"ALAS POOR YORICK!" BODIES OUT OF JOINT IN SHAKESPEARE, BAUDELAIRE, SEAMUS HEANEY, ANDREAS VESALIUS AND GOVARD BIDLOO

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ABSTRACT
This paper examines intertextually and cross-mediatically representations of skeletons as tokens of death and *memento mori* injunctions to argue that such representational output draws upon a shared culture's collective imaginary. From Shakespeare's *Hamlet* through early modern anatomy books like Vesalius's and Bidloo's to Baudelaire's and Seamus Heaney's poems, skeletons, and in Heaney bog mummies too, are subjected to a double anamnesis. One form concerns a fanciful philosophico-medical recreation of their past to suit the present's epistemic needs; the other issues a remember-the-future warning which often circumscribes the *memento mori* motif on various ethical, theological and epistemic grounds, to carve an emotional foothold for the present. Beyond such concerns, though, looms the issue of participation in a game of power and agency. Drawing on Gayatri Spivak's critique of representation, I argue that the drama, poetry and anatomical illustration examined here intimate the patriarchal politico-epistemic stakes of highlighting representation as *Darstellung* (likeness) whilst obliterating representation as *Vertretung* (standing-for).

KEYWORDS: representation, skeleton, *memento mori*, *Hamlet* (Shakespeare), *Les Fleurs du mal* (Baudelaire), bog-body poems (Seamus Heaney), *De humani corporis fabrica* (Andreas Vesalius), *Anatomia humani corporis* (Govard Bidloo)

Man with a skull: *memento mori* in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Vesalius's *Fabrica*

"The time is out of joint" (1.5.189),[1] Hamlet concludes on hearing that a ghost resembling his dead father haunts the battlements of Elsinore; his is a timely metaphor for the state's precarious condition (cf. 1.2.20). Nonetheless, the play also focuses on the physical disjointing of human bodies, to warn about the precariousness of the human condition as known and/or fantasised. Witness to the unearthing of skulls in the graveyard (5.1.63sd, 82sd) during the digging of Ophelia's grave, the prince is soon presented a skull as Yorick's. With it, his interest in the practicalities of death, such as the time a corpse takes to rot (5.1.139–46), switches anew to a metaphysically appropriate topic for a Wittenberg student. Contemplating "Yorick's" skull, Hamlet indulges in the memory of the jester's

[1] All references to *Hamlet* are keyed to the Cambridge Shakespeare edition (2003).

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pranks (5.1.156–83). Before long, his becomes a cynical meditation on the fate of the mighty dead, with the Hamlet signature of gallows, or rather grave, humour whose *vanitas vanitatum* literally reeks of death. Pursuing the "dust to dust" Christian metaphor to derisive lengths, Hamlet envisages an unpalatably macabre end point of Alexander the Great's conquest journeys: "Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returneth to dust, the dust is earth, of earth we make loam, and why of that loam whereto he was converted might they not stop a beer-barrel?" (5.1.176–83).[2] Through a deliberate leap of *imagination* (5.1.172), the "Alas poor Yorick" apostrophe to the jester's skull transmogrifies into a prose-, then verse-, mock syllogism of Alexander's cultural reintegration via beer consumption.

A young prince, skull in hand… The self confronts the other, the latter thus fashioned through the abjection of death-within-oneself (Kristeva 1–4). With a pen flourish and a stately sarcophagus-like tomb inscribed, in Virgilian terms, *Vivitur ingenio, catera mortis erunt* [Genius lives on, all else is mortal], here's the setting for drama: not *Hamlet*, but the *comedie humaine* staged by the artists illustrating Andreas Vesalius's anatomical atlas *De humani corporis fabrica*. The lateral view (Vesalius 204),[3] the second of the series requested of Jan Stephan van Calcar, Titian's pupil, capitalises on the fashionable fifteenth-century motif of the man with a skull; English and continental prints, engravings, paintings and mortuary sculpture sometimes set the scene in a cemetery (Frye 15–27).[4] Over half a century before Shakespeare penned his tragedy (*c*. 1601), an anatomical engraving (1543) depicted Man (*sic*) prone to *memento mori* melancholy before a disjointed piece of himself. His is an anatomically unwitting—yet dramatically ironic—gesture of self-martyrdom: the full skeleton[5] and the skull stare death in the face by staring one

[2] Craig (179–81) contrasts such "materialistic reductionist view of human life" (180) as "recycling" of matter (181), apparent here and in Polonius's "dinner" scene (4.3.16–29), with Gertrude's dignified "conception of mortality, as but the portal to an eternal existence" (Craig 180), in her "chiding [of] Hamlet for his persistent … show of mourning [1.2.68–73]" (180). Craig's recalls Greenblatt's argument that "Hamlet's jesting about a king going a progress through the guts of a beggar is a 'grotesquely materialist reimagining of the Eucharist'" (qtd. in Hillman 114). Yet Hillman sees the grave scene as Hamlet's "ground-zero of his scepticism" (109): the gravedigger, with his "rough-hewing 'pickaxe and a spade' [(5.1.79)]," helps Hamlet to "accept the value of all things external" (110). Hamlet's epiphany "resembles a form of 'knowing in one's bones,'" or "visceral knowledge" (111): that *homo clausus* exists as but a *fantasy* of closure (112), hence of identity (113).

[3] I use the second edition (1555) of Vesalius's *Fabrica*; in the first edition, the corresponding plate is on page 164.

[4] Lucas van Leyden's 1519 depiction of a pensive young courtier with a skull is the earliest known example of the *vanitas* topos in *Hamlet* 5.1. Hans Holbein the Younger's anamorphic *The Ambassadors* (1533, National Gallery, London) apparently introduced the skull motif into English secular portraiture (Frye 18, 21).

[5] Like in the previous plate, the skeleton of the seventeen- or eighteen-year-old male has proportion errors (Saunders, O'Malley 84): Vesalius/Calcar applied one of the classical canons for proportion, the canon of Policletus, possibly inspired by Galen (Harcourt 42–3, n46), to "produce a normative structural description" (Harcourt 43). Such proportion errors

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hollow eye socket into the other's. As William Schupbach shows, early modernity vindicated anatomy as capable to provide knowledge both of oneself and vicariously of God (qtd. in Siraisi 21; Carlino 107–13). However, its moralisation vacillated between positive themes centred on the human body as God's exquisite handiwork and negative themes representing the skeleton as a symbol of universal death and decay (e.g. Bidloo, plate 89).

Medium permitting, the metaphysical allusion informing Vesalius's osteological plate requires no lips to conjure the memory of the deceased. It simply draws upon a shared Zeitgeist underpinned by the humanist belief that art and anatomy can/should attempt to restore the disjointed frame of things to its true, meaningful shape—itself a matter of convention. No wonder Vesalius's/Calcar's representation strikes viewers as a "skeletal Hamlet soliloquizing beside the tomb upon some poor Yorick" (Saunders, O'Malley 86). The popularity of "perhaps the most greatly admired figure of the osteologic series" (86) explains its inclusion through a copy (*c*. 1762) in the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, at a time when Shakespeare's popularity was also waxing.

And a low-profile enabling character. Shakespeare's anonymous gravedigger takes pride in his capacity to make houses that last until doomsday (5.1.35–49); yet bone disinterment gives him the lie. Understandably, under the circumstances, the earth yields to the spade skulls, repurposed by the witnesses as triggers of *memento mori* with a political edge. Shakespeare's interest in *digging* has not been singular: digging out skulls or images thereof, even potatoes, structures poetically, metaphysically and/or ethically some of Baudelaire's and Heaney's poems, despite their partial obliteration of the enabling character.

Starting from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and switching between early modern anatomy books and Baudelaire's and Heaney's poetry, this paper examines intertextually and cross-mediatically representations of skeletons—tokens of death qua *memento mori*—which feed off a shared supranational culture. In a dramatic turnabout, Vesalius espouses the Galenic principle (Siraisi 6): not the order of dissection structures his seminal *De humanis corpore fabrica*, as it did earlier anatomical tracts, but that of house construction, which proceeds from the bones and muscles (books 1 and 2 respectively) through blood vessels and nerves (books 3 and 4) to viscera (books 5–7). Seen or merely alluded to, bones and skeletons form the backbone of the West's collective imaginary of the body, not only in anatomy. What

may also suggest the series' equivocal allegiance to anatomy/science qua art as embodied by the anatomically savvy artist. Thence presumably the Virgilian quote, which, I submit, reinterprets in anatomical key Horace's "exegi monumentum aere perennius / regalique situ pyramidum altius / … / non omnes moriar" [I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze, more lofty than the regal structure of the pyramids, … I shall not wholly die] (*Odes* 3.30.1–2, 5; 216–17, trans. Rudd). The allusion, which dovetails with Galen's architectural metaphor for the body, questions from a Christian perspective Horace's faith in poetic immortality. As Harcourt perceptively observes, the *Fabrica*'s osteological figures' "exemplary action is not surprisingly rooted in the traditional iconography of the *vanitas*" (45).

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mental edifice do the bones limned in Shakespeare, Baudelaire and Heaney and also in anatomical atlases testify to? What/whom do they enable through representation?

The works which I investigate to offer a tentative, provisional answer to these questions also connect meta-physically thanks to a Baudelairean detail:

> Dans les planches d'anatomie
> Qui traînent sur ces quais poudreux
> Où maint livre cadavéreux
> Dort comme une antique momie,
>
> ("Le Squelette laboureur" ll. I.1–4)[6]

The first stanza of "Le Squelette laboureur" appositely connects the yellowed pages of books of past centuries—dormant books galore, like an ancient mummy—and anatomical woodcuts displayed by the *bouquinistes*, alongside lithographs and photographs, in outdoor bookstalls along the Seine in nineteenth-century Paris. Baudelaire's image conflates cadaveric hues and uselessness[7] to encapsulate his sceptical outlook on the modern city and Christian doctrine alike. To us now it can also evoke the brown-yellowish patina of ever-growing ranks of digitised ancient books in electronic repositories: *memento mori*. Ironically, the mystification of touch through digitisation is no different in its poetic version.

The *Fabrica* illustrates the skeleton in three successive plates.[8] Save for the mood, the front-view display (Vesalius 203) could conceivably yield an illustrated cartouche for *Hamlet*'s gravedigger standing by the grave propped in his spade. Whose grave, the skeleton's? Entering it or having dug himself out of it (McHugh 245–7)?[9] The agony of uncertainty and utter solitude needs not muscles or skin folds to show; an upturned, tilted skull will do. By contrast, the proto-Hamlet skeleton seen in right profile (Vesalius 204) looks somewhat composed, as his legs suggest even better than his tomb-propped left elbow.

One page farther, the rear-view skeleton (205; cf. 248) bends mournfully, wringing his hands. Vesalius and his artist may have intended no Trinitarian analogy in the presentation of the full skeleton as a threesome, separate on their individual pages, yet indisputably consubstantial: three faces of the same osseous essence. Nevertheless, they did stage the atlas's display of human anatomy as neither dead-looking and static[10] nor randomly dynamic, but in expressive postures able to encode physiology and exemplary gesture (Harcourt 44–5) and/or, at one remove, exemplarity of social roles, however mystified. Since Vesalius, teaching anatomy

[6] All subsequent quotations from Baudelaire will refer to the Oxford edition's line numbers.
[7] I thank Dr Sergiu Miculescu for clarifying Baudelaire's first stanza for me.
[8] In the *editio princeps*, the anterior and posterior views are respectively on pages 163 and 165.
[9] The final section will explain my choice of the masculine pronoun.
[10] However, the *Fabrica*'s visceral figures in book 5 transfigure the violated body through their sculptural quality inspired by the newly unearthed classical sculptures (Harcourt 42–4).

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conflated science, art, moralisation and entertainment until the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Vesalius's osteological and myological plates, which testify to the *normative* creation of *organisms* (Harcourt 44), inaugurated a long-standing western anatomical tradition of body representation (50–2, n.3). Defying epistemic, cultural or political borders, his digging[11] and hand-wringing skeletons re-emerged in a nineteenth-century Iranian anatomical painting (Petherbridge, Jordanova 53).

When regarded in their book sequence, Vesalius's skeletons compose a story of the ages of man not as mythological–Christian historicity but rather as acquiescence of the time of death: know thyself as a mere bunch of bones[12]—the Creator's handiwork—precariously poised between a bland heaven and a desert earth (cf. Carlino 107). Their expressive postures *articulate* the teleological project of Vesalian anatomy as progress towards autoptic and self-reflexive humanity. In doing so, they also *thematise the viewer position* as liminal, of anatomo–philosophical savviness: such is also the case of Baudelaire's "Le Squelette laboureur" and Heaney's bog-body poems.

Charles Baudelaire's "Le Squelette Laboureur": the treachery of myths

The *Tableaux parisiens* section, newly added to the second edition (1861) of *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857), includes "Le Squelette Laboureur," a poetic meditation on anatomical plates showing skeletons and écorchés in lively poses. With Thomas Docherty (120)—reading Heaney's "Grauballe Man"—we can see in Baudelaire's two-part poem the enactment of a cinematic opposition between still and moving image: part I unfolds the ekphrasis of the anatomical image; part II embroiders a story therefrom. However, the division thematises another subtle clash, as Grøtta (139) suggests, between the anthropomorphisation-prone Romantic imagination, which makes objects come alive, and "the fetishist imagination"[13] of anatomical representation, with its strategies of "magic assemblage." Both interpretations conjure Plato's *anamnesis*, "which modernism articulated much later as a Proustian *souvenir involontaire*" (Docherty 119). For Docherty, the latter is "not so much a moment of knowledge of the past, but rather an actual recreation of the past, now present fully," or better "the actualization of the virtual" (119). Here, however, I use

[11] It was copied, for instance, on Casserio's *Tabulae Anatomicae* title page (1627, 1632; 1656) and separately as osteological plate I of book 2, followed by the "mourning" posterior view (plate II). Valverde (27, 29) plagiarised Vesalius's plates in his *Anatomia* (1560). All three views of the skeleton also appear in the *English* editions (1649, 1678) of Paré's *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey*.

[12] In purely visual terms, Vesalius's lateral view of the skeleton "exploits the ironies implicit in the motto that frequently accompanied skeletons and skulls in the visual tradition: 'as you are now, so once I was; and as I am now, so you will be'" (Frye 20).

[13] Grøtta discusses the clash in the context of Walter Benjamin's essays on Baudelaire's poetry, yet with regard to Baudelaire's own writings on toys, framed by the rise of commodity fetishism.

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anamnesis (recollection) not strictly in a Platonic sense,[14] nor in the Proustian one as analysed by Docherty, but akin to the medical account of one's personal and family health history.

A terrifyingly apt post-lapsarian anatomical metaphor[15] encapsulates the anatomical specimens' condition in part II. Baudelaire depicts the skeletons as convicts/"forçats" (II.18) who till the land, "Écorcher la terre revêche" [*flay* the surly earth] (II.30), by pushing the heavy spade until the bare feet bleed (II.31–2). This, the "I" concludes, is the appallingly clear emblem of a most cruel destiny (II.21–2) which the digging skeletons may wish to show/"montrer" (II.23): that not even in the pit/"fosse" is the promised sleep certain (II.23–4), and that Nothingness is treacherous (II.25)—*to us*. Line 25 ("Qu'envers *nous* le Néant est traître") dramatically replaces the second-person plural pronoun *vous*, used previously to interpellate the anatomical subjects, with the inclusive first-person plural *nous*, used henceforth to describe the shared fate of humankind. The bleeding feet of skeletons/humankind give the lie to the myth of eternal repose in death (26)[16] which the Christian prayers for the dead promise.

Baudelaire's "Le Squelette Laboureur" shares with *Hamlet* the sight of skeletons, here at one "reproduction" remove, and the disheartening thoughts it elicits. Yet similarities do not stop here. The poem's closing stanza and inconclusive end of the apostrophe's *query*,

> Dans quelque pays inconnu
> Écorcher la terre revêche
> Et pousser une lourde bêche
> Sous notre pied sanglant et nu?
>
> ("Le Squelette Laboureur" 29–32)

starts with a phrase, "pays inconnu" (29),[17] with a dual echo: of Hamlet's construal of afterlife as "undiscovered country" (3.1.79) and of the early modern cartographic *terra incognita* caption of unfamiliar, yet threatening, territories. The jarring irony of this bifurcated phrase *can* unsettle certainties. The latter understates the European project of land colonisation and epistemic conquest; the former candidly admits of "dread of something after death, / The undiscovered country from whose bourn / No

[14] See Frentz on Plato's *anamnesis* (recollection) as recovery of the soul's prenatally acquired knowledge, triggered by what is partially visible in particulars.

[15] Cf. the gravedigger's "Come, my spade; there is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners, ditchers, and gravemakers; they hold up Adam's profession" (5.1.24–6).

[16] Mutatis mutandis, there is also an echo here of Villon's hanged men's lament, "Jamais nul temps nous ne sommes assis" [Never at any time are we at rest] ("Ballade des pendus," l. 25, trans. Stacpoole).

[17] The image reappears in "Le branle universel de la danse macabre / Vous entraîne en des lieux qui ne sont pas connus!" [The ceaseless swirling of the danse macabre / Sweeps you along to some unheard-of place!] ("Danse macabre" 51–2, trans. McGowan): the *memento mori* x-rays high-lifers as future skeletons, yet organises its argument as an apostrophe to the skeleton to warn them (47–60).

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traveller returns" (3.1.78–80)—*dread* despite Christianity's professed eschatological certainties.[18] Modernity's anatomical/cultural figuration of skeletons also tries to chart a "pays inconnu," whose dangers, however, concern not so much the individual "traveller" as an entire Weltanschauung, with its gender double standard.

The scepticism of "Le Squelette Laboureur" voices Baudelaire's philosophy of impossible redemption (Acquisto 19–29, 36–55); thence also his choice to moralise death by recourse to the traditional *danse macabre* iconography yet suspending any playfulness. Baudelaire's anatomical ekphrasis may further owe to the tradition of moralised anatomical fugitive sheets for popular consumption, emerged in 1538 yet still alive in the nineteenth century (Carlino 58–72), and to woodcuts like Johann Schott's *Ein Contrafacter Todt*... (Strasbourg, 1517). Schott's two-tiered layout displays the skeleton surrounded by bone names in Latin, with a twenty-four-line *danse-macabre* meditation in German appended beneath (Carlino 82, Fig. 49). Whether *feuille volante*, lithograph or engraving, belonging to popular culture or anatomy, the yellowed anatomical plate which elicited Baudelaire's meditation aimed to "represent the human body morally, socially, theologically, theatrically, balletically, literarily, erotically as well as scientifically" and therein to fashion producer and viewers alike (Sappol 19).[19] With Baudelaire it fashioned grave unrest.

"Le Squelette Laboureur" would continue its career over a century after Baudelaire penned it: Seamus Heaney included a free translation thereof, "The Digging Skeleton: After Baudelaire," in his volume *North* (1975). The Irish poet's choice may owe, according to Michael Cavanagh, to the various literary influences on Heaney, amongst which T. S. Eliot's. Eliot's essay "What Dante Means to Me" may have drawn Heaney's attention to Baudelaire's aestheticisation of modern city filth,[20] as well as to John Webster's "Whispers of Immortality": "He knew that thought clings round dead limbs / Tightening its lusts and luxuries" (qtd. in Cavanagh 82).

Heaney's translation opens the volume's series of poems on the Iron Age peat bog bodies,[21] written under the spell of anthropologist Peter Vilhelm Glob's *The*

[18] Hamlet's scepticism should be framed within Renaissance scepticism (Bell 12–21) as "the special product of a state of belief that required an allowance of faith in the place of rational proof—thus an escape from, not an assertion of, atheism" (Bell 12). Such is Montaigne's scepticism as "readiness not so much to deny what had always been believed as to say that one could not really know one way or another" (13).

[19] In his critical writings Baudelaire also discusses four of Honoré Daumier's caricatures; the two artists seem to be "always aware of the skeleton beneath the flesh" (Hiddleston 148).

[20] Through Baudelaire via Eliot Heaney may have found confirmation of "the respectability of his poetic subject matter" (Cavanagh 81). Ironically, Ludwig Tieck had lambasted the French Romanticists' fascination for "vice, putrefaction, monstrosity" (qtd. in Sanders 97) right at the time of "Queen Gunhild's"/Haraldskær Woman's excavation in 1835.

[21] See Gill-Frerking on how acidic peat preserves human corpses to varying degrees. Bog bodies, not exclusively Iron Age but also medieval, have been found in northwest Europe, mainly Denmark, northern Germany, the Netherlands, Ireland and the United Kingdom; some of the Irish and English finds postdate Heaney's bog poems. See McLean on the peat

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Bog People (1965, Eng. trans. 1969),[22] to which "The Digging Skeleton" thereby "provides a compelling poetic pedigree" (Brown 288). As in Baudelaire's "Le Squelette Laboureur," so in Heaney's bog-body poems: the ekphrasis of scientific illustration[23] introduces a meditation on the haunting presence of another time-space. Furthermore, whilst thereby each modern poet criticises his own age, both lend their ear, like Shakespeare before, to the medieval allegorisation of (rotting) corpses[24]—where Baudelaire's "Le Mort joyeux" partakes of Hamlet's gallows humour (4.3.16–34)—and the Renaissance anatomical stylisation of the Christian *memento mori* skull (e.g. Bidloo, plate 89).

Seamus Heaney's "The Digging Skeleton": foundational ekphrasis

North affords a politically problematic "binocular view" (in Helen Vendler's words), inspired by Eliot's "mythic method," on violence: though contiguous, Northern Ireland's Troubles of the 1970s and Iron Age rituals strike Heaney as typologically similar (Cavanagh 79–80). However, Heaney has announced his interest in the bog already in "Bogland" (*Door into the Dark*, 1969), which depicts the bog in benign domestic terms, "The ground itself is kind, black butter" (l. 16),[25] unlike "The Tollund Man" (*Wintering Out*, 1972), the first bog-body poem proper.

bog finds and their importance to reassessing collective memory as both hybrid (human/non-human) and dynamic, and Sanders (91–125) on the literary output and perspectives inspired by the Iron Age bog bodies.

[22] See Heaney's "Feeling into Words" (57–8).

[23] "I first saw his twisted face / in a photograph" ("Grauballe Man" ll. 32–3). Baudelaire's "Une gravure fantastique" is the ekphrasis of an engraving representing either a Triumph of Death or a Horseman of the Apocalypse, itself possibly inspired by either Dürer's engravings or Honoré Fragonard's anatomical preparation of corpses like the *Cavalier de l'apocalypse* (1766–71).

[24] Space does not permit me to examine the medieval pre-text which "prescribes" the depiction of rotting corpses in moral warnings to the living. Apposite fifteenth-century examples appear in the N-Town *Slaughter of the Innocents and the Death of Herod* (NT20/276–7, 282–4), the Towneley *Lazarus* (T31/111–34), and François Villon's "La Ballade des pendus"/"Epitaph in Form of a Ballade." The two Middle English plays draw upon the iconography of the legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, where the latter present the former with their mirror image. So too does Hamlet in his apostrophe to Yorick's skull: "Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour [viz. appearance] she must come" (5.1.163–4). Villon's ghoulish ballad imagines the afterlife of the gibbet corpse, left prey to natural decay, the elements and the birds (Villon 247–8/17–18). The sun dried and blackened bodies (22) of *les pendus* are comparable to Heaney's bog mummies. Their further dis-figuring by the birds of prey (Villon 7, 23, 25–6), like Queen Tamora's in *Titus Andronicus* (5.3.194–9), anticipates Abel Meeropol's (pen-name Lewis Allan) lyrics of Billie Holiday's famous song "Strange Fruit"; the song, which describes Southern lynching (ll. 6, 8–12, qtd. in Mills 57), inspired Heaney's title of his eponymous poem (Sanders 114).

[25] All quotations from Heaney's poems refer to line number (in Arabic figures) preceded, as the case may be, by the part number (in Roman figures).

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The digging out of bog mummies aligns this image with the literal-turned-metaphorical digging highlighted in the eponymous poem in *Death of a Naturalist* (1965), both the phallic preserve of masculinity (Coughlan 187). In the famous closing stanza of "Digging"—"Between my finger and my thumb / The squat pen rests. / I'll dig with it" (30–2)—Heaney virtually adumbrates his translation of Baudelaire's "Le Squelette Laboureur" as an ekphrastic–reflexive poem which licenses the poet—both the Frenchman and the Irishman—to resurrect and appropriate the past to make sense of the present through quasi-medical anamnesis. Heaney explains the import of digging in his 1974 lecture "Feeling into Words": "poetry as a dig" dis-/recovers the roles of "poetry as divination, poetry as revelation of the self to the self, as restoration of the culture to itself," where "the buried shard" proves as important as "the buried city" (41). Yet Heaney is also candid about digging as sexual metaphor (42–3), which imbues his bog-body poems with rather dubious eroticism (Coughlan 190–1).

Heaney groups together most of his bog-body poems in Part I of *North*. To understand their poetical statement, we need a brief contextualisation. In "North," Heaney qua "auscultating bard" (Cavanagh 155) fashions an *ars poetica* about the voices of the past which haunt the "I" throughout the first part of *North*. Intertwined memories of Iron Age or Viking age and contemporary bloodshed co-exist within the multilingual thesaurus dug out from the British–Irish cultural past, metaphorical for the continental or Irish bogland as "boneyard" ("Digging Skeleton" 20).[26] In the subsequent poem, "Viking Dublin: Trial Pieces," the implicit reader is invited to share Ireland's Viking past (V), including the suppressed news of "the skulls they have / in the city of Dublin" (VI.83–4),[27] like an archaeological replica of *Hamlet* 5.1:

> I follow into the mud.
> I am Hamlet the Dane,
> skull-handler, parablist,
> smeller of rot
>
> in the state, infused
> with its poisons,
> pinioned by ghosts
> and affections,
>
> murders and pieties,
> coming to consciousness,
> by jumping in graves,
> dithering, blathering.
>
> ("Viking Dublin" IV.53–64)

[26] See O'Donoghue on Heaney's derivation of his "idea of the north" or northern pasts from Old Norse and Old English literary traditions, and on the relatedness of these pasts to his present times; see Cavanagh on the explanatory power of such myths.
[27] I.e. the artefacts excavated from the Norse settlement at Wood Quay in Dublin.

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Not Heaney's political involvement as translated poetically in *North*[28] through Hamlet's figure concerns me here. Rather, I am interested in Heaney's telescoping into the western European collective imaginary of bodies in pieces, of rotting and generally in-sight into the human body, *not* just of Jungian (Earth-Mother) archetypes. Dublin's skulls invite the poet's "words [to] lick around / cobbled quays, go hunting / … / over the skull-capped ground" ("Viking Dublin" VI.93–4, 96); they also pave the way for the subsequent poem, "The Digging Skeleton," followed by the bog-body poems "Bone Dreams,"[29] "Come to the Bower," "Bog Queen," "The Grauballe Man," "Punishment," "Strange Fruit" and "Kinship." In *North*, the vestige hoarding peat has already been announced in "Belderg" (1–11), and dead bodies and the imagining of the past imbricated with the present in "Funeral Rites"; the poems form a diptych of sorts which introduces "North."

Before examining Heaney's tradaptation of "Le Squelette laboureur," I will briefly look at "Belderg" beyond its mythical conflation of the violence of Norse past practice and its present replica, as well as reflection thereon. O'Donoghue perceptively notes that Heaney's "The marrow crushed to grounds" transforms the "domestic purpose of quernstones—to grind grain into flour— … into an image of destruction and violence" (193). In doing so, "Belderg," I submit, also conflates *domesticity* and *the body*: the unacknowledged violence of the former, "Grist to an ancient mill" (41), and the rarely admitted violence inflicted on the latter by political and other regimens, including anatomy, are but the two faces of the same coin, "The *marrow* crushed to grounds" (45).[30] Through the elision of the mineral and the anatomical in "Querns piled like vertebrae" (44),[31] "Belderg" reflects (upon) the West's controversial cultural absorption of the past through museal and artistic showcasing of bog mummies. Yet the simile also anticipates the "*ban-hus*" kenning for *body* ("Bone Dreams" III.36) and thus echoes unawares the Galenic body/edifice metaphor underpinning Vesalian-inspired anatomy books. Mere shards of the past, Heaney's quernstones/vertebrae/bog bodies point to the fragmentariness of human perception and understanding, including in anatomy, to the fabricated continuities and ruptures between past and present, ultimately to the liminality of existence in a fluid present. Reference as they may the *intelligible* body (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 136) construed by the various institutions and disciplines, "Belderg's" vertebrae, like Yorick's skull, intimate that at the level of intelligibility culture fetishizes body parts to exert control over the not-so-docile flesh-and-blood bodies.

[28] See Crotty (52–4) for an overview of the literature and Longley (38–48, 59–61) for an analysis of *North*.
[29] Heaney included "Bone Dreams" in his 1975 *Bog Poems* published by London's Rainbow Press. Whilst not concerned with bog bodies proper, the poem fashions the "I" in Hamlet's skull-holding pose: his "lady's head / like a crystal" ("Bone Dreams" IV.55–6; Sanders 115).
[30] Quite appositely, this is the poem's final line.
[31] This is a deliberately re-imagined Yggdrasil ("Belderg" 43), the Norse cosmic tree, as a quernstone backbone.

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Heaney's "The Digging Skeleton" accurately translates Baudelaire's anguished epiphany about the moot Christian equation "to die, to sleep" (*Hamlet* 3.1.60) which also troubled Shakespeare. Obviously, the translation serves a divergent purpose from Baudelaire's: not the modern city in all its filthy poeticity does *North* redeem, but the (often sensuously) aestheticised violence-afflicted bodies of the Iron Age[32] and the Troubles' sectarian violence. Heaney maintains Baudelaire's two-section "cinematic cutting … from description to imaginative reconstruction" (O'Brien 13).[33] In the bog poems, he further replicates it: there is a time shift between sections (O'Brien 26), often a back-and-forth moving between a mythologised past, retrieved through imaginative reconstruction from vestiges, and a historical present held up for ethico-political consideration; there is also a fluidity of personal and collective identity, individual psyche and collective memory.

Thence Heaney's translation liberties in "The Digging Skeleton." "Buried" (2), not hung/"traînent" (2), the anatomical plates constitute "Mysterious candid studies / Of red slobland around the bones" (9–10)[34]: both overall image and lexical choice—"slobland" is Irish for "muddy land"—recall Glob's photographs of the bog bodies. The scene is thus set for the bog-body poems, where the peat reveals the mesmerising entwining of the human, the vegetal, the animal and the inanimate (mineral or otherwise). Reads the tradaptation: "Your skinned muscles like plaited sedge[35] / And your spines hooped towards the sunk edge / Of the spade" (14–16). Heaney's is a far cry from Baudelaire's detached description of vertebrae and stripped muscles, "De tout l'effort de vos vertèbres, / Ou de vos muscles dépouillés" (15–16), but apposite for his bog poems:

> the illiterate roots
> pondered and died
> in the cavings
> of stomach and socket
>
> ("Bog Queen" 12–15)[36]

[32] Some Iron Age bog bodies have a noose around the neck (Tollund Man; Windeby Girl/Boy, now Windeby I) or have the throat slit open (Grauballe Man). However, certain signs of violence, e.g. Windeby I's, traditionally interpreted as human sacrifice, have been recently reappraised as owing either to the peat pressure or to the peat-diggers' and archaeologists' damage to the bodies (McLean 303–4).

[33] O'Brien's discusses the cinematic technique of "At a Potato Digging" (*Death of a Naturalist*, 1966), without mentioning Docherty's analysis of the selfsame in Baudelaire.

[34] Cf. Baudelaire's "On voit, ce qui rend plus completes / Ces mystérieuses horreurs" [One sees, which renders more intense / The horror and the mystery] (9–10, trans. McGowan).

[35] Sedge, a grass-like plant of the family *Cyperaceae* with triangular stems and inconspicuous flowers, grows typically in wet ground, which makes it apposite in Heaney's red slobland-scape.

[36] "Bog Queen" cross-voices a bog body exhumed from the Moira estate, south of Belfast, if mediated by Glob's study, whose phrasings Heaney echoes (O'Donoghue 195). See Sanders (113) on the Irish and Danish bog queens, the latter—the Haraldskjaer Woman—long mistaken for Queen Gunhild.

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> The grain of his wrists
> is like bog oak,
> the ball of his heel
> like a basalt egg.…
> His hips are the ridge
> and purse of a mussel,
> his spine an eel arrested
> under a glisten of mud
>
> ("Grauballe Man" 6–9, 13–16)

Unsurprisingly, "The Digging Skeleton" also provides a grim comment on the Vesalian-fashion anatomical images in whose margin Baudelaire fantasises. Perhaps the major instance of tradaptation appears in Heaney's closing stanza, which dispenses with Baudelaire's rhetorical *question,* to *affirm* that "We earn our deaths" (31) through afterlife toil. However, "our one repose" (31) comes only when our "bleeding instep finds its spade" (32). Heaney's is a more terrifying epiphany than Baudelaire's.

Baudelaire's "charnier"/*charnel house* (18) becomes with Heaney "the boneyard" ("Digging Skeleton" 20), in eerie anticipation of the admittedly more than bone-preserving bog. Storing as it does "anatomical plates / Buried along these dusty quays / Among books yellowed like mummies (1–3), Heaney's book *charnier* enables digging out ideologically keyed remnants of the past. Arguably, the "charnier"/"boneyard" translation adumbrates the complex cultural nexus of the bog poems. Baudelaire's word names the Christian ossuary for disinterred remains, literally a *bone-house* (Heaney, "Bone Dreams" II.17) which piles up bones according to spatial strictures; incidentally, the practice also betrays a morbid aesthetic taste.[37] As "bone-house" the "charnier"/"boneyard" conjures the "*ban-hus*" ("Bone Dreams" III.36), the Anglo-Saxon *house-for-bones* kenning which, whilst signifying *body* (O'Donoghue 201), cannot obliterate its denotative burden. Thus, "*ban-hus*"/*house-for-bones*/*body* ultimately names the bog, as the "bone vault" metaphor for the bog ("Kinship" II.46) intimates, in turn treasured by the charnel-house of language(s).[38]

For Baudelaire, the anatomical illustrator's work communicates Beauty: "Dessins / … / Ont communiqué la Beauté" (5, 8). For Heaney, "an odd beauty" permeates the drawings ("Digging Skeleton" 5) *as if* (6) in grave response to the sad (6–7) "[m]ementoes of anatomy" (8). The English "memento"—which, at the time of its adoption in late Middle English, denoted a prayer of commemoration—names a *souvenir*, an object kept as a reminder of a person or event; its Latin source

[37] Synecdochic for the cemetery, *charnier* (charnel house) named the ossuary and also the galleries in the church walls where bones were both stored and displayed after disinterment, after the fourteenth century, to make room in the graves for new cadavers (Ariès esp. 51–4; cf. *Hamlet* 5.1).

[38] "In the coffered / riches of grammar / and declensions / I found *ban-hus*" ("Bone Dreams" III.33–6). In the poem "the past is indivisibly connected to the present, via language" (O'Donoghue 200).

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survives on yellowed pages in the *memento mori* imperative. Anatomical plates may be mementoes of anatomy, viz. the reified visual representation (*Darstellung*) as reminder, yet of *what anatomy*? Not the discipline, as we name it nowadays, but the practice of dissection, which the early modern term references with etymological accuracy. Simply stated, anatomical plates are the final, perhaps only record of bodies dissected and turned to dust, if able to deflect attention therefrom, just as in the bog-body poems the mummies are the vestige of individual destinies and manifold violence. The books of the past look "yellowed like mummies / Slumbering in forgotten crates" ("Digging Skeleton" 3–4),[39] the tanned bog bodies brown. Both object/bodies are buried (2), both are a remnant of the past confounding the present, both weathered, both owing their fragile survival to factors beyond human agency. Both are scrutinised by "the artful voyeur" ("Punishment" 32) for epistemic and/or erotic gratification. Both owe their life and afterlife to the spade/trowel, the scalpel and the pen, as well as the hand and the eye—in any order, many times over.

The remainder of representation: women's representation between mystified *Darstellung* and denied *Vertretung*

Let us return to Vesalius's ages-of-man skeleton representation to examine its implications. The synecdochic stereotype *man* for *humankind* encodes the canonical patriarchal view of humanity, male (and white), shared by textual and visual anatomical representation with all other discursive practices. Anatomy's epistemic abstraction endorses, I argue, the typical obliteration of the scope of *representation*, whose dual sense—*Darstellung* (textual/pictorial limning: likeness) and *Vertretung* (juridical-political standing-for)—has been perceptively analysed by Spivak (275–9).

Jean Ruelle, Vesalius's contemporary, attached asymmetrical captions to the male and female figures of his 1539 Latin edition of anatomical fugitive sheets, respectively "Interiorum *corporis humani* partium viva delineation" and "Perutilis anatomes interiorum *mulieris* partium cognition…" (qtd. in Carlino 65 n31; cf. 105–6). His case is neither unprecedented or confined to the past, nor exclusively or even originally anatomy-bound. Twenty-first-century anatomy books reinforce the traditional view of male defaultness: female shaped whole bodies juxtaposed with male insets to show gender differences in the case of the "reproductive"[40] or the endocrine system have no counterpart in the representation of the brain in the "pot

[39] Syntactic parallelism and punctuation notwithstanding, we could also see the anatomical plates as slumbering, as if the tradaptation aimed to evoke the bog's paradoxical powers of alteration (tanning colour; demineralisation) in preservation (mummification).
[40] The name, not unique nowadays, tacitly maintains the Christian teleological imperative of heterosexuality, the default category.

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of the skull" (Heaney, "Come to the Bower" 11).[41] Anatomical representation (*Darstellung*) dovetails with the *metaphorical* dimension of representation which Moira Gatens has examined with regard to the body politic: "who is represented by the body politic" (Gatens 81) translates anatomically as women interesting only marginally, viz. relative to the utero-centric stakes of heteronormativity.

Another epistemic assumption of early modern anatomy concerns the exemplarity of the anatomical specimen championed as the "body-as-knowledge" (in Luke Wilson's phrase). Vesalius fashioned the seminal fiction of the anatomical subject as both of universal anatomical relevance—i.e. the normative average sized, relatively young, healthy body (Harcourt 28, 42), male and white—and socially neutral. However, until recently most cadavers actually belonged to the marginals (Park 12–16; Cregan 50–2, 61): executed felons; in England also the disinherited, once criminalised; dead hospital inmates since the 1480s in Italy; indigent aliens.[42] Hence the foundational mystification of early modern anatomical representation: the embellished *Darstellung* of the average male cadaver, sometimes displayed in playfully exalted social roles, occluded the *Darstellung–Vertretung* conspiracy in reversing the anatomical subjects' non- or even counter-exemplarity in society when alive. Social marginals were excluded from *metonymical* representation in the body politic: theirs was not a body "entitled to be represented by this political corporation" (Gatens 81); *their* body didn't exist as such. Uncannily enough, the representativeness (*Vertretung*) of the *minores* would be promoted by anatomy, however mystified and without thereby also eliminating the gender bias, yet only because its practitioners could not perform dissections, but only forensic autopsies, of the *potestas*.

Does anatomy's epistemico-political bias in representation also underpin the drama or poetry I have examined? I must insist that, should we find any similarities, they do not derive causally, but owe to the collective imaginary of the body—both the intelligible body and the body politic—which feeds, and is influenced by, various disciplines. *Hamlet* fashions its cynical perspective on afterlife by enlisting the visual, tangible and smelly support of Yorick's skull: whether indeed the jester's or not, the skull has to be identified as a man's. Unsurprisingly, the characters debating death, whether noble and educated (Hamlet and Horatio) or low-born and barely literate (the gravediggers), are men.

Baudelaire is notorious for his misogynous poetry. The male poetic voice in "Une charogne" enjoins his beloved to recollect an *object*, "Rappelez-vous l'objet" (1): "une charogne infâme" [a foul carrion] (3) with "Les jambes en l'air, comme une femme lubrique" [Her legs were spread out like a lecherous whore] (5, trans.

[41] See my investigation of the gendering of the anatomical specimen since early modernity to the twenty-first century (Ciobanu, "Apolline Discipline"; "En-gendering Exemplarity"; "Remediating Anatomical Images"; "Remediations of the Western Anatomical Imaginary").
[42] The gibbet was the only legitimate source of bodies for dissection from the thirteenth to the early seventeenth century across western Europe, though other sources were added gradually; body snatching from the graveyard, probably since the early fourteenth century (Wilson 68), was prohibited yet would occur as late as the nineteenth century.

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McGowan). After the early reification and the simile's sexual slur, "Une charogne" erects its *memento mori* on a feminised carrion[43] – the legacy of the antifeminist Christian abjection of the body/flesh as female. The female skeleton of "Danse macabre" also bears the prostitution stigma: the "bayadere" (45) entices with her "funèbres appas" [funeral charms] (12). Baudelaire frames his double *abjection* (in Kristeva's sense) of corpse and women within the Genesis 3 account: through its *ribs* "Je vois, errant encor, l'insatiable aspic" [I see the insatiable serpent wandering again] (32).[44] By contrast, the skeletons and écorchés featured in the *memento mori* of "Le Squelette laboureur" are implicitly male: they demonstrate a philosophical moot point, not a matter of putrid certitude.

Memento mori ideology is the invisible masculine tool of "Le Squelette Laboureur." Its tangible supplements in both anatomical representation and poetic ekphrasis, typically conflated in either discourse, are frustratingly absent in Baudelaire: there is no phallic spade (of the body snatchers, whether Vesalius himself or Baudelaire's contemporaries, of Shakespeare's gravediggers and of modern archaeologists), scalpel (of anatomists) or pen (of poets, anatomists and anthropologists; in various guises, alongside paint, ink and acids, also of painters, engravers or lithographers). The contrast with actual anatomical illustrations is illuminating in many respects. One of Vesalius's plates (200) depicts a board with dissection instruments; so do Casserio's title page of the 1627/1632 editions and frontispiece to the 1656 edition. Mounted skeletons or écorchés may retain a noose-like rope, recalling execution (Vesalius 230; Valverde 71). The spade-prop in the *memento mori* narrative physically props the mounted skeleton for display (Vesalius 203), as well as providing a mise en abyme for the early modern execution–dissection proceedings.[45] Nothing remains of all this in "Le Squelette Laboureur"; only the sovereign gaze reigns supreme, like in anatomical illustration. In part I,

[43] Baudelaire's "Une charogne" testifies to the aporia of men's (artistic) abjection of women: "le ciel regardait la carcasse superbe / Comme une fleur s'épanouir" [the sky cast an eye on this marvellous meat / As over the flowers in bloom] (13–14), despite the fact that "ce ventre putride" [these bowels of filth] (21) nest maggots and lure flies (21–3). However, by the end the poem has obliterated this in-sight into the masculine imaginary of women, framed as a *memento mori* addressed to the I's "reine des grâces" (41) as one who "pourtant vous serez semblable à cette ordure / A cette horrible infection" [you, in your turn, will be rotten as this / Horrible, filthy, undone] (37–8): the *memory* of the feminised carrion is enlisted to trigger the cultural memory of the woman's future abjection in death, "Moisir parmi les ossements" [rot among the bones] (44, my trans.). Here, unless mentioned otherwise, all translations are McGowan's.

[44] Yet we should re-read the biblical account to refresh our memory of the order of creation (Genesis 2) to realise at least that Eve had not been created when the fruit prohibition was issued.

[45] Notwithstanding the *vanitas* symbolism, the posture provides the *mounted skeleton* the necessary support and stability as also achieved through fitting a Death-like scythe to the skeleton in the dissection scene of the title page, even as in both cases the mounting mechanism is obscured (Saunders, O'Malley 84; Kornell 101–3, 107–8), unlike in the case of the écorchés. Ironically, Vesalius's two skeletons also share the grievous expression.

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Baudelaire's gaze resembles the avowedly neutral clinical gaze (Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic* 108–21) which scans the body empirically "refrain[ing] from all possible intervention" on the object of its scrutiny (108), to reach and reveal its "sensible truth" (120). Moreover, like Foucault's clinical gaze in its capacity to organise knowledge also as an aesthetic (121), Baudelaire's gaze remains aware of the "Beauté" (8) of the anatomical plates.

Often dissimulated as clinical gaze, voyeurism[46] underpins Heaney's bog-body poems, which share with anatomy voyeurism's affirmation of power in its epistemically colonising thrust. To understand this, let us return to anatomical illustration. The masculinist ideology of *mastery* through military, political and/or economic conquest or epistemic colonisation informs the title page illustration by Odoardo Fialetti, which graces the anatomical magnum opus of Giulio Casserio (d. 1616). The posthumous Latin editions of *Tabulae anatomice* (Venice, 1627; Frankfurt, 1632) show, with minor differences, an enthroned Goddess Anatomia, mirror (know thyself!) in her right hand and skull (Yorick's?) balanced on her left knee. The goddess, a cross-dressed Apollo, himself the archetype of the male anatomist in the flaying of Marsyas, indicates the discipline's celestial aspirations; dissection instruments are relegated to the bottom of the illustration. Contrariwise, the German edition, *Anatomische Tafeln* (Frankfurt, 1656), proclaims unabashedly the *rhetoric of mastery* shared by the European anatomists and explorers. The frontispiece lays bare a young woman, face veiled, for five elderly male anatomists' exploratory dissection of the lower torso and/as pregnant womb. Not only are the dissection instruments displayed, unlike in Vesalius's frontispiece, which also shows a woman's dissection, but they are given pride of place and thereby enable the viewer to trace a trajectory of conquest and power. Swept upwards from the woman's womb across the cabinet shelving the dissection instruments, the gaze lands on the globe atop, centred on America. Flanking the cabinet, an écorché and Vesalius's now advertent skeleton with spade enforce the burden of tradition in the discovery process. The composition translates the West's supremacist view of the *other*/the New World as essentially a (*female*) *body open to colonising penetration* and voyeuristic mastery.

The same masculine gaze of mastery as anatomy's, actually the anatomist's, dissects the bog bodies in Heaney's poetry, mediated by photography and commentary thereon, i.e. the camera and the pen as substitutes for the trowel. In the bog poems, *Hamlet*'s enabling character, the gravedigger, remains visible only in "Tollund Man" or "Bog Queen." At times he can be replaced by the lyric "I"/eye who effects a metaphorical dissection of the body already penetrated by scientists after its retrieval from the bog.

Heaney's "I"/eye is an avowed voyeur in the bog-body poems, whose objects of intense scrutiny/anatomizing are both male and female. Under the circumstances,

[46] I am drawing on Laura Mulvey's analysis of the masculine gaze in films, i.e. one which actively seeks to escape from castration anxiety and generate pleasure through either scopophilia or voyeurism.

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representational issues seemingly become irrelevant: the blazon[47] of the female body has its counterpart in a *contreblason* not by another poet, like in the courtly *blason* tradition proper (Sawday 192), but of the male body. As Jonathan Sawday (191–212) argues, the blazon genre fashionable in Vesalius's time centres on the poetic/anatomic conceit of the poet who penetrates visually and describes the woman's body piece by piece, like the anatomist; he thereby conquers (6, 9–10, 17–28) her/it "as the locus of desire" (Nancy Vickers, qtd. in Sawday 193), in an all-male rivalry game. Do Heaney's bog poems provide comparable blazon-type ekphrases or do they split the bodies along gender lines?

Decapitated by the Danish scientists for head preservation purposes,[48] stomach contents inventoried by Heaney in the footsteps of the scientists, the Tollund Man nevertheless inspires a "sad freedom" ("Tollund Man" III.33) which ostensibly transcends representational conundrums. The Grauballe Man, on the other hand, appears rather androgynous (Docherty 122–3): mussel, the metaphor for his hips ("Grauballe Man" 13–14), inscribes a female reproductive capacity in the male body; so does the womanish fluidity of being and behaviour alike (1–5). Such androgyny likens him to the Bog Queen, both mummies scrutinised in their cavities, if Grauballe in an artificial one: the cured wound of "his slashed throat" (20).

However, neither male body elicits the erotic attentions of the lyric "I"/eye (*pace* Sanders 112) which the female bodies or body parts do.[49] The Tollund Man is depicted as a serene quasi-saint whose (alleged) ritual sacrifice to the feminised bog, "[b]ridegroom to the goddess" ("Tollund Man" 12),[50] does not truly emasculate him, despite the *vagina dentata* suggestion of the torc image (13) and his foetal immersion in the fen's "dark juices" (14–15). Now the object of the "I's" pilgrimage to Aarhus (I.1–4),[51] Tollund is elided with Christianity's speciously a-sexual male saints. Despite his androgyny, compounded by the comparison with a foetus ("Grauballe Man" 31) and forceps baby (36), Grauballe remains quintessentially masculine: he strikes a knightly pose, with his visor-chin (17–21)—comparable to

[47] Established in the thirteenth century by Geoffrey of Vinsauf, the convention gained currency after Marot's publication of *Blason du Beau Tétin* (1536). Helen Vendler alludes to the genre, though not to its heyday in the early modern "culture of dissection" (in Sawday's words), when she argues that Heaney's descriptive minutiae in "Bog Queen" can "'realize' the body entire, with the blazon fuller than the convention normally allows" (Vendler, qtd. in Sanders 113).

[48] Initially only the head was preserved for display, since the entire body display would have seemed too macabre; the museum now boasts a "complete" exhibit with an artificial body modelled on the original find.

[49] The homoeroticism of Heaney's description of Grauballe and Tollund Men is nevertheless occluded, Gouws (110–18) argues, by the heteronormative gaze of both Heaney and critical reception of his poems, aligned with Glob's differential description of the male and female bog bodies.

[50] The Tollund Man—also the subject of Geoffrey Grigson's eponymous 1969 poem and William Carlos Williams's 1955 "A Smiling Dane"—was allegedly sacrificed to Nerthus; Heaney devotes to the Norse fertility goddess the subsequent poem in *Wintering Out*.

[51] Actually, some 40 km (25 miles) east of Silkeborg, where it is displayed.

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the Roman cuirasses of Valverde's visceral figures (95)—covering his most vulnerable spot. With his cured wound ("Grauballe Man" 22) and bruised face (36) Grauballe no longer appears to be what he *is*: a "'corpse'" (25) in "opaque repose" (28). Rather, "now he lies / perfected in my memory" (37–8)—an aesthetic object (O'Brien 36);[52] however, the verb "lie" further equivocates the image towards the feminised supine position. The Bog Queen too will be "perfected," but differently.

Feminist readings of Heaney have highlighted his gender problematic choices. Coughlan (186–7, 191–7) discusses Heaney's aesthetic–political aporia of restoring a neo-Jungian feminine principle: the bog-body poems coalesce a death-bringing Earth Mother figure with eroticised gender-stereotyped political emblems such as the Irish nationalist imagery of "woman-as-land-and-national-spirit." Brearton (75–89) discusses Heaney's traditional sexual linguistics which mutes and objectifies female characters, an issue which Sanders (101–2, 111–14) reframes as the texts' "archaeo-erotics." My concern here is not primarily the bog-body poems' titillating, if abject, visualisation of dead women as inviting genitals,[53] but the anatomical blazon which exclusively in women's case objectifies them as *sexually charged body parts*, the fetishist's object, and *brainless bodies*, the anatomist's.[54]

On the face of it, the female bog-body poems uncover beauty. Necrophilic beauty haunts "Strange Fruit," the sonnet devoted to a decapitated girl discovered at Roum, Denmark. Her eerily beauteous (5) severed head becomes a relic "*outstaring* axe / and beatification" (12–13), even post-mortem "reverence" (14), looking as it does farther than traditional concepts and practices. The Medusan echo, which resurfaces in other *North* poems,[55] appears *subdued*: she outstares the axe, not its wielder. The same echo Sanders (114) identifies in the *blanking* of the eyes ("Strange Fruit" 8) of the self-standing Medusan *head* with its *coil* made into an "exhibition" (4). Feared and stigmatised as Medusa, the woman must be disempowered even in death.

Eroticised beauty, if framed explicitly as anatomical voyeurism, also structures "Punishment": Glob's Windeby Girl—in the meantime proven to be a boy[56]—

[52] Gouws (113–14) interprets the imagery of lines 17–38 as rather abstracting the male body's originary trauma: aesthetic effect pre-empts empathetic affect when the critical distance from the body creates "a context of aesthetically distanced anatomical display" (Anthony Purdy, qtd. in Gouws 113).

[53] Nerthus's "ash-fork staked in peat" in Heaney's eponymous poem (1) virtually echoes Baudelaire's image in "Une charogne" (5).

[54] Compare the title *Blasons Anatomiques des Parties du Corps Féminine* of the 1536 blazon anthology initiated by Clément Marot, which was getting enlarged more and more by 1550, with anatomical atlases' titles, e.g. Charles Estiennes's *De dissectione partium corporis humani* (1545). Both enterprises had François I for patron (Sawday 193–4).

[55] I "ossify myself / by gazing" ("Bone Dreams" IV.57–8); "the unstopped mouth / of an urn, a moon-drinker, / not to be sounded / by the naked eye" ("Kinship" I.21–4).

[56] Windeby II *is* a boy, which may have endorsed the early construal of Windeby I's femaleness in a heterosexual romance account.

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displays a *beautiful* "tar-black face" (27).[57] Eliding the Iron Age "[l]ittle adulteress" (23) and "scapegoat" (28) with the modern ones, the young Catholic Irish women punished by the IRA for dating British soldiers, the "I" confesses his betrayal through silence (30–1). He thus admits, unawares, of an overarching guilt: the voyeur's self-gratification. "Punishment" thematises the viewer as a necrophiliac who emblazons (in Sawday's sense) the bog body:

> I am the artful voyeur
>
> of your brain's exposed
> and darkened combs
> your muscles' webbing
> and all your numbered bones:
>
> ("Punishment" 32–6)

The silent witness to the Catholic women's tarring is also the enthralled viewer of the exposed brain ("Punishment" 33) of an anatomical specimen sui generis: Windeby I's "numbered bones" (36) key the modern anthropologist's find in piecemeal fashion, modelled on the early modern anatomical atlases' keying of illustration to text to enable study. The Windeby "Girl's" bog preservation has exposed the rib cage, "the frail rigging / of her ribs" (7–8); however, upon mummy unearthing, the brain was removed for forensic examination, as Glob shows in a description which inspired Heaney's lines (Brown 283–4). Anatomical scopophilia and fetishistic voyeurism have become virtually indistinguishable.

In "Punishment" the instrument of death, the noose, becomes the metaphorical vehicle for the speaker's/viewer's flight of fancy:

> her blindfold a soiled bandage,
> her noose a ring
>
> to store
> the memories of love.
>
> ("Punishment" 19–22)

An unfortunate flight, though. Heaney's metaphors, like his opening lines, "I can feel the tug / of the halter at the nape / of her neck" ("Punishment" 1–3), conjure the horrors of dissection, sparsely illustrated in early modern anatomies before Bidloo, including the mounting of the specimen (Petherbridge, Jordanova 25). Although meant for breaking the neck and, thus, life, at a metadiscursive level, the noose *connects* the manner of death of both the Iron Age sacrifices/executions and the early modern anatomists' dissection subjects, dead on the gallows; it also connects this heterogeneous category and the mounted anatomical specimen displayed,

[57] Perceiving beauty in the peat-tanned skin owes culturally as much to Romanticism (Sanders 97) as to Shakespeare's praise of the dark lady in his sonnets.

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Vesalian-fashion, for demonstration before a medical and/or artist public or a non-specialist one.

"Come to the Bower" employs the tactile as *the* means to comprehend the past, in an eroticised anatomo-archaeology of the bog body:

> My hands come …
> To where the dark-bowered queen,
> Whom I unpin,
> Is waiting….
> I unwrap skins and see
> The pot of the skull,…
> I reach past
> The riverbed's washed
> Dream of gold to the bullion
> Of her Venus bone.
>
> ("Come to the Bower" 1, 5–7, 10–11, 17–20)

Necrophilic eroticism notwithstanding, the poem's unmaking of the bog woman's body draws on, and repurposes mythically, the anatomical blazon. Visually, epistemically and politically taken apart, the female body is represented, in Heaney, as unwrappable skins, skull-*pot* and genitalia; the reified woman/body has been *fetishistically* dismantled to *token* pieces: empty skull yet bullion Venus bone.

The echo of the Bog Queen's "skull-ware" (54) in "[t]he pot of the skull" ("Come to the Bower" 11) enables, I suggest, observing the making of anatomical fetishism. For O'Brien, the meanings of "skull-ware" range "from 'guarded,' to 'protected' to 'defensive' to 'cunning'" (35). Nonetheless, "skull-ware" unavoidably evokes "earthenware," although (or perhaps *because*) in "Bog Queen" the speaking voice is the mummy's, unlike in all other bog-body poems. Does the poetic cross-voicing forebode well for the resurrected queen? "I lay waiting" (1, 16), she declares twice with a mixture of prescience and passivity, as if awaiting the "turfcutter's spade" (44) to come to rob her of her rich attire and hair, i.e. whatever peat acids and the elements had not already eroded (5–40). She notes with quasi-clinical equanimity: "Which they robbed" (41)[58]; "I was barbered / and stripped" (42–3). However, the hair as "birth-cord / of bog" once cut (51–2), the Bog Queen "rose from the dark, / hacked bone, skull-ware" (53–4)—an exquisitely apocalyptic image. Or is it? The mixture of passive and active voice verbs which describe the alteration of the bog body climaxes with "I rose" (53), a far cry from the image of the supine Grauballe Man. Nevertheless, the counterintuitive active voice blatantly mystifies agency in a *trompe l'oeil* self-empowerment image comparable, if unawares, to that of autoptic anatomical specimens (Valverde 94). On the other hand, the female body of "Bog Queen" overlays the cultural memory of the 1780/81 Irish find with the 1835 Danish one. Yet both bodies' appearance had altered

[58] The relative clause, which refers to the bog body's hair, is dramatically suspended between full-stops.

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dramatically: away from the preserving bog, the voluptuous "Queen Gunhild" had shrunk to a virtually skeletal mummy; the Bog Queen rises "hacked bone."[59] A Lazarus rather than a sensuous revenant, the former; male rather than female, the latter. Vesalius's archetypal male specimen, often depicted in noble postures, in "Bog Queen" is ignominiously carved thin by "a turfcutter's spade" (44). If anything, the resurrected Bog Queen becomes exemplary of patriarchy's "hom(m)o-sexual" logic of sameness-unto-itself, which others woman, describing her nevertheless as but an other of the same (Irigaray, *This Sex* 74, 171; *Speculum* 26, 135).[60]

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Like Shakespeare's graveyard in *Hamlet* 5.1, the bog is the treasure house not only of full bodies, though not skeletons proper, but also of body parts, a literal *charnier*/*carnarium*, viz. a place for the flesh. Like Vesalius's or Bidloo's anatomical specimens, Shakespeare's, Baudelaire's and Heaney's bodies or body parts are moralised to look uncannily alive in their capacity to either spin narratives or more often elicit them from the enthralled viewer persona. Like Polonius's dead body, corpses represented in poetry, drama and anatomical illustrations conjure the medieval image of decay, which Heaney moralises in philosophico-political terms stronger than Hamlet's, and Baudelaire in philosophical terms at odds with mainstream Christianity.

Nevertheless, all these instances of anatomical representation play down the concept's epistemico-political ambit. Anatomical illustration uses the male body to depict (i.e. represent/*darstellen*) a particular anatomy. Being as it is representative by definition, the specimen inevitably also yields to patriarchally inflected *Vertretung*: one man can stand in for (i.e. represent/*vertreten*) men and women alike to demonstrate the anatomy of the human body. What the science of anatomy presents as human *fabrica*/structure is not natural, however, but a socially intelligible *construction*. The male *Darstellung* as simultaneously and implicitly masculine *Vertretung* underpins western anatomical, artistic and philosophical representations of the human body and generally of humankind; such representations rarely admit that they are rooted in and endorse the patriarchal assumptions and even stipulations about the pre-eminence of men in society or in

[59] See the before-and-now structuring and imagery of the poem "Queen Gunhild" (1841) by the Danish poet Steen Steenser Blicher (qtd. in Sanders 94). Sanders describes the effect thus: "Doubly incarcerated in bog and words, the powerful saga-queen has become a disempowered bog-queen" (95).

[60] See also Coughlan's argument that in Heaney's political allegories "[e]ven the *culturally* feminine Catholic/nationalist figure is *biologically* male: … all (males) may merge their differences in a general bedding down in the (female) land" (199, original emphasis). Coughlan (201) appositely quotes Irigaray (*Speculum* 365) on how the masculine imaginary fashions woman as grounding systematicity, even as she is expelled from the Symbolic order.

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the ontological order of things. Where discursive practices do represent women, the latter's exemplarity differs from men's. Baudelaire gives it a negative twist: he reifies woman as *objet–charogne* that triggers the *memento mori* interpellation of another woman (cf. *Hamlet* 5.1.163–4). Heaney yokes it to the hom(m)o-sexual logic of anatomical exemplarity: his Bog Queen is a diminished, male-looking body. Philosophising on what/whom the human body represents rests exclusively with male artists and characters, yet its androcentric conceptual outcome is mystified as universally valid.

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