues with dissected bowels.”<sup>53</sup> In the second half of the seventeenth century, when the microscope was used in the study of anatomy, anatomical illustrations focused on the particular organ of discussion with a highly detailed close-up.

An example can be found in the *Bibliotheca anatomica* by physicians Daniel Le Clerc and Jacques Manget from Geneva, first published in 1685 and in expanded form in 1699. This book compiles thirty years’ worth of published anatomy treatises starting from 1650 (with the exception of Harvey and Aselli from earlier in the century). It contains two-thousand double-column folio pages accompanied by illustrations of specific organs. In a treatise by Thomas Willis, who is mentioned in the *Bibliotheca* as well as by Tobias,<sup>54</sup> discussing the brain and nerves, the illustrations show solely the part of the brain being analyzed (figure 3).

Despite the late publication date of Tobias’ book, he depicts a full-length figure. Since it was published in the first decade of the eighteenth century, one would assume Tobias’ anatomical

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<sup>50</sup> Carlino, *Books of the Body*, 2.

<sup>51</sup> See Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomist Anatomis’d: And Experimental Discipline in Enlightenment Europe* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010).

<sup>52</sup> Paula Findlen, “Anatomy Theaters, Botanical Gardens, and Natural History Collections,” in *The Cambridge History of Science: Early Modern Science*, ed. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 277.

<sup>53</sup> Sean B. Smith, “From *Ars* to *Scientia*: The Revolution of Anatomic Illustration,” *Clinical Anatomy* 19 (2006): 385.

<sup>54</sup> David B. Ruderman, “The Impact of Science on Jewish Culture and Society in Venice,” in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, ed. David B. Ruderman (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 530.

illustration would follow the advances of the late seventeenth century, with which he must have been familiar, and portray a scientifically accurate viscera. Nevertheless, his illustration greatly differs from the scientific undertaking of images that began with Vesalius almost two centuries earlier. In fact, Tobias' animated display of anatomic knowledge is anachronistic and the internal organs are schematic and inaccurately rendered. The intestines, for example, are pushed aside and the heart and lungs are of the same size. This work also shows no influence of Vesalius' idealized bodies or of any known contemporary iconography or works of art.

Within the corpus of early modern anatomical illustrations, Tobias' image is idiosyncratic and unconventional. Therefore, Tobias' goal was not an accurate exhibition of human anatomy. Moreover, the function of the illustration, especially because of its metaphor, was clearly other than teaching anatomy. The contrast between Tobias' illustration and his antecedents and contemporaries creates what Housman calls an "external tension", an essential part of a nonverbal metaphor.<sup>55</sup>

## **B. House: Internal Tension**

The inclusion of a house within an anatomical illustration, and visually comparing the house to a dissected body, creates another type of tension: the "internal tension". The internal tension of the visual metaphor can only be understood by its external context.<sup>56</sup> In other words, what is the origin of the BODY IS HOUSE metaphor?

By 1707, the publication date of *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, the body-building metaphor was already well-established in European cultural history. In the Christian view, for example, the body of Christ is the Church: "And he is the head of the body, the church" (Colossians, 1:18); "...for sake of his body, which is the church" (Colossians 1:24); "the Temple is my body" (John 2:22). The body was also used by architects to discuss architectural measurements. The Roman architect, Vitruvius, probably the most influential on Renaissance architects, called for the

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<sup>55</sup> Housman, *Metaphor and Art*, 146. Housman explains that in a verbal metaphor, the unfamiliar way that terms are brought together draws the reader's attention, which is the cue to read it non-literally and understand that this is, in fact, a metaphor. In the nonverbal arts, the unfamiliarity that draws the attention of the viewer (or listener, in the case of music) is found in the artistic expression (such as color, distortion, style, etc.). Then, a new aesthetic significance is suggested. *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146. The tension types are present in both verbal and nonverbal arts but the dependence on context is, according to Housman, more obvious in the nonverbal metaphor.

construction of a symmetrical temple, with a symmetry based on human proportions.<sup>57</sup> In the fifteenth century, Alberti referred to the different architectonic elements as members, and prescribed constructing an integral harmonious building like a “well-composed body.”<sup>58</sup> Serlio, and later Palladio, considered a building’s interior in anatomical terms, and Serlio in particular asserted that human dissection was necessary for the study of perspective.<sup>59</sup>

The comparison between body and house was also used by early modern anatomists, when they applied architectonic terms to the body. “For what walls and beams provide in houses,” propounded Vesalius, “the substance of bones provides in the fabric of man.”<sup>60</sup> Vesalius also referred to the head as the roof of a house and, in the first chapter of Book 2, he writes the following: “these parts of the body are placed beneath all others as foundations and bases.”<sup>61</sup> Since Tobias studied medicine at Padua, he must have known and read the work of Vesalius, a graduate and professor of Padua’s medical school.

In lectures given in 1616, William Harvey used the metaphor when he discussed the thorax as a parlor and the stomach as the kitchen.<sup>62</sup> Yet these lectures were not published in book form during Tobias’ lifetime.<sup>63</sup> Hence, it is unlikely that he was directly influenced by Harvey’s use of the metaphor. Tobias was, however, familiar with Harvey’s theory of the circulation of the blood, which he accepted and presented in his text as well as in the illustration. In the latter, the heart is mapped with the only non-visible structure of the house. Tobias refers to the heart as the “master of the house” (*Ba’al Ha’Bait*) who sits behind a latticework grille in the storey right

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<sup>57</sup> Pollio Vitruvius, *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid D. Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), especially book III.

<sup>58</sup> Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavern (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 23-24.

<sup>59</sup> Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on architecture: Books I-V of Tutte l’opere d’architettura et prospetiva*, trans. and ed. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), especially book II. For a discussion of Serlio’s theories in relations to Vesalius, see: Hillary M. Nunn, *Staging Anatomies: Dissection and Spectacle in Early Stuart Tragedy* (Burlington: Ashgate, 1988), 119.

<sup>60</sup> Andreas Vesalius, *On the Fabric of the Human Body: An Annotated Translation of the 1543 and 1555 Editions of Andreas Vesalius’ De humani corporis fabrica*, trans. and ed. Daniel Garrison and Malcolm Hast (Evanston: Northwestern University, 2003), Book I, 1, accessed May 23, 2013, <http://vesalius.northwestern.edu/>.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Nigel Allen, “Illustrations from the Wellcome Institute Library: A Jewish Physician in the Seventeenth Century,” *Medical History* 28 (1984): 327.

<sup>63</sup> Lepicard, “An Alternative,” 100.



below the attic and “can watch from afar everything under the sun and conceal itself from every harm.” And like the master, “so is the heart positioned in the middle of the chest between the lungs.”<sup>64</sup> This location, according to Tobias, allows for fresh air while still being protected, a detail that is thought to represent Harvey’s ideas about the role of the heart.<sup>65</sup> But while earlier anatomists used the BODY IS HOUSE metaphor sporadically and employed it for rhetorical reasons, this metaphor was the central premise in Tobias’s work.

### C. The Jewish Context

The Jewish physician received a traditional Jewish education in his youth, and before entering the university of Padua attended the preparatory school of the physician Solomon Conegliano. Apart from preparing Jewish students in Latin, Italian and other basic subjects, Conegliano’s school offered spiritual studies so that the students could also become rabbis.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, Tobias was well-versed in both medicine and Jewish scripture.

Lexemes from Judaism are included in the semantic field HOUSE. First, the reference to King Solomon in the introduction to ‘A New House’ suggests that the analogy between man and architecture can already be found in the Bible. Biblical rituals such as Sukkot<sup>67</sup> are based on the symbol of the house, and Jewish ritual objects (*Rimonim*,<sup>68</sup> *Besamim* boxes,<sup>69</sup> Menorahs, etc.) from the early modern period are also shaped like buildings. In Hebrew, the Jewish people is referred to as the “House of Israel” (*Beit Israel*) and the house metaphors include the religious

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<sup>64</sup> My translation. Cohen, *Ma’aseh Tuviyah*, 93b.

<sup>65</sup> Lepicard, “An Alternative,” 99. The section on the heart in Tobias’ text begins with a description of Harvey’s circulation of the blood (Cohen, *Ma’aseh Tuviyah*, 102).

<sup>66</sup> Ruderman, *Jewish Thought*, 112.

<sup>67</sup> Sukkot, or the Feast of Tabernacles, which is an important Jewish holiday to this day, is celebrated by residing in a *Sukkah* (a temporary dwelling structure with a plant based roof) for seven days: “You shall live in booths seven days; all citizens in Israel shall live in booths, in order that further generations may know that I made the Israelite people live in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, I the LORD your God.” (Leviticus 23: 42-3). See Mimi Levy Lipis, *Symbolic Houses in Judaism: How Objects and Metaphors Construct Hybrid Places of Belonging* (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2011) for an interesting interpretation of the metaphor of the sukkah.

<sup>68</sup> Decorative Torah finials, usually made out of silver, that are placed on top of a Torah scroll.

<sup>69</sup> *Besamim* are spice boxes used in the *Havdallah* ceremony at the end of the Sabbath. The boxes especially have connotations of a house, as they “house” the spices.

text as house,<sup>70</sup> the community as house and God as house. Nevertheless, these metaphors are represented linguistically, not visually, and assume the implication of the term “house”.<sup>71</sup> Even though house metaphors appear in Christian sources, in Judaism, “rather than referring to buildings, the house metaphors allude to religious, cultural, and emotional places of belonging, and refer to objects, people, and concepts that differ greatly in character.”<sup>72</sup> Thus, the religion of the viewer must have played a role in understanding Tobias’ metaphor.

*Ma’aseh Tuviyah*, written in a rich Hebrew style by a Jewish physician, was likely intended as a textbook for Jewish medical students. It is structured in the manner of other textbooks of the period and is part of the Hebrew encyclopedic tradition. These compendia were designed to compile several sources and truths into one scholarly work, and were especially favored by Jewish intellectuals in Italy.<sup>73</sup> One of the first medical texts in Hebrew was published in Venice by the rabbi and physician Jacob Zahalon in 1683, the year Tobias graduated from Padua’s medical school. The book, *Ozar Ha’Hayim*, was originally designed as an encyclopedia but only the medical section was published (probably for financial reasons). Ruderman argues that Zahalon wished his book would widely circulate among Jewish communities in Italy and eastern Europe and therefore wrote it in Hebrew.<sup>74</sup> It is plausible that Tobias had the same motivation to write in the language usually reserved for religious texts, and not in Yiddish or even Latin as other Jewish physicians have done.<sup>75</sup>

Tobias, evidently, wrote for the Jewish reader. Contrary to Zahalon, however, Tobias took an elitist approach and his book was intended for students in the midst of their medical education or for university-trained physicians. As he explains in the introduction to the medical section of the book, the study of medicine is not for everyone; only the truly diligent student can engage in such taxing academic work. This was especially true for the Jewish student who, in addition to

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<sup>70</sup> The Bible was considered a portable home, and the Talmud was structured in architectural terms to substitute the destroyed Temple: “...one of the rare cases in human history where a demolished monumental building set the stage for the creation of a monumental text.” Mitchell Schwarzer, “The Architecture of Talmud,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, no. 4 (Dec. 2001): 474.

<sup>71</sup> Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 2.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>73</sup> Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 122.

<sup>74</sup> Ruderman, *Jewish Thought*, 217.

<sup>75</sup> Like Amatus Lusitanus (1511-1568) for instance. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought*, 218.

the laborious training, had to overcome many difficulties that ensued while studying at Christian institutions. The University of Padua, known for its tolerant stance towards Jews, had the largest number of Jewish medical graduates in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, Jewish students were not treated equally, especially financially, and were obligated to pay a higher tuition rate and a graduation tax.

Most of these students came from segregated Jewish communities and lacked the prerequisite knowledge of their Christian colleagues. Furthermore, the immediate exposure to the cosmopolitanism of academic life brought on social and cultural predicaments, such as observing the dietary laws and keeping the Sabbath. The rigors of the curriculum included surgery and anatomy instructions through autopsies, using bodies often stolen from Jewish cemeteries.<sup>77</sup> Jewish Law forbids a delay of burial or defiling the deceased body.<sup>78</sup> Thus, these students must have also faced some moral difficulties. In the case of autopsies on human cadavers, some Jewish students may have encountered another religious issue. Jews whose last name means priest, and Tobias among them,<sup>79</sup> are prohibited by Jewish Law to be in proximity to a corpse (Leviticus 21:1).

It seems that, at least with his illustration, Tobias had somewhat solved that problem by using a strategy found in Vesalius' *Fabrica*. While Vesalius' osteological and mycological images are shown as a full length figure in various poses, his visceral images (e.g.: figure 2) are modeled after classical sculptural fragments. Harcourt contends that, in this way, Vesalius was able to eliminate or minimize the violation aspect of anatomical dissection.<sup>80</sup> In its amputated state, with no legs nor arms, Tobias' image becomes a fragment. When focusing on the bottom two-thirds of the figure, the feeling of violation almost disappears, especially with the stone base that replaces its legs. Thus, by reducing the sense of a defiled body, Tobias distances himself from the dissection that is necessary for the study of anatomy.

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>78</sup> Found in Deuteronomy 21: 22-23 as well as in the Talmud.

<sup>79</sup> HaCohen, Tobias' last name, means "the priest". The other names by which Tobias is known mean priest or high priest as well: Cohn/Kohn come from Cohen, and Katz is the acronym for "Cohen Tzedek" (descendants of the High Priest).

<sup>80</sup> Harcourt, "Andreas Vesalius," 29.

Another tactic Tobias deploys is that of the “self-dissected figure”,<sup>81</sup> a strategy developed by Renaissance anatomists to curtail the feeling of desecration. It is primarily an illustration of a seemingly alive cadaver who is demonstrating his own anatomized body. In Giulio Casserio’s work from 1627, for instance, the “living” corpse is lifting up his skin to reveal his viscera to the viewer (figure 4). Tobias’ figure, even without hands to dissect itself, seems to actively present its interior. Although fragmented like Vesalius’ visceral images, this figure has a head with an animated face and follows the “self-dissected” in their binary representation of a body that is simultaneously dead and living. Tobias, then, alleviates his responsibility for autopsy and anatomical instruction and imposes it on the illustrated figure.

At the same time, however, Tobias reminds his readers that this figure is no longer alive, and that the death of one individual can help preserve the life of another. His human figure is positioned on a quasi-marble base that recalls a sarcophagus or tombstone, onto which a plaque bearing a marble-like design is attached. At the top an inscription reads: “Man’s origin is from dirt (*adam me’afar yesodo*).” There is a play on the Hebrew word *yesod*, which means both origin and foundation. The base of the figure, which is substituting its legs, is compared to the foundations of the house, or *Yesodei Ha’Bait*.

The inscription on the base is part of the hymn *U’Netaneh Tokef*,<sup>82</sup> which is recited on Yom Kippur, and is immediately evoked in the mind of the Jewish viewer. This inscription was clearly understood as such, since in the second edition of *Ma’aseh Tuviyah* it is inscribed on the marble plaque itself (figure 5). The inscription is part of a sentence that reads as follows: “Man’s origin is from dirt and to dirt he shall return (*adam yesodo me’afar ve’sofa le’afar*).”<sup>83</sup> It is then followed by a line of metaphors relating to the fragility of man.

Although man and building were created from dirt, from the ground up, the head-to-toe labeling that ends with the sarcophagus reminds the viewer that man’s destiny is back to dirt. The design on the plaque of the first edition of *Ma’aseh Tuviyah* is difficult to decipher, but in

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<sup>81</sup> Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 113.

<sup>82</sup> This prayer, probably written in the eleventh century, is attributed to Rabbi Amnon of Mainz. It has been part of the Yom Kippur liturgy since the thirteenth century.

<sup>83</sup> Tobias here reversed the order of the words; in the original hymn it is written *adam yesodo me’afar*, but the meaning remains the same.

the second edition a landscape is drawn on it. Therefore, the design of the first edition must have been understood as such. If, in fact, it is a landscape then the idea of man returning to the earth is even more accentuated. In this way, this image is not only a reminder that the teaching of anatomy is done on a corpse. This image also acts as a Jewish *memento mori*.<sup>84</sup> It is appropriate here, in this context, where Tobias lists the perils to the human body in his text, while providing a metaphor in his illustration that stresses the dangers to the *Jewish* body in particular.

#### **D. BODY IS HOME**

Similar to other Jewish medical works, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* cannot be characterized as explicitly “Jewish” or presenting “Jewish Medicine”.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, the numerous Jewish references, both from scripture and Tobias’ own notions about Judaism, Jews and the Jewish-Christian relationship, undoubtedly make the intentional audience Jewish. Since house metaphors are inherently part of Jewish culture, it is thus not surprising that a Jewish physician would utilize the concept of a house in a metaphor for Jewish readers.

The use or need for this kind of a metaphor arises from the countless migrations of Jews and collective Jewish experience of the Diaspora. Jewish students were required to leave their community in search of a university willing to admit them. Tobias, who was born in Metz, spent his youth in Krakow for the purpose of education. Later, he attended medical school at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder before relocating to the University of Padua. Some students did not return to their community but went to practice elsewhere. Following graduation Tobias practiced medicine in Poland before serving as the personal physician to five successive Ottoman sultans.

The religious wars, persecutions and economic difficulties of the early modern period forced individuals and entire communities throughout Europe to relocate. Moreover, the Jewish migration of the period was in mass numbers, due to expulsions, flight from pogroms and change in state tolerability.<sup>86</sup> Tobias’ own family escaped the Khmelnytzky massacres (1648-1657) in eastern Europe, a few years before he was born.

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<sup>84</sup> Vesalius also has a *memento mori* image in his *Fabrica*, folio 9v.

<sup>85</sup> Michael Nevins, *Jewish Medicine: What It Is and Why It Matters* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2006), 1.

Having one's home expropriated time and time again, a physical structure can lose its importance. What remains constant, however, is one's body; maintaining good health becomes crucial. It is in this case that the body becomes a home where one genuinely dwells. And dwelling is *being* according to Martin Heidegger.<sup>87</sup> To stress the notion that the body should be well-maintained while constantly in transit, Tobias brings forth a metaphor: BODY IS HOUSE. The word for house in Hebrew is *Ba'it*, which also means home. The metaphor can thus be read: BODY IS HOME. As Richard Lang asserts: "Everything has been transmuted in the home; things have truly become annexed to our body, and incorporated."<sup>88</sup>

The body in Tobias' illustration does not merely resemble the house; the body becomes this house. Despite Lang's claim that the body is our second home,<sup>89</sup> for Tobias it is the first, or the only, true home. How can this home be well preserved? It is a job for the physician, well-versed with *Ma'aseh Tuvayah*, and chiefly with the pathology chapter that follows this metaphor, where Tobias formulates treatments for possible maladies. The illustration not only reminds the Jewish student of his personal and the collective Jewish experience, but also, by its location in Tobias' book, provides the tools to protect one's fundamental home – the body.

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<sup>86</sup> Ruderman finds a positive aspect to these migrations, and argues that they were essential in constructing the Jewish culture of the period, with the intense mixing of Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities. See: Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*.

<sup>87</sup> Martin Heidegger, "Building, Dwelling, Thinking," in *Rethinking Architecture: a Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997).

<sup>88</sup> Richard Lang, "The Dwelling Door: Towards a Phenomenology of Transition," in *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*, ed. David Seamon and Robert Mugerauer (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2000), 202.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

## Chapter 2

### Metaphors of the Body

Tobias' anatomical illustration opens the chapter on pathology. The chapter describes possible illnesses and disorders from head to toe, and prescribes practical treatments. The illustrated body, however, is not an ailing body. It is not inflicted with any of the diseases listed in the text. The body appears healthy and, despite their inaccurate positioning, its organs are intact. Why, then, is this body included here?

The following chapter will focus on other ways in which this body was significant for Tobias. The metaphors that will be discussed here are not depicted in the illustration and must be conjectured from an external context. I will argue that two metaphors can be inferred from this illustration, one describing the collective Jewish people and the other relating to the ideal Jew as Tobias saw him. The body is the only domain present in the illustration and it will serve in both metaphors as the donor field, in addition to its recipient role in the previous discussion. The other domains, which will be deduced chiefly from an antisemitic context, will assume the recipient fields.

#### **A. "Jewishness" Anatomized: JEWISH PEOPLE IS BODY**

Since the illustrated body is the donor field, it is first essential to understand its significance and representation before trying to map the body with the collective concept "Jewish People". If this body is used in a metaphor concerning Jews, can it be regarded as a "Jewish body"? In other words, can we surmise that this is a representation of a Jewish individual? Does it have specific characteristics that differentiate it from non-Jews? In Christendom, amidst a racial discourse fueled by stereotyping and overall anti-Jewish policies, different eras yielded different answers

to these questions. At least since the beginning of the Diaspora, Jews have been regarded as outsiders, as others living within the hegemonic European Christian society.<sup>90</sup>

### **i. In or Out: Stereotypes and Antisemitism**

Social psychologists have shown that people categorize and judge themselves and others according to prototypes that define the characteristics of group membership; the group to which they belong becomes the “ingroup”, and everyone outside this group is in the “outgroup”. The process of social categorization accentuates the perceived differences between the ingroup and outgroup. At the same time, the ingroup views the outgroup as a homogenized unit and perceives its members as indistinguishable. This kind of categorization is based on a shared cognition within the group and a collective self-experience.<sup>91</sup>

Outgroup categorization is often based on stereotypes, properties perceived to identify a particular group or category of people.<sup>92</sup> These generalizations stem from the cognitive process of social categorizing, in which people are classified according to *perceived* similar characteristics that may or may not be real. The process of categorization can itself influence the creation of stereotypes. Stereotypes become a social phenomenon if they are shared by a large number of people within a particular social group.<sup>93</sup>

According to Oliver Stallybrass, stereotypes can sometimes cause acts of prejudice and discrimination toward members of the stereotyped category.<sup>94</sup> “‘Prejudice’ is a kind of prejudgment,” says David Schneider, “an affective or emotional response to a group of people or an individual from that group.”<sup>95</sup> While prejudice is a mental process of *prejudgment* deriving

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<sup>90</sup> The Christian-Jewish relationship in the early modern period is complex and has many dimensions, far beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, I will limit the discussion to the general manifestation of Jewish hatred and anti-Jewish conduct that prevailed in Christian lands at the time.

<sup>91</sup> R. Scott Tindale et al., “Shared Cognition in Small Groups,” in *Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Group Processes*, ed. Michael A. Hogg and R. Scott Tibdale (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2001), 7.

<sup>92</sup> David J. Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping* (New York: Guilford Press, 2005), 24.

<sup>93</sup> Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 145.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>95</sup> Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping*, 266.



from stereotyping, *judgment* incited by “unjustified use of category information”<sup>96</sup> leads to outward acts of discrimination. Stereotyping of Jews was an inherent part of European history that resulted in discriminatory laws and violent behavior against Jews. Antisemitism is a powerful type of prejudice that involves “primary process thinking,” where irrational feelings fuel antisemitical thoughts and actions, regardless of the actual characteristics of the target group.<sup>97</sup>

In the Christian world, Jews have long been perceived as an outgroup that, as a whole, is eternally culpable for Jesus’ death. From their perceived role in the Crucifixion, the early Christian theologians deemed them as “Christ Killers”, a label that has marked Jews to this day. Augustine, for instance, found the Jews guilty of using “the sword of the tongue... when [they] cried out, ‘Crucify, Crucify.’”<sup>98</sup> Their crime was not only handing Jesus to Pilate; they were also accused of ignoring his teaching and refusing to recognize him as Christ.

Thomas Aquinas, on the other hand, believed the Jews understood who Jesus really was and killed him out of hatred. Hence, their ignorance does not excuse them from their crime. Their offense was greater than that of the Roman executioners because, contrary to the Jews, the latter had no knowledge of the Law: “[T]he rulers of the Jews knew that He was the Christ: and if there was any ignorance in them, it was affected ignorance, which could not excuse them. Therefore their sin was the most grievous, both on account of the kind of sin, as well as from the malice of their will.”<sup>99</sup>

Nevertheless, Jews were relatively tolerated until the thirteenth century. This tolerance was influenced by Augustine’s claim that contemporary Jews were living witnesses to the Crucifixion because their religion had endured through time. But when it was evident that Judaism continued to evolve (especially with the debates on Maimonides’ writing and the discourse on the Talmud),

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>97</sup> Chanes, *Antisemitism*, 6-7.

<sup>98</sup> Saint Augustine, *Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, ed. A. Cleveland Coxe, in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. by Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, MI: WM.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company), Vol VIII, 533, Psalm 64.4, accessed January 5, 2013, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf108.pdf>.

<sup>99</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Tertia Pars, Q.47, accessed January 5, 2013, <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/4047.htm>.

this tolerance changed. From that time on, laws and policies inimical to the Jews were implemented by the state throughout Europe.<sup>100</sup>

In 1215, the fourth Lateran Council delineated in Canons 67-70 a discriminatory policy against Jews, demarcating the “true believer” from the heretic. Canon 68 did so visually, with the enforcement of a badge or signifier to be worn by all Jews: “we decree that such Jews and Saracens of both sexes in every Christian province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress.”<sup>101</sup> The distinguishable mark ranged from a badge worn on garments (e.g. in the shape of a ring or tablets of the law) or a special kind of funnel-shaped hat that was usually yellow or red (*Judenhut*). This not only created a clear division between Christians (the ingroup) and Jews (the outgroup) but, as Michael Camille observes, also allowed the ingroup to visually control the outgroup. The signifier publically turned the Jews into an image.<sup>102</sup> In this way, Jews became “a special object of the gaze, the negative centerpiece of an entire regime of representation, the very image of alterity, or ‘Otherness.’”<sup>103</sup>

## **ii. An Antithesis to Antisemitism: Tobias’ Response to Christian Images of Jews**

The signifiers were also used to identify Jews in art, especially in works depicting them negatively, where these signifiers become their attribute. One such example is a fifteenth-century woodcut portraying the blood libel of Simon of Trent from Hartmann Schedel’s ‘Nuremberg Chronicle’ (figure 6), in which Jews are torturing the young boy before murdering him.<sup>104</sup> The figures surrounding the boy can all be identified as Jews by the ring badge worn on their clothes and the funnel-shaped hat worn by the man in the back left corner. Even though in some places

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<sup>100</sup> Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 87-90.

<sup>101</sup> Council of Centers on Jewish-Christian Relations, “Fourth Lateran Council, ‘Canons Concerning Jews’ (1215),” accessed January 5, 2013, <http://www.ccsr.us/dialogika-resources/primary-texts-from-the-history-of-the-relationship/264-lateran4>.

<sup>102</sup> Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 180.

<sup>103</sup> Mitchell B. Merback, Introduction to *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2.

<sup>104</sup> More about blood libels and this particular woodcut below.

(including Venice) some form of a Jewish signifier remained mandatory until the eighteenth century, Tobias' illustrated figure does not wear a badge of any kind. Is it, then, a universal figure without a nationality or religion, or are there other characteristics that, despite the absence of a badge, can still identify it as "Jewish"?

The enforced badge, ubiquitous throughout Europe for centuries, suggests that Jews were not distinguishable by appearance alone. Nevertheless, as part of the stereotyping process, Jews as Christ Killers were assigned "evil" properties and distorted facial features, namely a long and crooked nose, exaggerated lips, bulbous eyes and a pointy goat-like beard (or a double-pointed beard). The goat's beard was intended to associate Jews with the lascivious, demonic goat, and was "transferred onto contemporary portrayals of Jews, where it may carry double significance as a demonic and sexual sign, in accordance with contemporary beliefs about Jews, their nature, and their allegiances."<sup>105</sup> In the Simon of Trent woodcut mentioned above, in addition to the badge, the man on the left has a long nose and a double-pointed beard to emphasize not only his affiliation with Judaism, but also his wickedness. Other figures in this woodcut share these attributes, such as the hooked-nosed man holding the boy on the right (labeled *Mayir*), and the man kneeling at the front with a double-pointed beard.

This woodcut depicts a blood libel from the fifteenth century, which accused the Jews of Trent of murdering the child Simon and using his blood for baking the Passover *Matzah* (unleavened bread). It was one of many such grievances that indicted Jews for ritually killing Christian children for their blood (even though blood sacrifices and consumption of blood are explicitly forbidden by Jewish Law).<sup>106</sup> These libels often occurred close to Passover (and Easter) and were based on the belief that Jews were responsible for the Passion and Crucifixion. The first pronounced case of a blood libel was recorded in Norwich in 1144 and spread throughout Europe during the medieval and early modern periods. From the seventeenth century on, this accusation became increasingly popular in eastern Europe. Jews were tortured to confess

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<sup>105</sup> Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 78.

<sup>106</sup> Raphael Israeli, *Blood Libel and its Derivatives: The Scourge of Anti-Semitism* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2012), xiv.

to such alleged crimes and whole communities were massacred because of these libels.<sup>107</sup>

The convergence of Passover, body, blood, murder and unleavened bread engendered another kind of blood libel – the Desecration of the Host. This libel condemned Jews for their continued torture of Jesus in the present day. With the invention of print, these libels quickly spread throughout the continent. They were depicted in art (such as Paolo Uccello’s predella in Urbino<sup>108</sup>) and were responsible for the death of many Jews.<sup>109</sup> Images of libels existed in manuscripts as well as in public art, depicted on the interior and exterior of churches and other public locations. As in the woodcut of Simon of Trent, Jews were frequently portrayed with the same negative physiognomy that became their “trademark”.

Attributing ugly or deformed features to sin is based on Greek and Roman ideas and did not start in the Middle Ages. In fact, the relation between physicality and morality is already found in Leviticus, in the section describing those ineligible for priesthood: “For whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath any thing maimed, or anything too long [nose]” (Leviticus 21:18).<sup>110</sup> Christianization of the classical ideas on physiognomy and Christian interpretation of Leviticus were visually manifested in Books of Hours and *Bibles moralisées*, where the deformities included noses that were too large or crooked. Physiognomy books of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries show that the hooked nose was used to signify “drunkenness, voraciousness, arrogance, and wantonness.”<sup>111</sup> These negative attributes were first assigned to the Devil but then imputed to the Jews in the process of

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<sup>107</sup> Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson, Yehuda Slutsky, and Dina Porat, “Blood Libel,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed., Vol. 3 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 774-780. Gale Virtual Reference Library, accessed December 15, 2013, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2587503147&v=2.1&u=imcpl1111&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w&asid=7bd09a4ece3a039651a8d44992e37189>.

<sup>108</sup> Paolo Uccello, *Miracle of the Desecrated Host*, 1465-69; 6 panels; Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. These panels form the predella for Justus of Ghent’s altarpiece for the church of Corpus Domini in Urbino

<sup>109</sup> Cohen, *Christ Killers*, 103-109.

<sup>110</sup> The full section is 16-24. <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt0321.htm>.

<sup>111</sup> Strickland, *Saracens*, 77.

deeming them diabolical.<sup>112</sup> Although other negative figures were depicted with hooked noses, the combination between this type of nose and the Jewish badge or hat is unequivocal.

Moreover, these attributes within scenes of the Passion and Crucifixion make the Christian attitudes toward Jews explicit. Artworks depicting Jews in the Passion scenes were also publicly displayed and visible to all, including Jews. These works usually remained at their location throughout the early modern period and Jews were not only constantly exposed to the permanent exhibition of these stereotypes, but suffered from violence engendered by them. The prejudice concerning the “Jewish” physiognomy was deeply embedded in the European perception of Jews and was perpetuated well into the twentieth century by Nazi ideology. Two centuries prior, Lavater, in his endeavor to establish physiognomy as a science, wrote: “I also number among the national characteristics of the Jewish face... a pointed chin and thick lips with a well defined medial line.”<sup>113</sup>

This antisemitic tradition of facial stereotyping was challenged by Tobias in his scientific book *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, with a single image of a male figure. He did so with a dignified and proportionate face, unexaggerated features and a neatly-trimmed beard that is neither goat-like nor double pointed. Interestingly, from the second half of the seventeenth century, Jews trimmed their beards or even removed them entirely.<sup>114</sup> Tobias, for example, has a short, well-groomed beard in his portrait on the frontispiece of his book (figure 7).<sup>115</sup> The full beard in the anatomical

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<sup>112</sup> Debra Higgs Strickland maintains that, although Jews were habitually portrayed with hooked noses, other non-Christians and enemies of Christianity (torturers of saints for example) also receive exaggerated noses and, therefore, hooked noses should not always be seen as stereotypically ‘ethnic’ or ‘Semitic’. Strickland, *Saracens*, 77.

<sup>113</sup> Quoted in: Richard T. Gray, *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), 108.

<sup>114</sup> Ze'ev Yeivin, “Beard and Shaving,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 235-236. Gale Virtual Reference Library, accessed December 27, 2012, <http://go.galegroup.com.libproxy.cc.stonybrook.edu/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2587502230&v=2.1&u=sunysb&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w>. The nature of the beard was nonetheless a cause for controversy among Jewish authorities and in some communities the full beard remained mandatory. See: Elliott Horowitz, “The Early Eighteenth Century Confronts the Beard: Kabbalah and Jewish Self-Fashioning,” *Jewish History* 8, no. 1/2, The Robert Cohen Memorial Volume (1994).

<sup>115</sup> If we assume that this is, in fact, his portrait. Richard Cohen argues that, on numerous occasions, portraits of rabbis, for instance, were fictitious. See: Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), chapter 3. Also, the book was published in Venice, where the woodcuts were likely executed, while Tobias was residing in Constantinople. It is therefore plausible that Tobias’ portrait was not based on likeness.

illustration was intentional, to stress the contrast between the manicured beard and the antisemitic imagery in Christian art.<sup>116</sup>

Jews were also accused of suffering from blindness. With their literal understanding of the Bible, they were blind to its true spiritual meaning and were unable to “see” and recognize Christ.<sup>117</sup> The notion of Jewish blindness is represented in art, such as in Johannes Pfefferkorn’s *Libellus de Judaica Confessione* from 1508 (figure 8). This woodcut is a seemingly “realistic” portrayal of Jews praying in a synagogue, while both men and women are depicted with a veil on their face. The veil, an addition by Pfefferkorn, symbolizes the Jewish blindness in their wrongfully-directed praying.

In the High Middle Ages, one of the popular depictions of Jewish blindness was the female personification *Synagoga* that bedecked Cathedral facades, illuminated manuscripts and ivory book covers. Personifying the synagogue and the Jewish people,<sup>118</sup> *Synagoga* stood in sharp contrast to *Ecclesia* – the personification of the Church. *Synagoga*’s attributes heightened the dichotomy between the inferiority of Judaism and the triumph of Christianity.<sup>119</sup> She usually appears blindfolded or veiled, to represent the curtain of the Temple that was torn at the time of the Crucifixion (Matthew 27:51) and/or the eyes of the Jews that grew dim (Lamentations 5:17). Occasionally she is depicted with a broken staff, falling tablets of the Law and a distorted posture<sup>120</sup> (See for example figure 9, from the south portal of the Strasbourg Cathedral). Surely, as a monumental public display, *Synagoga*’s metaphor was a constant reminder to generations of both Christians and Jews of the anti-Jewish stereotypes that are embedded in her image. Tobias’

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<sup>116</sup> An uncut beard was also a characteristic of the followers of Kabbalah, especially the Lurianic school. It is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate Tobias’ affiliation with Kabbalah, and whether or not this beard had any Kabbalistic significance for him deserves further research.

<sup>117</sup> In Augustine’s view, for instance, Jews appeared as “the face of a blind man appears in a mirror – by others it is seen but by himself it is not seen.” Quoted in: Cohen, *Christ Killers*, 84.

<sup>118</sup> *Synagoga* is an early example of the metaphors JEWISH PEOPLE IS BODY and TEMPLE (or BUILDING) IS BODY (the latter will be discussed in chapter 3).

<sup>119</sup> For the purpose of this paper, I do not go into the complexities of these figures or the intricacy of the Jewish-Christian relationship as manifested by such images. For further information see: Sara Lipton, “The Temple is my Body: Gender, Carnality, and *Synagoga* in the *Bible moralisée*,” in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Eva Frojmovic (Leiden: Brill International, 2002). In this article, Lipton focuses on representations of *Synagoga* in the *Bibles moralisées*, and questions the polarity between the two figures. She also considers *Synagoga* not just as a body but also as a female body, while comparing her to male figures rather than merely contrasting her with *Ecclesia*.

<sup>120</sup> Lipton, “The Temple is my Body,” 129-130.

figure is an antithesis to the Synagoga imagery, as well. It is a male figure<sup>121</sup> that stares directly at the viewer with a confident gaze, not that of the blind. This is the gaze of knowledge, the breadth of which is revealed in Tobias' book.

In his address to the Jews, Peter the Venerable expresses the twelfth-century belief that Jews were not entirely human and had animal characteristics: "For I dare not declare you are human lest perchance I lie, because I recognize that reason, that which distinguishes humans from...beasts, is extinct in you or in any case buried... Truly, why are you not called brute animals? Why not beasts? Why not beasts of burden?... The ass hears but does not understand; the Jew hears but does not understand."<sup>122</sup> The denial of Christ was so horrifying as to insinuate that Jews were not quite human. This idea opened a "Pandora's box... releasing new stereotypes to infest the European-Christian imagination."<sup>123</sup> In art, it materialized in bestiaries – manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with illustrations of various animals and descriptions of their habits (real or fictitious). Through allegories about these animals, Christian doxology was reinforced.<sup>124</sup>

Accordingly, some of the depicted animals were considered "Jewish". These animals were viewed as unclean or perverse, and perpetuated the themes of blindness or deicide. One example is the owl that, as a nocturnal animal, symbolized the aforementioned Jewish blindness and preference for darkness: "men loved the darkness rather than the Light, for their deeds were evil. For everyone who does evil hates the Light, and does not come to the Light for fear that his deeds will be exposed" (John 3:19-20). The owl was believed to be a filthy animal that nests in its own droppings. It was often illustrated with a hooked nose and, as in figure 10, with Christian

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<sup>121</sup> Of course this calls attention to gender issues. The image does not only try to contradict the negative *female* personification of Jews, but also highlights the place of women within Jewish society. This kind of a discussion is beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>122</sup> Peter the Venerable, *Adversus Judaeorum inveteratum duritiem*, c. 1143. Quoted in translation in: Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 207.

<sup>123</sup> Merback, Introduction to *Beyond the Yellow Badge*, 20.

<sup>124</sup> The text of the bestiaries was based on the *Physiologus*, written in Alexandria between the second and fourth centuries. This work, as Strickland argues, is fundamentally anti-Jewish, and thus the bestiaries that derive from it maintain the anti-Jewish polemic. See: Strickland, "The Jews, Leviticus, and the Unclean in Medieval English Bestiaries," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge*, 206.

daybirds attacking it.<sup>125</sup>

The bestiary manuscripts, with text first in Latin and then in the vernacular, reached the height of their production in the thirteenth century and declined in popularity in France and England by the late fourteenth century. In Italy, however, they continued to be published well into the sixteenth century, influencing Renaissance art and thought.<sup>126</sup> Whether or not Tobias was exposed to these notions is unknown, but the body depicted in his book provides a stark contrast to the bestial images. Tobias proves that Jews are human not only by their outward appearance but inwardly as well. The figure's internal organs are visible to demonstrate that Jews are anatomically identical to Christians. The viscera is on display to reveal that Jews have no animal parts and are therefore entirely human.

Antisemitic rendering of Jews in medieval and early modern Europe also gave birth to the tale of the Wandering Jew. Though it was referenced in several medieval sources, it developed into a full-fledged and influential legend in the seventeenth century, following the publication of the story in a German pamphlet in 1602.<sup>127</sup> Despite the scarcity of images of the Wandering Jew prior to the eighteenth century, his description made its way into numerous literary accounts. Originally, he was the shoemaker on the Via Delarosa who was doomed by Jesus to eternally roam the earth. A middle-aged man with a long beard, wild long hair, tattered attire and a wandering stick, he received different identities throughout the years and across geographic regions. In his wandering, he brought forth meteorological changes, supernatural phenomena and the spread of disease.

Tobias displays an entirely different man. Contrary to the Wandering Jew of the legend, he has a clean face, a neat haircut and a trimmed beard. He is, in fact, a healthy man, with healthy organs displayed for proof. Not only will this man prevent the spread of diseases, he will help cure them; this figure is the conduit for Tobias' medical knowledge described in the chapter that follows the illustration, complete with prescriptions to fight countless ailments. For example,

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<sup>125</sup> Anthony Bale, "Fictions of Judaism in England before 1290," in *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary, and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 141.

<sup>126</sup> Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 7-8. These beliefs perpetuated well into the twentieth century, as is evident in Nazi propaganda. See: Boria Sax, *Animals in the Third Reich: Pets, Scapegoats, and the Holocaust* (New York: Continuum, 2000).

<sup>127</sup> R. Edelmann, "Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew: Origin and Background," in *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend*, ed. Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).



Tobias describes in detail the symptoms of a disease that perplexed Polish physicians – *Plica Polonica* – and recommends a treatment.<sup>128</sup> *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* also includes a chapter on hygiene, medical botany and an alphabetical list of medicines in three languages (in Hebrew transliteration).

Tobias' anatomical figure is antithetical to the stereotypical image of “the Jew” – the grotesque, the savage, the subhuman, the filthy – that was all too familiar to both Jews and Christians. It cannot, however, be identified as a Jewish individual in itself. Without assigning “Jewish” properties to this face, I propose that this illustration was intended to be read as a Jewish image, nonetheless. First, it is located in a Hebrew manuscript that was obviously designated for a Jewish reader. Second, and more importantly, in a single image Tobias managed to reverse the negative portrayal of Jews and set them in a positive light. Thus, the dissected body stands for the Jewish people, collectively, and becomes their metaphor.

Propelled by stereotypes, prejudice and violence against his nation, it is not surprising that Tobias intended to elevate the perception of Jews in the eyes of non-Jews, especially in light of his own experience. Tobias and his friend Gabriel Felix of Brody began their medical education at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder. They were among the first Jews to matriculate there and receive a stipend from the state. Due to antisemitic policies that denied them a medical degree, they relocated to Padua to finish their studies. In the introduction to the book, Tobias refers to that period specifically and addresses the Gentiles as follows: “[they] vex us, raising their voices without restraint, speaking haughtily with arrogance and scorn, telling us that we have no mouth to respond, nor a forehead to raise our heads in matters of faith, and that our knowledge and ancient intelligence have been lost, as I heard the slander of many from the surrounding den during the days of my youth.”<sup>129</sup>

Yet, even though Tobias was well-versed in several European languages including Latin, he chose to compose his text for a Jewish reader, literate in Hebrew. Why, then, did Tobias find the need to use the metaphor JEWISH PEOPLE IS BODY to promote a positive Jewish figure in the eyes of the *Jewish* viewer? Tobias' motive is presented in the introduction to his book; there he vows never to rest until he compiles the most current and significant scholarship in medical science, and to prove to Jews that they have not fallen behind their gentile colleagues, but

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<sup>128</sup> Allen, “Illustrations,” 326.

<sup>129</sup> Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, 2a. Quoted in translation in: Ruderman, *Jewish Thought*, 236.

surpassed them. The confident gaze of the anatomical figure is aimed at Tobias' Jewish brethren. *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* takes the stance that Jews can overcome the limitations inflicted upon them, prevail over the stereotypes and acquire the education needed to succeed. The figure is embedded in an expansive display of knowledge and serves the pedagogical purpose of the book by becoming an exemplar for Jews wishing to enter the medical profession.

## **B. 'The True Doctor': IDEAL JEW IS BODY**

The knowledge presented in *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* is Tobias' knowledge, acquired through years of industrious work (and wandering). As noted in chapter one, being a successful *Jewish* physician requires overcoming countless difficulties, including proficiency in both the secular sciences and rabbinic material. "The field of medicine," writes Tobias in the introduction to the medical section of the book, "seems habitual and easy in the mouths of fools, yet how difficult it really is in the eyes of the true doctor."<sup>130</sup> But who is the "true doctor"? As will be shown below, he is Tobias' version of the ideal Jew, personified by his illustration.

Ruderman posits that *Ma'aseh Tuviyah* was meant to "extol and elevate the Jewish physician educated in the mold of the author himself." If the anatomical figure is a paragon for Jewish students as Tobias himself wanted to be seen, could the image and the author converge? The anatomical figure does seem to be an individualized portrait, with almond-shaped eyes, slightly furrowed brow, high cheek-bones and slender nose. However, if we assume that Tobias' portrait on the frontispiece of his book is accurate (figure 7), it is evident that the image does not bear the author's resemblance. Nevertheless, this figure unquestionably represents Tobias. It becomes a metaphor for the erudite physician.

Although the legendary Wandering Jew was associated with the spread of disease, from time to time he inexplicably appeared in Europe as a miraculous healer; in some cases he was disguised as a physician.<sup>131</sup> This is not surprising, since in the mind of Christian Europe both figures – the Wandering Jew and the Jewish doctor – possessed centuries of knowledge and alleged mystic powers, and both were associated with evil.<sup>132</sup> Believing that they would be

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<sup>130</sup> Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, 82b. Quoted in translation in: Ruderman, *Jewish Thought*, 237.

<sup>131</sup> Frank Heynick, *Jews and Medicine: An Epic Saga* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 2002), 4.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

harmed, Christians were warned against seeking medical help from Jewish physicians. Luther declared that, “if [the Jews] could kill us all, they would gladly do so...especially those who profess to be physicians.”<sup>133</sup> Moreover, beginning in the seventeenth century, Christians were prohibited by the Church from seeing a Jewish doctor. In spite of the admonitions, nearly half of early modern Christians were treated by a Jewish physician.<sup>134</sup>

As we have seen, Tobias countered the mythical figure with his anatomical image: a noble and healthy individual. Yet, it also proposes that the notion of a wandering Jew is not necessarily negative.<sup>135</sup> Tobias’ own wandering – across Europe, through the Ottoman Empire and onward to Jerusalem – allowed him the opportunity to acquire wide-ranging knowledge and the perspective to be a better physician. The combined experiences of a wandering Jew and of a Jewish doctor find their way into his book. Tobias is the positive wandering Jewish physician.

Tobias was forty-eight years old when he wrote *Ma’aseh Tuviyah*, a detail annotated on the border surrounding his frontispiece portrait. The anatomical figure also appears middle-aged. In Jewish tradition, due to one’s years of garnered knowledge, experience and reputation, old age is equated with wisdom. In the Talmud, *Zaken* (Hebrew for “elder”) refers to a scholar, “one who has acquired wisdom” (Kid. 32b). Although the term is not related to age in the Talmud, it is used both literally and figuratively in the anatomical illustration. Contrary to the ideal youth of Vesalius’ full-length anatomical figures, the exemplar in Tobias’ work is the senior. It appears that the ideal Jew for Tobias is the sage, the learned and the physician, all three attributes conveyed by his anatomical image. Thus, the body in Tobias’ illustration becomes a metaphor for the ideal Jew.

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<sup>133</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>135</sup> It should be noted that the Wandering Jew was not a Jewish myth, and is not found in Jewish writings.

## Chapter 3

### Metaphors of Home

An ideological message is concealed in Tobias' body-house illustration. This message is directed at the entire Jewish nation. If the book is written with a specific target audience in mind – the male Jewish medical student – how can this illustration address everyone? The answer is in the inclusion of a house in the illustration and the metaphors associated with it. As described in chapter one, the body and the house mirror each other. To accentuate their similarities, the house was modeled after the illustrated body and not a concrete building, despite a detectable influence of Serlio's designs (figure 11).<sup>136</sup> The attic, specifically, is anthropomorphic; the architectonic features are virtually transformed into a face with hair, ears, eyes, nose and mouth. Interestingly, while the mouth of the human figure is shut, the corresponding window is wide open, so that the house can “speak” for the figure. What is this house saying?

#### A. “Male and Female He Created them:”<sup>137</sup> **HOUSE IS a BODY of People**

When reading Tobias' textual metaphor in reverse, HOUSE IS BODY, the body is the donor field and the house is the recipient. This kind of metaphor already appears in traditional Jewish sources. The Biblical term “House of”, indicating a household headed by a man (such as the House of Jacob), is still in use today when referring to the Jewish people as the House of Israel. During the Mishna period, a matrilineal terminology was introduced with the metaphor HOUSE

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<sup>136</sup> Similarities include the turrets, the division into three floors and attic and the rusticated base with an arched entryway.

<sup>137</sup> Genesis 1:27.

IS FEMALE,<sup>138</sup> specifically a wife. Chapter one of tractate Yoma of the Mishna, for instance, is concerned with the High Priest's preparations for Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). There, the verse from Leviticus, "and he shall make atonement for himself and for his house" is explained in this manner: "'his house' – that is his wife."<sup>139</sup> In the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Shabbat, folio 118b, it is said by R. Jose: "I have never called my wife 'my wife' ...but my wife [I called] 'my home'."<sup>140</sup> Speaking of house or home<sup>141</sup> in terms of a female body constructs "a body that is at once both place and practice,"<sup>142</sup> while "genderizing" architecture and space. When the house is female, the outdoor space is male.<sup>143</sup>

Contrary to the Talmudic metaphor, Tobias' house appears to be male and not female. The face of the anatomical figure is clearly male, thus the body is gender specific and transforms the metaphor HOUSE IS BODY to HOUSE IS A MALE BODY, or HOUSE IS MALE. The illustration, then, leans on the Biblical "house of" idea, where the head of the household is a man. To strengthen the reading of house as male, a Doric column is set between the body and the house. According to Vitruvius and his followers, the Doric order is a male feature, as opposed to the feminine Ionic order.<sup>144</sup> Because the writing on the scroll (suspended from the column) links

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<sup>138</sup> Viewing the house as a feminine space was also part of European Christian culture, as pointed out by modern theorists, as well as critiqued by feminist geographers, anthropologists and architecture scholars. See for example: Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden, ed., *Gender, Space, Architecture: an Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1999); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994); Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: the Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993). Also, in the psychoanalysis interpretation of dream symbolism, the house usually represents female identity, or particularly female genitalia. Burness E. Moore and Bernard D. Fine, ed., *Psychoanalysis: The Major Concepts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

<sup>139</sup> <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Talmud/yoma1.html>.

<sup>140</sup> [http://www.come-and-hear.com/shabbath/shabbath\\_118.html](http://www.come-and-hear.com/shabbath/shabbath_118.html).

<sup>141</sup> See above, note 26.

<sup>142</sup> Cynthia M. Baker, "'Ordering the House': On the Domestication of Jewish Bodies," in *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity*, ed. Maria Wyke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 221.

<sup>143</sup> This is congruent with the modern notions that early modern women (both Jewish and Christian) were bound to the home while men were able to participate in all aspects of public life. However, recent studies have shown that the contrary is true, where women, even Jewish women, took part in some matters outside the home. See for example: Howard Adelman, "The Literacy of Jewish Women in Early Modern Italy," in *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History, 1500-1800*, ed. Barbara J. Whitehead (New York: Garland Pub., 1999); Cynthia M. Baker, *Rebuilding the House of Israel: Architectures of Gender in Jewish Antiquity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), in which the author shows that even in ancient Palestine women were part of the public sphere.

<sup>144</sup> Indra Kagis McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 222.

body parts with house structures, the column unites rather than separates the two. The metaphor HOUSE IS MALE served as another aid to target the male student.<sup>145</sup>

Furthermore, as Mimi Levy Lipis maintains, when looking at the binary construction of culture (which is considered the male sphere) versus nature (female), the house embodies culture and is therefore male, while the garden of the house (nature) is female.<sup>146</sup> When Tobias is addressing a specifically female subject in his book – gynecology – he uses the title *Gan Na'ul* (A Garden Enclosed). This phrase, taken from Song of Songs, associates the female with the garden. The chapter on gynecology is introduced in the third section of Tobias' book entitled 'The World of Creation' and is followed by chapters on pediatrics ('Fruit of the Womb'), sterility ('A Fountain Sealed') and medical botany ('A Pomegranate Orchard'), all titles from Song of Songs. Even though only the first chapter in this section is related to women, all three are part of the garden (female) metaphor because they are all concerned with the "creation" of children (belonging to the feminine realm). It is interesting that the two chapters on botany and herbal remedies are part of this section as well, making the connection between female and nature even stronger. In this way, 'The World of Creation' contrasts with 'A New House', the pathology chapter of the previous section (section two of *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*). This contrast highlights the male aspects of the house in the illustration.

The illustration was not only designed for the male viewer; it was intended specifically for the *Jewish* male student and assumed that he was familiar with Jewish sources and concepts. To reinforce this expectation, Tobias uses the body metaphor elsewhere in the book: "No one [Jew] in all the lands of Italy, Poland, Germany, and France should consider studying medicine without first *filling his belly* with the written and oral Torah and other subjects."<sup>147</sup> Therefore, the Jewish viewer, with a belly full of Jewish sources, would read the metaphor HOUSE IS MALE while keeping in mind the traditional metaphor HOUSE IS FEMALE. He would also perceive the illustration within the larger context of the book: the male house (pathology, section two) surrounded by the female garden (section three). Moreover, since the plaque on the figure's base seems to represent nature, the base of the male figure is female.

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<sup>145</sup> Women, of course, were excluded from higher education.

<sup>146</sup> Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 35.

<sup>147</sup> Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, 93a. Translated in: Ruderman, *Essential Papers*, 526. My emphasis.

With the two metaphors pertaining to male or female, the former present in the illustration and the latter inferred from the context or found later in the book, the illustration stresses gender ambiguity and coalesces male and female into a nation, a *body* of people, or *House* of Israel. It allows Tobias to speak to his entire nation and present his ideology. Indeed, “the ability to create and sustain metaphors is profoundly ideological.”<sup>148</sup> Tobias’ message relies on what Jan Assmann terms “cultural memory”,<sup>149</sup> a collective memory that bonds the members of a particular social group, and is based on tradition and reinforced by rituals, festivals, literary sources and other cultural manifestations. At the base of the Jewish cultural memory is the destroyed Temple (a metaphor in itself for the city and concept of Jerusalem as well as the Land of Israel), on which Tobias built his ideas. As will be discussed below, in order to activate the cultural memory in the viewer, Tobias employs a mnemonic tactic: his illustration.

### **B. “As We Remembered Zion:”<sup>150</sup> JERUSALEM IS HOUSE and Home**

Every year since the Middle Ages, at the end of the Passover meal, Jews pray “Next year in Jerusalem.” This yearning to return to the Promised Land was an essential notion, held by Jews throughout the Diaspora, following the destruction of the Temple and the sack of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Even Tobias, in the inscription surrounding his frontispiece portrait, expresses his wish to see Jerusalem in his lifetime (figure 7). In the Diaspora, Jerusalem became a metaphor for the Land of Israel.<sup>151</sup> The wish to return to Jerusalem symbolized the hope for redemption and the dream of the reconstruction of the Temple upon the arrival of the Messiah. The Temple was the center of Jewish life and worship, and its destruction is still lamented, as part of Jewish liturgy, to this day.<sup>152</sup> It was built by King Solomon as the “House of the Lord” (2 Chronicles 3:1), to replace the temporary sanctuary used by the Israelites in the desert.

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<sup>148</sup> Tim Cresswell, “Weeds, Plagues, and Bodily Secretions: Geographical Interpretation of Metaphors of Displacement,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 2 (June, 1997): 334.

<sup>149</sup> Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 7. Assmann expands Nietzsche’s idea of “will’s memory”: the ability to remember a promise in order to fulfill it or, in other words, function as a community. Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, ed. Keith Ansell-Pearson, trans. Carol Diethe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 36.

<sup>150</sup> Psalm 137:1.

<sup>151</sup> Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 85.

Accepting the non-corporeality of God is one of the cornerstones of Judaism, yet God dwells among his people: “And I will dwell among the people of Israel, and be their God” (Exodus 29:45). God was not physically present in His sanctuary; rather, it was a place “to put his Name there for his dwelling” (Deuteronomy 12:5 and found elsewhere, such as in Exodus). One of the paramount commandments is not to take God’s name in vain (Exodus 20:6). Even when the full name is written it is never pronounced phonetically. Therefore, Jewish sources devised different names for God to substitute for the actual name. One of them, *HaMakom* (the Place), implies that God contains the whole world, yet is not contained in the world (e.g.: Genesis Rabbah 68). *HaMakom*, interestingly, attests to the connection between God and place, and also points to the importance of house metaphors in Judaism. These beliefs about God’s dwelling, and the use of the term *HaMakom* to refer to God, all point to the need of a physical locality for God, despite His non-corporeal manifestation.

The destruction of the second Temple had significant ramifications for Judaism in terms of its transformation into a diasporic culture. Nevertheless, it also freed Judaism from the dependence on a specific architecture in a particular geographic location, which was crucial for the survival of the nation in the Diaspora.<sup>153</sup> What replaced the stationary sanctuary was the portable book, the Bible, deemed by Heinrich Heine as the Jews’ “portable Fatherland”.<sup>154</sup> This change exalted the written word and it was the text, not the physical structure, that connected the people to God.<sup>155</sup> Yet even the Bible does not only reference the Temple; according to Mary Douglas the book of Leviticus, for instance, is devised in three parts like the construction of the Temple and is “a book planned as a projection of a building.”<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Tisha B’Av (the ninth day of the Hebrew month Av), for example, is a fasting and mourning day for the destruction of both Temples.

<sup>153</sup> Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 66.

<sup>154</sup> Heinrich Heine, *Wit, Wisdom, and Pathos, from the Prose of Heinrich Heine, with a few pieces from the ‘Book of Songs’*, trans. John Snodgrass (London: Alexander Gardner, 1888), 259.

<sup>155</sup> Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 124.

<sup>156</sup> Mary Douglas, *Jacob’s Tears: The Priestly Work of Reconciliation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 174.



## i. TEMPLE IS HOUSE

The Temple remained central to Judaism, as a phantom memorial to what was lost and to the aspiration of repair. Other than the reference to the messianic Jerusalem in the Passover *Haggadah* (the story of Passover read on the first night of the holiday) and Tisha B'Av (see note 152), the destruction is also noted at joyous occasions, such as at a Jewish wedding. Following the nuptials, the groom recites the phrases from Psalm 137:5-6: "If I forget thee, oh Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its skill; Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I remember thee not; If I set not Jerusalem above my highest joy." Then, the groom breaks a glass to commemorate the destruction of the Temple.

References to the Temple are omnipresent in Jewish sources as well as in Jewish art and artifacts from the medieval and early modern periods. In Italian *Kettubot* (marriage contracts), the text was often flanked by two twisted columns that symbolized the Temple.<sup>157</sup> The two columns are also found on *Parochot* (the curtains that cover the Torah Ark in the synagogue) and on the frontispiece of religious books.<sup>158</sup> They represent Jachin and Boaz, the two freestanding columns in the Temple (1 Kings 7:21). The twisted columns also appear in the second edition of *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*; they flank the text on the title page of the medical section in which the body-house illustration is found (figure 12).<sup>159</sup>

Tobias' illustration can also be viewed as a reference to the Temple. The body and the house evoke the two columns that became the attribute of the Temple in Jewish art. Their identical height and common ground impart the impression of columns. Moreover, with the base that replaces its legs, the anatomical body resembles a caryatid (a male one in this case). This is strengthened by the Doric column of the same height, which is positioned between the house and the body. The three structures, body, column and house, are standing on a crepidoma, the platform on which most Greek temples were built.

Furthermore, the house itself is a *metaphor* for the Temple. A house found in Jewish works of art is never merely a house but a "stand-in" for the Temple. In her book on ritual houses in Judaism, Lipis shows that ritual objects (such as *Besomim*, *Rimonim*, wedding rings) that are

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<sup>157</sup> Vivian B. Mann, ed., *Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 292.

<sup>158</sup> Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 87.

<sup>159</sup> They do not, however, appear in the first edition.

shaped like buildings are, in fact, a metaphor for the Temple. While Tobias' book does not have a religious purpose, the location of the illustrated house within a Jewish work generates the same metaphor. This house, too, elicits in the Jewish viewer the emotions related to the Temple and its destruction, particularly the absence of a single house of worship that unites all Jews. Thus, Tobias' illustration can also be read as TEMPLE IS HOUSE.

The depiction of a house in Jewish art becomes an iconography of remembering by making the theoretical Jerusalem realizable. Even though the house in Tobias' illustration is probably not designed after a real building, it is comprised of architectonic components in the style of the Italian Renaissance: the arched windows, entablature and rusticated entry level. The fusion of the local building with the metaphoric Temple creates what Lipis terms a "hybrid place of belonging," where "divergent places can meet – the local and Jerusalem, the real and the mythical... home and diaspora..."<sup>160</sup> Tobias' building as a metaphor for the Temple makes the latter accessible to the viewers far away from the Holy Land, allowing them to identify with it and remember their people's tragedy. The sarcophagus, a symbol of death, on which the anatomical body is positioned is another reminder of the destruction of the Temple; it also symbolizes any devastation that occurred to Jewish communities in the Diaspora throughout the centuries.

## ii. Mnemonic Aid

The house as a metaphor for, and memorial of, the Temple leans on the collective Jewish memory of the long lost Temple. Yet, Assmann makes a distinction between the art of memory (*ars memoriae*) that relates to "imagined spaces" (such as the memory theater), and cultural memory, which has its markings in "natural space."<sup>161</sup> Lipis expands this idea by arguing that ritual houses (*Besomim*, *Rimonim*, etc.) conjure up the notion of the Temple.<sup>162</sup> Therefore, they act as mnemonic aids for the Biblical text and as "the spatial stage for a culture of remembering."<sup>163</sup> Tobias' illustrated house participates in this tradition. On one hand, it is an

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<sup>160</sup> Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 107.

<sup>161</sup> Quoted in German in Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 99. Translated in Lipis, *Symbolic Houses*, 113, note 71.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

“imagined space”; it is two-dimensional and is not a replica of an existing building. On the other hand, it functions as a “spatial stage” for cultural memory, when the house is a metaphor for the Temple. Tobias’ house amalgamates the art of memory with cultural memory, and creates a compelling mnemonic.

Etienne Lopicard argues that the body-house illustration functioned as a mnemonic device for anatomy, to assist in recalling the different organs while mentally walking through the rooms of a house. Further, the fact that Tobias used a metaphor that also appeared in Harvey’s work (even without a direct influence) attests, in Lopicard’s view, to the era’s use of the body-house metaphor as a mnemonic aid.<sup>164</sup> Indeed, other works advocated the use of architecture for memory, such as the “memory theater” developed by Giulio Camillo in the sixteenth century.<sup>165</sup> This idea is also found in a Hebrew work on rhetoric, published in Mantua, circa 1475, by the rabbi and physician Judah Messer Leon. This widely circulated work advocated the use of architecture as background for figures to be memorized. Because rhetoric was part of the medical curriculum, the book was most likely intended for medical students.<sup>166</sup> Tobias must have been familiar with this work from his days in the preparatory school of Conegliano, where he was exposed to both religious and secular Jewish texts.

However, as Peter Sherlock notes, “by the late seventeenth century, in the wake of the empiricist turn of philosophy, memory – the mental organization and recollection of information – was no longer such a virtue in the world of learning.”<sup>167</sup> Additionally, even though Tobias’ illustration depicts an anatomical figure, the chapter that follows it emphasizes diseases and their remedies, and does not actually focus on anatomy. Although the study of anatomy and disease were connected in the seventeenth century,<sup>168</sup> a better place for an anatomical mnemonic aid would be in the chapter on physiology that precedes the one on pathology.

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<sup>164</sup> Lopicard, “An Alternative,” 100.

<sup>165</sup> See Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), particularly pp. 129-159 for a discussion of Camillo’s theater, its use and its appearance.

<sup>166</sup> Lopicard, “An Alternative,” 101 and note 45.

<sup>167</sup> Peter Sherlock, “The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe,” in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 31.

<sup>168</sup> Domenico Bertoloni Meli, *Mechanism, Experiment, Disease: Marcello Malpighi and Seventeenth-Century Anatomy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 20-22.

I believe Lepicard's mnemonic argument closes the relationship between the two domains of the metaphor – body and house – and turns it into a simile. I do not dismiss the notion that the illustration served as a medical mnemonic device (since it is a useful tool for students) yet I propose that, with the metaphors HOUSE IS BODY and TEMPLE IS HOUSE, the illustration is also a mnemonic aid for the Temple. Remembering the Temple means commemorating its destruction in the past, the challenges of exile in the present and perhaps the hopes of a better future.

### **iii. A New Home**

The visual house symbolizing the Temple also synecdochically represents Jerusalem and the Holy Land. In Tobias' illustration, the metaphors JERUSALEM IS HOUSE and HOLY LAND IS HOUSE are thus also present. In this context, when the house is "House of Israel" as well as a metaphor for Jerusalem, Tobias' message is materialized. The introduction to Tobias' pathology chapter, 'A New House', quoted here in chapter one, alludes to Jerusalem and the Temple by mentioning King Solomon, the one responsible for its construction. It continues with the comparison of man to a building within a "walled city", a direct reference to Jerusalem.<sup>169</sup> Finally, the division of the human body into sections is compared to the division of stories in the "Houses of the Soul." Although this phrase relates to the jewelry worn by the Daughters of Zion<sup>170</sup> and not to the city, it was clearly significant to Tobias since he emphasized it in the text. The deliberate use of the terms "House" and "Soul" following "walled city" was to connect "Houses of the Soul" to Jerusalem. In this way, the houses in Jerusalem hold the soul, the Jewish soul that was left there when the Jews were expelled. This metaphorical linguistic expression is contained within the conceptual metaphors BODY IS HOUSE and HOUSE IS BODY, as well as JERUSALEM IS HOUSE.

Jerusalem plays an important role in the body-house illustration, even though it is not explicitly portrayed. But Tobias' intention was not merely a mnemonic for Jerusalem and the Temple. We have already seen that Tobias' anatomical figure depicts a positive Jewish image, or an inverted Wandering Jew. Contrary to the Christian legend of the Wandering Jew, the Jewish view of exile and homelessness was more positive; they were seen not as a punishment but as a

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<sup>169</sup> See chapter one, note 32.

<sup>170</sup> See chapter one, note 34.

mission to perfect the world.<sup>171</sup> Nevertheless, Tobias finds the Jewish roaming problematic, especially because of alienation and estrangement in European lands. As Galit Hasan-Rokem notes, the Wandering Jew “signal[s] the paradoxical identity of European Jews in their own eyes, and in the eyes of their Christian neighbors as at the same time completely local and familiar and on the other as deeply alien.”<sup>172</sup> Tobias had found a solution to these problems and he depicts it in his illustration. The fact that the anatomical figure is missing legs is Tobias’ way of showing that the positive Wandering Jew does not need legs; he can stop his wandering for he has found a home.

‘A New House’ or *Bait Hadash* is the title of the chapter that the illustration precedes. This chapter is located in the medical section of the book, entitled ‘A New Land’ (*Eretz Hadasha*). Although Tobias explains that he is referring to the new (contemporary) medicine, these titles are not incidental. *Bait* in Hebrew also means home. The new home Tobias envisions for his people is found in a new land. The metaphors JERUSALEM IS HOUSE and HOLY LAND IS HOUSE, together with the Temple iconography and the references to Jerusalem found in his introduction, all point in one direction: to the Land of Israel. A century prior to the Zionist movement, Tobias displays a utopian wish to make the collective dream a reality and to establish a Jewish home in the Holy Land.

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<sup>171</sup> Mark Baker, “Imagining the Jewish Nation: Midrash, Metaphor and Modernity in *HaMagid*, a Hebrew Newspaper,” *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History* 15, no. 1 (January 1995): 7.

<sup>172</sup> Quoted in: Richard I. Cohen, “The ‘Wandering Jew’ from Medieval Legend to Modern Metaphor,” in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, ed. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 147.

## Conclusion

Tobias Cohen began a lifetime of wandering when he was a young boy, leaving his hometown of Metz to study in a yeshiva in Poland. His studies led him through German and Italian lands, and his career took him from Poland to the Levant. Shortly before he reached Jerusalem, the final destination of his journey, Tobias published an extensive textbook about the sciences in which his dreams and beliefs are revealed. This is especially true in the book's most elaborate, highly-detailed anatomical illustration that opens a chapter on pathology.

The illustration binds together seemingly disparate objects – a body and house – by way of metaphor. The metaphor on the surface is the most obvious one, which is methodically developed in the text, and reads BODY IS HOUSE. This is to say that the body and its organs function in the same way as the house and its internal structures. For the author, this was a way to clarify disease and cure and create a mnemonic for students of medicine. However, closer examination of the illustration unveils four more metaphors. All five metaphors allowed Tobias a sophisticated way to present his ideology to his contemporary reader, while the modern viewer is given a glimpse into the social and political world of Tobias Cohen. Since the book was written for Jewish medical students, it is within a Jewish religious, social and historical context that these metaphors should be understood. (As an aside, some aspects of Judaism that might have had some influence on Tobias and on the illustration, such as Kabbalah, were not examined in this paper and deserve further study.)

Although the artist of the illustration remains unknown, it is almost certain that Tobias was involved in the illustration process and he approved it. In 1708 Tobias was not residing in the Ottoman Empire, and was likely in Venice to publish his book.<sup>173</sup> Judging by the schematic nature of the second edition illustration (figure 5), especially the face of the human figure, and by the absence of a few key details (such as the Doric column), it is quite clear that Tobias was present for the first edition, ensuring that the illustration conveyed his ideas.

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<sup>173</sup> Miri Shefer, "Tobias the Ottoman: Tobias Cohen as an Ottoman Physician," *Korot* 20 (2009-2010): 48.

Due to the endless forced or voluntary wandering of Jews throughout the centuries, the physical house lost its significance as a home (with the emotional attachment that it entails). The metaphor BODY IS HOUSE emphasizes the importance of health and reminds the viewer of the urgency of taking care of the body. The healthy Jewish body depicted in the illustration becomes an antithesis to the Christian perception and consequent images of Jews, who were portrayed in the arts as filthy, evil or nonhuman. It is also an antithesis to the Wandering Jew of the legend, who possesses these negative traits and spreads disease with his wandering. Tobias' illustrated body reveals healthy *human* organs and an overall clean and dignified image, while displaying the metaphor BODY IS JEWISH PEOPLE. The positive illustrated body becomes an exemplar for Jews as well, with the metaphor BODY IS IDEAL JEW, by showing that the ideal could be the older, experienced physician.

The other two metaphors use the illustrated house as their source and both demonstrate the significance of the term "home". These metaphors show that in order to create a home a physical bonding place is needed. When HOUSE IS BODY, Tobias addresses his entire nation and discloses his political agenda: building a new home for the Jewish people in a new land outside of Europe. The new place is insinuated with the metaphor JERUSALEM IS HOUSE, a long-standing metaphor in Jewish culture and Jewish cultural memory. A new Jewish home in Jerusalem is the remedy for all wandering.

"An entire past comes to dwell in a new house," wrote Gaston Bachelard.<sup>174</sup> Indeed, it is quite clear that the illustration and its metaphors were heavily influenced by Tobias' own life. From a psychoanalytical point of view of metaphors, early childhood experiences can become the "source domain for significant later life experiences."<sup>175</sup> The loss of his father and Tobias' subsequent wandering for education led him to long for a stable home. Since he never had a permanent home, the home became a target domain in his illustrated metaphor. By the time Tobias wrote his book, he had already gained extensive knowledge about the body, its functions, ailments and cures. Therefore, he used the body as the source to understand the term "home". Tobias' past formed the foundation of the new house, which held his wishes for the future. This new house was his attempt to establish a permanent home, for himself as well as for his nation.

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<sup>174</sup> Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space: The Classic Look at how we Experience Intimate Places*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 5.

<sup>175</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture*, 109.

The image depicted in his book is an inverted Wandering Jew – a healthy, self-assured figure. It presents to his fellow wanderers, in the words of Heidegger, the means to achieve dwelling: a comprehensive book of medical knowledge, and an entreaty, embedded in an anatomical illustration, to establish a Jewish home. At the age of sixty-two, fourteen years after the publication of his book, Tobias settled in Jerusalem, his new and final home. The (inverted) wandering Jewish physician followed his own advice.



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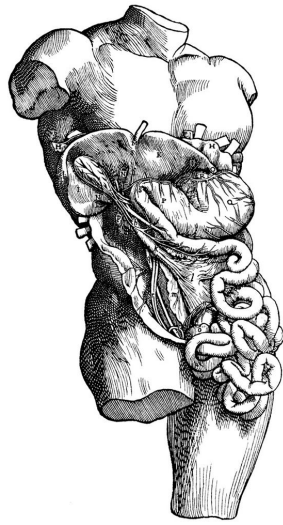
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# Appendix

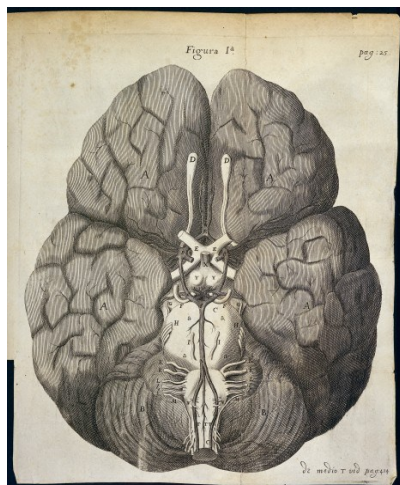
## Illustrations



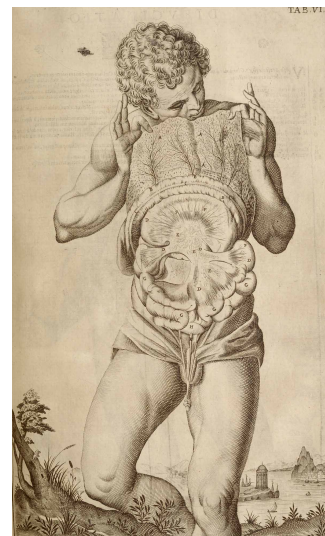
1. *Anatomical Illustration*, woodcut. In: Tobias Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuvayah* (Venice: Bragadini, 1707), p. 94



2. Image 5.12, woodcut. In: Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, 1543



3. Human brain, with Cerebellum and Nerves, engraving. In: T. Willis, *Cerebri anatome: cui accessit nervorum descriptio et usus* (Amsterdam: G. Schagen, 1664), Opp. p.32, fig. 1a



4. : Odoardo Fialetti (artist), copperplate engraving. In: Giulio Casserio, *Tabulae Anatomicae LXXIIX, omnes novae nec antehac visae* (Venice, 1627), p. 69





5. Anatomical Illustration, woodcut. In: Tobias Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, second edition (Jessnitz, 1721)



6. *Simon of Trent*, woodcut. In: Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum cum figures et imaginibus ab initio mundi*, 1493



7. Frontispiece with Portrait of Tobias Cohen, woodcut. In: Tobias Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuvya*



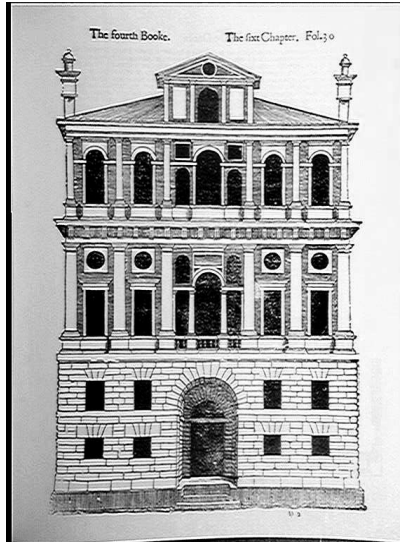
8. Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Libellus de Judaica Confessione* (Cologne, 1508), fol. 1b



9. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, South Portal, Strasbourg Cathedral, stone, c. 1230



10. Owl, Harley MS 4751, fol 47r, thirteenth century



11. : Sebastiano Serlio, *The Five Books of Architecture*, fol 30 (English edition)



12. Title Page of Part II, woodcut. In: Tobias Cohen, *Ma'aseh Tuviyah*, second edition (Jessnitz, 1721)