

Authorship, Image-Making, and Excess: William Hunter's *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata* (1774)

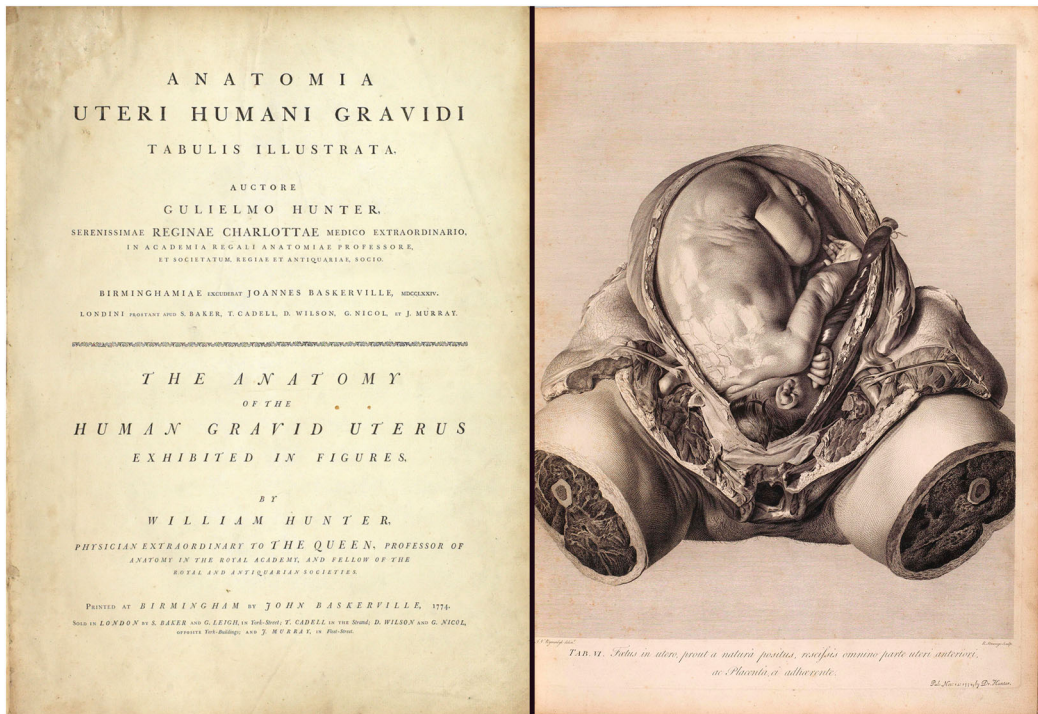
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Abstract: In 1774, the physician-anatomist William Hunter (1718–1783) published *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (1774). Issued as an elephant folio, the book is the culmination of twenty-four years of work and includes thirty-four plates with life-size hyper-naturalistic engravings by artists such as Robert Strange after drawings by Jan Van Rymsdyk. Anticipating potential critique of the book's stylistic choices, Hunter took pains in his preface to assure readers that although the book was lavishly illustrated, it was not excessively so, stating that he had 'actually kept back several drawings which had been made, and two plates which had been engraved'. The decision to exclude these extra images was based on a desire 'that the work not be overcharged'. On the eve of the 250th anniversary of the publication of *Anatomia*, this article takes Hunter's claim of authorial restraint as a departure point from which to examine the anatomist's construction of authorship within the illustrated book. Analysing the paratextual features of the book alongside previously unstudied contemporary reviews reveals how Hunter exerted rhetorical control over the production and reception of the book and its complex visual language. Through examination of the yet unstudied material remnants of the book's production, the drawings and prints Hunter excluded from the book are identified and examined to determine the extent to which Hunter's authorial control manifested in the material conditions of the book's production. Through the close analysis of Hunter's authorship within the context of eighteenth-century anxieties about excess, this article offers a new understanding of the production and reception of the *Anatomia* as well as the collaborative process of scientific image-making practices and book production in the eighteenth century.

Keywords: William Hunter, authorship, anatomy, image-making, print culture, reception, visual excess

1. Introduction

In 1774, the physician and anatomist Dr William Hunter (1718–1783) published *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (1774). Issued as an elephant folio, the grand illustrated book was the culmination of twenty-four years of work; it includes thirty-four plates with life-size hyper-naturalistic engravings depicting dissections of pregnant women by artists such as Robert Strange (1721–1792) after drawings by Jan Van Rymsdyk (c. 1730–1790) (Fig. 1). Anticipating potential critique of the book's stylistic choices, Hunter took pains in his preface to assure readers that although the book was lavishly illustrated, it was not excessively so, stating that he had 'actually kept back several drawings which had been made, and two plates which had been engraved'.¹ The decision to exclude these extra images was based on a desire 'that the work not be overcharged'.² *Anatomia* and its images have received substantial scholarly attention, but the anatomist's self-fashioning



1. (Left) Title page of William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774). (Right) Robert Strange (Scottish, 1721–1792) after Jan van Rymsdyk (Dutch, d. 1790), engraving for Plate 6 in William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774), 1751, engraving on paper, sheet: 68 × 49.5 cm; plate: 58.4 × 43.8 cm, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Az.5.3. Images courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Archives and Special Collections [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

of his authorship and the contemporary reception of the book remain to be explored.³ On the eve of the 250th anniversary of the publication of *Anatomia*, this article takes Hunter's claim of authorial restraint as a departure point from which to examine the anatomist's authorship and the material production of the book within the wider context of eighteenth-century anxieties about excess and cultures of politeness.⁴

The study of authorship historically developed within literary history, but recent scholarship across multiple disciplines (including art, science, and the book) has extended our understanding of authorial practices beyond the textual to include visual and material practices.⁵ Histories of the book have investigated books as physical material objects, rather than simply vehicles for artistic or intellectual thought, and have shown how examining the stages of the manufacture of the book through to publication, distribution, and reception can reveal a complex web of social, cultural, and economic relationships.⁶ Authorship has come to encompass attention to the visual elements of a book and the mechanics of production, including page layout, the making of drawings and engravings, and the arrangement and placement of images — practices that might more traditionally

be considered artistic or editorial.⁷ Historical prioritization of text over image and art historical study of ‘major’ over ‘minor’ artists has given authorial priority to literary authors, often negating study of rich and complex collaborative working processes. Without textual or material evidence, it is almost impossible to reconstruct working processes of book production and collaborative image-making practices. Where such material can be identified, there are rich opportunities for developing our knowledge of the historical contexts of practices of making, producing, and communicating knowledge.

By focusing on Hunter’s *Anatomia*, this article will demonstrate the value of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of such surviving material and the practices they embody within eighteenth-century studies. The images that Hunter prepared but ultimately excluded for fear of ‘overcharging’ the book are identified here; through close examination of these unpublished drawings and prints, this article questions the extent to which authorial control can manifest within the material conditions of a book’s production. Hunter’s preface to his book is an invaluable source for understanding the anatomist’s wider epistemological programme, but lack of critique of this paratextual feature as such has impeded understanding of the extent to which Hunter exerted authorial control over the project. Nor has the contemporary reception of the book upon its publication been assessed. Here, the paratextual components of *Anatomia* are examined alongside previously unstudied contemporary reviews of the book to investigate the ways in which Hunter’s construction of authorship in the preface to his book simultaneously reveals how he attempted to exert control over the production *and* the reception of the book. In doing so, this article offers a new understanding of the production and reception of the *Anatomia* and extends our knowledge of the complex collaborative process of scientific image-making practices and book production during this period. Ultimately, it shows how a multi-faceted interdisciplinary approach to authorial practices within the field of eighteenth-century studies can deepen our understanding of topics such as the self-fashioning of professional identities, anxieties about excess, and cultures of politeness during the eighteenth century.

2. A ‘Plan for Being an Author’

Anatomia was the printed culmination of Hunter’s authorial ambitions, which the anatomist voiced as early as 1751 (Fig. 2).⁸ Shortly after receiving his medical degree from the University of Glasgow, Hunter wrote to his friend and mentor, the physician Dr William Cullen (1710–1790), to tell him he was ‘busy forming a plan for being an author’.⁹ This expression of authorial intent was met with approval; Cullen replied with encouragement for his former apprentice’s authorial ambitions, saying, ‘I shall be glad to see you an Author’.¹⁰ Hunter’s letter is intriguing; he refers to the noun rather than the verb: an author as something that he hopes to be, rather than something he plans to do. Similarly, Cullen’s letter suggests that becoming an author would signify a shift in identity. Hunter’s announcement of his authorial ambitions has thus far been cited in connection to his excitement for the opportunities that London offered and the production timeline of *Anatomia*, which began the previous year.¹¹ However, this ‘plan for being an author’ indicates a bigger project and a broader epistemological conception of authorship. Hunter’s ‘plan’ was hatched and brought to fruition at a time when the wider meaning of ‘authorship’ was being contested and reimagined. In the eighteenth century, there was a broad conception of authorship, one that was not confined to the literary author.¹² Indeed, a ‘writer in general’ was the last of Samuel Johnson’s four definitions of ‘Author’ in his *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1756).¹³ Johnson defined author as, firstly, ‘The first



2. Allan Ramsay (Scottish, 1713–1784), *William Hunter*, 1763–66, oil on canvas, 96 × 75 cm, GLAHA:44026, © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow

beginner or mover of anything; he to whom anything owes its original'; secondly, 'The efficient; he that effects or produces any thing'; and thirdly, 'The first writer of any thing; distinct from the translator or compiler'.¹⁴ Hunter's authorship was not one of imaginative expression but one of knowledge production.¹⁵ It would come to include a range of different authorial practices that resulted in the creation of a hyper-naturalistic visual language of anatomy through commissioned images, as seen in *Anatomia*.¹⁶

Anatomia was a prestige publication, a display of Hunter's authority as an anatomist and a man-midwife.¹⁷ At six guineas in boards, it was an extraordinarily expensive book for its time and far more costly than contemporary publications by other man-midwives such as William Smellie's *A Sett of Anatomical Tables* (1754) or Charles Nicolas Jenty's *Demonstratio Uteri Praegnantis Mulieris* (1757), which sold for £2 5s. and £1 5s., respectively.¹⁸ Despite the similarities in subject matter (the female pregnant body), the books were directed at different audiences: Smellie's book was aimed at those training in midwifery and was designed to be read alongside textual treatises published separately. A similar audience was intended for Jenty's book, which included mezzotints that were less costly to produce and thus more commercially viable.¹⁹ In addition to the higher price point of *Anatomia*, the textual descriptions to the plates in Hunter's book give a clue as to its audience. Unlike the books by Smellie and Jenty, the textual descriptions in Hunter's *Anatomia* (and the title page) are presented in both English and Latin (Fig. 1). By the second half of the eighteenth century, the publication of books in Latin had generally declined, and many medical books in Britain were published in vernacular English (and

therefore appealed to a broader British audience).²⁰ However, knowledge of Latin was a marker of the learned, gentleman physician, and Latin was the language of international scholarship.²¹ New entrants to the Royal College of Physicians were examined on the classical medical texts, such as Galen, in Latin.²² Rhetorically, Hunter's inclusion of Latin within *Anatomia* marked him as an academic gentleman physician, despite the anatomical subject matter (which was usually connected to surgical skills).²³ Inclusion of Latin text may well have been a selling point for the book, designed so that it might reach a wider international audience without requiring the need to translate the book into a foreign vernacular (with the attendant risk of loss of control over the final production).²⁴ The book was sold exclusively by London booksellers, although Hunter did send copies of the book to friends on the continent.²⁵ At least one reviewer remarked upon the inclusion of Latin: immediately after *Anatomia*'s publication, a review in *The Critical Review* in December 1774 assured readers that the book's anatomical 'verbal descriptions are recited in both Latin and English, in a distinct column in each page'.²⁶ Broadly speaking, the bilinguality of *Anatomia* speaks to the cultivation of Hunter's public professional authorial identity.²⁷ Presenting the textual descriptions in dual vertical columns on the page allowed Hunter to speak to audiences in contemporary society while simultaneously — and very visibly — emulating canonical anatomical authors such as Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564). He thus situated his book firmly within a longer historiography and bibliography of anatomy.

While Hunter's use of both Latin and English was a key aspect of the book's textual performance of authorship, the book contained seventy-nine images engraved in thirty-four plates, and *Anatomia*'s rhetorical strategy was fundamentally visual. Unlike Smellie's *Tables*, *Anatomia* did not offer a textual treatise; the book's text is composed of four pages of preface and the lists of anatomical structures and explanations that accompany each of the thirty-four plates.²⁸ Hunter's display of authorship thus depended on the visual elements of the book, and it was crucial that he emphasize his authorship of the images (despite his reliance on Rymsdyk and other artists). Reviewers of the book picked up on this with varying degrees of comprehension; a reviewer in *The Monthly Review* noted that

[T]he nature of this splendid and celebrated publication [...] solely consists of engraved plates, accompanied only with explanation of the figures contained in them, [and] *precludes us from enlarging upon its contents* (emphasis added).²⁹

General review journals had a broad remit and reported briefly and in descriptive terms on intellectual and literary developments that the editor thought would be of interest to non-specialist readers.³⁰ However, in the absence of a textual treatise to summarize, the reviewer of *Anatomia* was at a loss as to how to define the book. They quoted the subject headings of the thirty-four plates verbatim and drew heavily on Hunter's prefatory account of the project, particularly his collaborative image-making methods. The superiority of Hunter's 'rigid method' of image production (as they understand it) was highlighted³¹:

[E]ach figure is an exact representation of nature, or a faithful copy of the object (first properly prepared for the purpose by the author) as it appeared to the painter.³²

The reviewer paraphrases Hunter's preface, and while the labour of the painter (draughtsman) is recognized, it is understood in relation to Hunter's overarching authorship and his anatomical investigative processes.

In his preface, Hunter attempted to resolve the authorial tensions within the commissioned images, saying that the book's images were 'simple portraits' of the dissected

subjects and he did ‘not allow the artist to paint from memory or imagination, but only from immediate observation’.³³ Like Dutch anatomist Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697–1770) who commissioned idealized images (made following observation of multiple subjects) for his *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani* (London, 1747), Hunter stressed his authorial control over the artist during image production. Albinus made his supervision of the Dutch artist Jan Wandelaar (1690–1759) explicit in the preface to his *Tabulae*, where he records:

I have not only studied the correctness of the figures [Wandelaar’s drawings] but likewise the neatness and elegance of them [...] In the first place I endeavoured to make him understand, as well as possible, what was to be drawn; and I was constantly with him, to direct him how every thing was to be done, assisting him in the drawing and correcting what was drawn. And thus he was instructed, directed, and as entirely ruled by me, as if he were a tool in my hands, and I made the figures myself.³⁴

Carin Berkowitz has pointed to Albinus’s notion of the artist as the anatomist’s ‘tool’ as one that most clearly expresses the relationship between the anatomist and his artist and serves to highlight the anatomist’s authorship of the images: ‘the artist, a tool to the anatomist’s eye, would express a vision that was wholly and perfectly that of the anatomist, subject to the anatomist’s direction’.³⁵ This applied not only to the functional representation of the anatomical object but also to the illustrative style in which the subject was represented. The anatomical book was a display of expertise that showcased the anatomist’s expert vision and ability to make sense of and establish order over nature (in the form of the human body). As Berkowitz has argued, illustrative style became a marker of authorship, identifiable with the anatomist, even when he employed an artist to do the drawing. It was crucial that eighteenth-century anatomists show that their elaborate illustrated folios (whose knowledge claims were mediated by both artist and engraver) were full of engravings that were, as Berkowitz characterizes, ‘visibly the products of the anatomist himself’.³⁶ In Hunter’s case, this was clearly successful. A reviewer in *The Monthly Review* (October 1775) remarked that

[*Anatomia*] everywhere carries the marks of the author’s skill and attention, both in the previous preparation, and in the judicious disposition and instructive views of all the parts; and that the execution of it, both with respect to the drawing and engraving, in general, perfectly corresponds with the known correctness of the author, and does credit to the different artists employed in it.³⁷

Even when the collaborative nature of these types of projects was highlighted through explicit reference to the technical skill of the artist, the anatomist’s vision and authorship remained central.

Hunter’s oft-cited omission of his primary artist’s name from the preface of *Anatomia* similarly served to position Hunter as the ultimate author of the images.³⁸ Rymsdyk was responsible for the hyper-naturalistic life-size red chalk drawings that most of the book’s plates were engraved after, but his name was omitted from the book’s preface and has led scholars such as Lyle Massey to suggest that Hunter considered Rymsdyk a ‘mere conduit of pure empiricism’ and ‘nothing more than a competent scribe’.³⁹ Acknowledgements by name were extended to his brother John for assisting in the dissections and to Hunter’s long-time friend, the engraver Robert Strange for completing two plates; however, Hunter’s acknowledgement of Strange embodies a much wider occurrence of ‘acts of disinterested friendship’ between the two men.⁴⁰ Hunter and Strange had known each other since their time in Edinburgh in the 1740s, and Strange was a

well-known and celebrated engraver of important historical paintings whose prints were in wide circulation during this period.⁴¹ Inclusion of Strange's name and explicit reference to his involvement in the production of the book and its images served to rhetorically underscore not only the quality of the images in *Anatomia* (should readers fail to notice this), but Hunter's connection to the contemporary British visual arts establishment of this time (he was the first Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy of Arts).⁴² There is no evidence that such a friendship existed between Hunter and Rymsdyk, and the inclusion of his name would not serve this other purpose: the named acknowledgement of Strange and absence of Rymsdyk's name in the preface to the book served to underscore Hunter as the indisputable author of *Anatomia*.

3. 'Overcharged' Images and Authorial Restraint

Hunter's authorship is explicitly highlighted elsewhere in *Anatomia*, where, in reference to wider eighteenth-century anxieties about the consumption and display of excess, he highlights his authorial control over the book and its production.⁴³ Anticipating readers' mixed reception of the book, Hunter states

[T]he judgement of the public will probably be divided. Many will approve of the labour and expense which have been bestowed upon, and commend the largeness, elegance, and variety of the figures. Others will think that a great part of the expense might have been spared, and the work thereby rendered of more general use, if the figures had been made to a smaller scale, if the engraving had been less finished, and if some of the figures, which are very similar to others, had been omitted.⁴⁴

Hunter anticipated that while many would appreciate the effort put into the production of the images, some would be critical of the book's stylistic choices and its format. More particularly, he was concerned that the number and large scale of images in *Anatomia* and the hyper-detailed quality of the engravings might be perceived as visually excessive.⁴⁵ Were Hunter to have offered fewer images of a less detailed quality or were he to have edited out some of the images that repeat the same subject, it may have been of more utilitarian purpose.⁴⁶

Hunter attempted to explicitly assure readers that although the book was lavishly illustrated, it was not excessively so. Were he to have foreseen the numerous opportunities for dissection, he may have improved the quality of some of the supplemental images and 'completed the series in a smaller number'.⁴⁷ Hunter tells readers that

He has actually kept back several drawings which had been made, and two plates which had been engraved; and would have withheld more, for that reason, if he had not thought that it would probably be long before a more perfect system of figures would be offered to the public. This consideration induced him to risk the being censured rather for having done too much, than too little.⁴⁸

Hunter implies that he sought balance within the selection of images presented in the book. In the absence of other forthcoming publications that would significantly improve upon Hunter's images, the anatomist erred on the side of caution and did not reduce the series of images in a way that may have prevented comprehension of the subject and induced critique. Rhetorically, his decision not to include five extra images was based on a desire that the work not be 'overcharged'.⁴⁹ Although Hunter's vocabulary might at first seem to imply a concern about raising the cost of the book, the word 'overcharged'

had a wider definition in the eighteenth century. In Johnson's *Dictionary*, the verb 'Overcharge' included the following definitions: 'to oppress; to cloy; to surcharge [...] To load; to crowd too much [...] to fill too full'.⁵⁰ Here, Hunter implies that exclusion of five images from the book has prevented it from becoming crowded and too full; visual excess endangered the book and was potentially oppressive.

However, this issue may not have been simply visual overload. In eighteenth-century literature, 'overcharged' literary characters were objects of critical suspicion because, as Deidre Shauna Lynch has demonstrated, they had 'a surfeit of legibility, a quality that was connected in turn to such characters' deplorable lack of individuality'.⁵¹ In this sense, a surfeit of legibility indicates that a literary character was excessively legible, i.e. that the author employed a 'stock' character — for example, a simple dunce or rake — rather than developing a character's individuality. In Hunter's case, 'overcharged' or 'stock' images — images that were not individualized and thus did not convey specific information — went against the empirical conditions of the book's image production. As the preface claims, Hunter's images convey observations of specific, singular dissections, but also typological stages of pregnancy and foetal gestation. They are not, he suggests, *ideal* images made following observation of multiple subjects to depict archetype anatomical parts (as in the Eustachian or Albinian tradition); in Hunter's case, empirical representation of the singular is balanced with typology (i.e. natural anatomy of the uterus during stages of pregnancy). Thus, inclusion of what might appear to be 'stock' images (because they seemed to simply repeat what was already conveyed in another image) would bring the empirical condition of other images in the book into question. Hunter's concern about the book becoming 'overcharged' indicates his anxiety about endangering its epistemological claims (and by extension, his own epistemic authorship).

Hunter's expression of authorial control and restraint is symptomatic of a wider anxiety about the consumption and display of excess that spoke specifically to his own individual character and his professional authority. As Steven Shapin has demonstrated in his study on the relationship between gentlemanly culture and scientific practice, 'gentlemen of science' in the late seventeenth century strove to avoid excess or any appearance of excess.⁵² With associations of the unregulated, excess ran counter to concepts of 'politeness' (moral and political philosophical discourse that encompassed the qualities of thought and behaviour that denoted a gentleman) that came to govern eighteenth-century society.⁵³ Politeness encouraged the regulation of one's passions and the cultivation of good taste, all in the name of public interests.⁵⁴ Simon Chaplin has demonstrated that politeness was central to the mediation of anatomical dissection practices within a 'moral oeconomy' of manners, which enabled anatomists to gain social as well as medical legitimacy in the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ Public perception of anatomy as 'quintessentially impolite' led anatomists to situate their anatomical investigations within a more general model of natural philosophical enquiry.⁵⁶ This general model was reinforced by its application to a variety of pursuits more acceptable to polite audiences such as collecting. In 1768 (the year after he became a Fellow of the Royal Society), Hunter wrote to his friend and mentor William Cullen of his broad collecting practice: 'I am now collecting in the largest sense of the word'.⁵⁷ By investing their work and broader interests with properties that invited the respect of others, anatomists such as Hunter sought to emulate the polite, gentlemanly qualities that would gain them respect and credibility. Excess (of language, rhetoric, and emotion) would not be respected and would in fact undermine credibility.

In anticipation of criticism that *Anatomia* was excessive and 'overcharged', Hunter sought to emphasize that he had controlled and regulated the production of the illustrated book by 'keeping back' a number of prepared images: Hunter recorded that he would have

further reduced the number of plates and the size of the book if he knew that a comparably high-quality illustrated book was imminently forthcoming.⁵⁸ Despite his anxieties about excess, he was confident of the quality and importance of his book's images. That said, the inclusion of these extra five images would be unlikely to push the book to visual excess; Hunter's preface should thus be read as a rhetorical performance of polite authorial restraint and control designed to mollify potential critics who thought the book (published as an elephant folio in size) to be too luxurious, impractical, and expensive.

Indeed, reviewers of *Anatomia* remarked upon Hunter's expression of restraint favourably, and it became a marker of Hunter's authorship. Upon the book's publication, reviews in *The Monthly Review* and *The Critical Review* described *Anatomia* as a 'capital production'⁵⁹ and 'one of the greatest productions of anatomy'.⁶⁰ Hunter's explanation of the book's production and his editorial restraint were approved: one reviewer cited Hunter's reputation of 'correctness' and commended the anatomist's 'judicious disposition',⁶¹ while another considered the 'suppressed' drawings and plates

[A] sacrifice sufficient, in our opinion, not only to justify his conduct, but to place his liberality and *disinterestedness* in the most advantageous point of view (emphasis added).⁶²

Hunter's demonstration of restraint legitimized the book's knowledge-producing enterprise and validated his authorship. Disinterest, as Shapin observes, was a crucial marker of a gentleman of science; professional special interests (i.e. trade or mercenary stakes) undermined credibility.⁶³ Hunter had already invested financially in the additional five images for the book; by 'sacrificing' the images to ensure the quality of the book, he very clearly indicated that he had no commercial investment in the success of the book. This was further demonstrated by his public return of subscription money to those who had initially subscribed to the book.⁶⁴ Hunter's restraint and concern for not 'overcharging' and his efforts to curtail excess within the book cast him as a polite gentleman of science and thus reliable, reinforcing the credibility of the book and its epistemic claims.

Pointing to his financial investment in the material quality of the printed book in a disinterested fashion was clearly part of Hunter's authorial strategy. Although he had originally planned to acquire his own printing press (an aspiration no doubt designed to allow him to maintain full authorial control over the project's execution), he ultimately entrusted the final printing of the book to the luxury book publisher of the day, John Baskerville (1706–1775).⁶⁵ An ardent bibliophile, Hunter privately admitted that he had spent a 'devilish' amount of money on the production of the plates for the book and publicly defended his decision to use Baskerville's expensive paper and ink with the justification that the quality materials would ensure the survival of the plates in centuries to come.⁶⁶ In his preface, he stated that

The additional expense of Mr Baskerville's art was not incurred for the sake of elegance alone; but principally for the advantage of his paper and ink, which render a leaf of his Press-Work an excellent preservative of the plates between which it is placed.⁶⁷

Hunter had an eye on the legacy of the book and its inclusion within future bibliographies of anatomy: the high-quality paper and ink would ensure the survival of the engraved plates for years to come.⁶⁸ Highlighting the quality of the material book in the preface was also a crucial element of a commercial strategy that sought to distinguish *Anatomia* within a competitive and saturated print market.

From August to December 1774, advertisements announcing the book's imminent release appeared in newspapers such as the *Public Advertiser*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the

London Chronicle, and the *General Evening Post*.⁶⁹ These advertisements frequently conveyed the format of the book so as to emphasize its material quality and differentiate *Anatomia* from the cheaply made books that saturated the market due to the explosion in printmaking in the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ Earlier in 1774, parliament had passed *Donaldson vs. Beckett*, a new copyright law that prompted fears that publishers/book sellers would be dissuaded from publishing elegant editions.⁷¹ In his preface, Hunter responded to fears about the ephemerality of cheap print and highlighted the quality of Baskerville's materials as a key selling point of the book. Contemporary reviewers noted the high cost of the book, but Hunter's justification of the price (the quality of the materials and the large size of the engravings) was accepted. One reviewer considered the size of the engravings (which they described as 'exhibited as large as the life & so that the smaller component parts are represented distinctly and without confusion') to be a 'capital advantage' of the work, though 'it is acknowledged, that the price of it [the *Anatomia*] is hereby considered enhanced'.⁷² Similarly, another reviewer reflected:

The extraordinary splendour of the work, joined to the fidelity of representation, must secure it universal applause; and we have only to regret, as a loss to the medical world, that it cannot be afforded at a cheaper price.⁷³

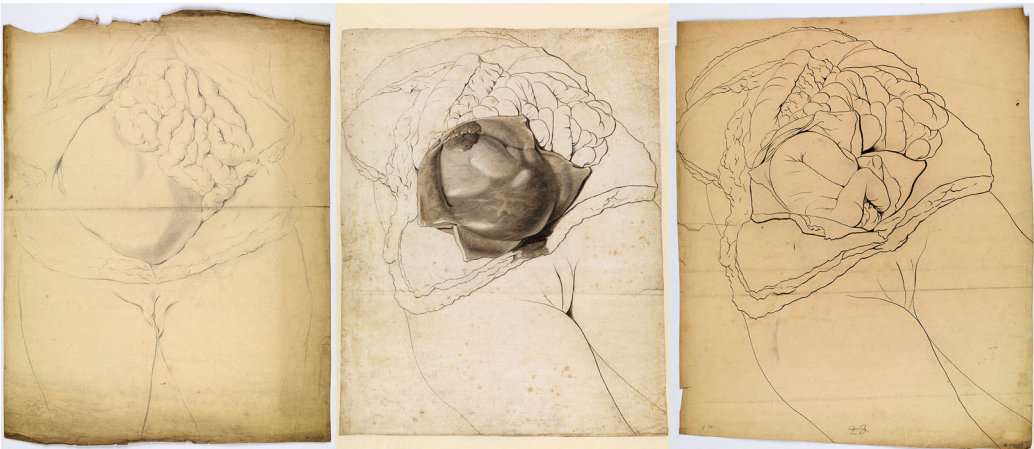
Considering the material quality and epistemic function of the book, Matthew Sangster has recently noted that *Anatomia* in fact combined the needs of medical practitioners with the high production values of Baskerville's press, arguing that 'it is a volume whose rigorous beauty is an intrinsic part of its usefulness, as both a pedagogic tool and as a status symbol'.⁷⁴ The high price of the book would have severely limited its accessibility in a pedagogic use. However, by presenting his selection of Baskerville as strategic yet practical, Hunter placed his material choices for the elegant book within a utilitarian, pedagogic framework; as the reviews indicate, this allowed him to justify the high cost of the book and guarantee its longevity. It also enabled him to avoid any suggestion that the book was excessive or unnecessarily luxurious, criticisms that would surely have endangered the book's (and Hunter's) epistemic claims.

4. Images 'Kept Back': Authorial Vision through Editorial Process (1768–72)

While there is an unmistakably performative quality to Hunter's expression of concern about visual excess in *Anatomia*, he did indeed exclude prepared images from the final book. Caroline Grigson previously postulated as much and dated this editorial decision to the final stages of the book's production between 1769 and 1772: in October 1768, Hunter wrote to William Cullen to update him on the status of *Anatomia*, telling him thirty-four plates had been engraved and 'only the letters of reference and the inscription at the bottom of the plates [remain] to be put in'.⁷⁵ Almost four years later, the final plates were being printed off: on 21 April 1772, Heydinger, a London bookseller from whom Hunter bought books, wrote to Albrecht von Haller, confirming that Hunter was at that time 'printing off his Figures of the Gravid Uterus'.⁷⁶ Although Hunter indicated that thirty-four plates were ready in 1768, Rymsdyk's drawings that were engraved for the last two plates in *Anatomia* are dated 1769, 1770, and 1772. From this, Grigson surmised that 'one or possibly two of the earlier plates were prepared but not used in the final work and were replaced by the present Plates XXXIII and XXXIV'.⁷⁷ This supposition is confirmed, and the five images that Hunter excluded are here identified.⁷⁸

In the following section, a close examination of these images extends our knowledge of Hunter's collaborations with artists and offers a new understanding of *Anatomia's* production that incorporates images included and *excluded* from the book. Comparative analysis of images that are inscribed on rare materials including preparatory and finished drawings and proof plates alongside the final printed book reveals how Hunter orchestrated control over the images at each stage of the book's production, thereby reaffirming his authorship of the images and the book itself. The following examination shows how examining authorial processes alongside concerns about epistemic legibility can extend our knowledge of how and why anxieties about visual excess manifested in the eighteenth-century. More broadly, it demonstrates how study of these visual and material objects enables subtle yet significant forms of authorship that are often hidden within authorial processes, such as collaborative image-practices and editing and revising, to be excavated and assessed within wider historical contexts.

The two plates that Hunter described 'keeping back' from the book were engraved after drawings by the artist Alexander Cozens (1717–1786), who worked for Hunter between 1754 and 1755.⁷⁹ Cozens was responsible for a drawing that depicts an angled view of a foetus within the amniotic sac in a woman who died when she was seven months pregnant. Recent research has revealed that two drawings previously housed within uncatalogued proof engravings in the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections are also by Cozens and correspond to this dissection (Fig. 3).⁸⁰ The drawings depict the preceding and subsequent stages of the dissection of the foetus-in-membranes depicted in Plate 21. Instead of the modelling of the subject seen in the drawing for Plate 21, only (to use Hunter's phrase) 'bare out-lines' are given.⁸¹ The drawings were engraved, and

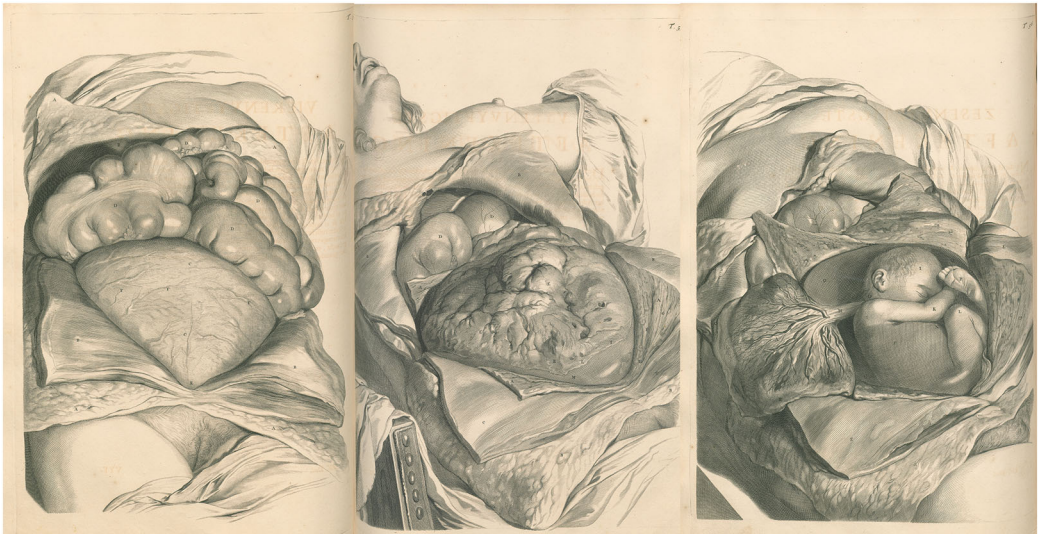


3. Three drawings by Alexander Cozens (English, 1717–1786) for William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774), c. 1754. (Left) Unpublished drawing for plate 'XXI', graphite on paper, 60.2 × 45.3 cm, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Az.I.5 21/1.

(Centre) Drawing for Plate 21, pen, ink and grey wash over black chalk on paper, 55.5 × 45.1 cm, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Az.I.4. (Right) Unpublished drawing for Plate 'XXIII', graphite and ink on paper, 62 × 48 cm, inscribed '23' and scored out, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Az.I.5 21/3. Images courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library, Archives and Special Collections [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Hunter intended to include the sequence of three plates after Cozens as Plates 21, 22, and 23 in the book. In the final stages of preparing the publication, the anatomist decided to change the arrangement of the plates in the book, and he ultimately excluded the two prepared plates with outline images after Cozens.

In doing so, Hunter retained the more sophisticated and anatomically interesting image. The subject and composition of the engraving after Cozens show a distinct similarity to the composition and dissected subject shown in Plate 55 of Govard Bidloo's *Anatomia humani corporis* (1685). When Cozens's published plate is viewed in sequence with the two additional drawings the artist completed for Hunter, the allusion to Bidloo's earlier images becomes even more readily apparent. The series of three engravings after Cozens show a remarkable similarity to the sequence of the dissections shown in Plates 54, 55, and 56 of Bidloo's illustrated book (Fig. 4). The Bidlooian tradition favoured naturalistic representations of singular anatomical dissections prepared through skilled dissection of the body. At the time of his commission to Cozens in 1754/55, Hunter was steadily building a professional reputation for anatomical expertise that aspired to this tradition. The anatomist would go on to align himself with this tradition more explicitly in the preface to his book, in which he declared his preference for Bidloo's 'singular' images. The composition of the plates after Cozens align with those of Bidloo in ways that would be recognizable to knowledgeable audiences. Later, in the final stages of the *Anatomia's* production between 1769 and 1772, Hunter decided to exclude the two plates after Cozens in favour of smaller images that communicated early stages of embryonic development. Excluding these prepared plates from the final publication thus avoided the book becoming 'overcharged' in the sense suggested by Lynch: overtly aligning his work with Bidloo's images of the same subject would make the images work like stock characters, thus making



4. Engraving by Abraham Blooteling (Dutch, 1634–1690) after Gérard de Lairesse (Flemish, 1640–1711), Tables 54, 55, and 56 in Govard Bidloo, *Anatomia humani corporis, centum & quinque tabulis, per artificiosiss. G. de Lairesse ad vivum delineates* (Amsterdam: for the widow of Joannes van Someren, the heirs of Joannes van Dyk, Henry Boom and the widow of Theodore Boom, 1685), University of Glasgow Library, Archives and Special Collections [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

the images too legible or, to put it another way, making them appear as unoriginal copies of an earlier work. By excluding two of the three prepared images, Hunter thus avoided a surfeit of legibility that would undermine the book's epistemic foundation.

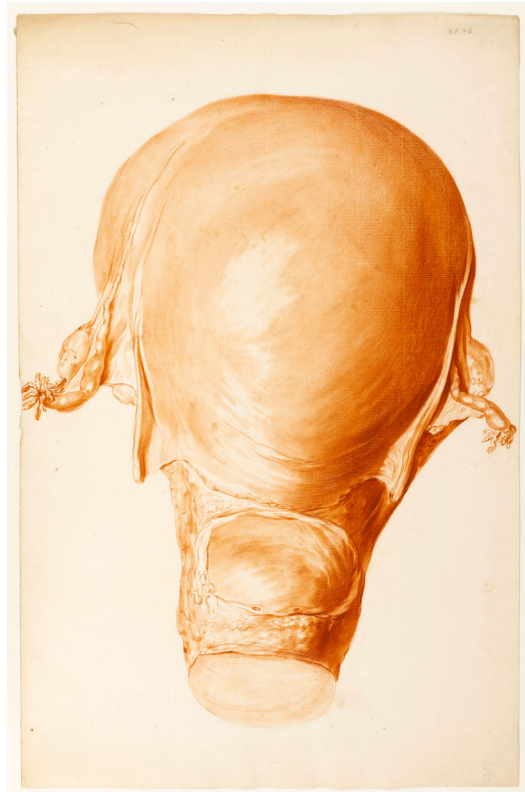
In addition to excluding these two prepared plates from the book during the final stages of *Anatomia's* production, Hunter also excluded three drawings that he had commissioned for the book. The first of these drawings is a highly finished red chalk drawing showing the dissection of a woman who died in the later stages of her pregnancy (Fig. 5).⁸² Signed by Rymsdyk, it is dated 16 October 1769, indicating it is one of the few drawings for *Anatomia* created at Hunter's new residence at 16 Great Windmill Street. A 'window' into the uterus has been dissected to show the foetus inside with the umbilical cord curling around its feet and hand. The anterior uterine wall has been dissected and reflected upwards and laid over the fundus, as in a dissection depicted in Plate 19 of the book. The freshness and immediacy of the dissection are communicated through the intense fall of light on the interior part of the chorioamnion membrane and the umbilical cord, which glistens in the light. The depiction of the dissection is extremely similar in composition and subject to that of the dissection shown in Plate 23, which was drawn five years before. Despite how finely and naturalistically executed this drawing was modelled, no proof print of the drawing survives, indicating that Hunter probably chose not to have it



5. Jan van Rymsdyk (Dutch, d. 1790), Unpublished drawing of a pregnant woman's dissected uterus showing the foetus enclosed within, 1769, red chalk on paper inside of a large folded sheet, 48 × 35 cm (full sheet: 48 × 70 cm), inscribed 'J. v. R. Octbr 16 69', MS Hunter HF29. Image courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Archives and Special Collections

engraved. While the drawing is compelling and expertly executed, including it would not have contributed new or supplemented existing knowledge within the book. Further, Hunter may have considered previously completed images superior because they feature the injected uterine and umbilical vessels more prominently, thus communicating the anatomical structure and system more clearly.

Similar reasoning may be behind Hunter's decision to exclude a second highly finished red chalk drawing depicting a fore-view of an unopened 'floating' pregnant uterus (Fig. 6). The drawing is undated and unsigned, so it is unclear when it was made, but its style and medium suggest Rymsdyk was responsible for its execution. As in Plates 11, 14, 15, and 17 of *Anatomia*, the depicted pregnant uterus floats on the page, independent of the abdominal cavity and fully separated from the woman to which they belong. Although the broad and round ligaments are visible, it does not appear as if the blood vessels have been injected with wax. Like the first drawing, it does not contain or communicate additional information. These drawings are likely two of those that Hunter referred to keeping back from the book so that it did not seem visually 'overcharged'. Specifically, since these drawings are similar to those already engraved, adding them could have had the appearance of being 'stock' images.⁸³ While Hunter's rhetorical concern with visual excess



6. Jan van Rymsdyk (Dutch, d. 1790), unpublished drawing of a pregnant woman's uterus removed from her body, unopened, undated, red chalk on paper, 44.3 × 28.8 cm, MS Hunter HF30. Image courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Archives and Special Collections

aimed to appease potential critics who thought the book to be too luxurious, there is another factor to consider. The dated drawing was completed in 1769, and Hunter would have been aware that the engraving of a large, fully modelled image like this might take an engraver months to finish. After working on the book for almost twenty years, it is understandable that he was probably eager that its publication not be delayed any longer. Thus, while the drawing may have been made with an eye to publication, practical considerations about the publication timeline likely figured into Hunter's decision to exclude this drawing.

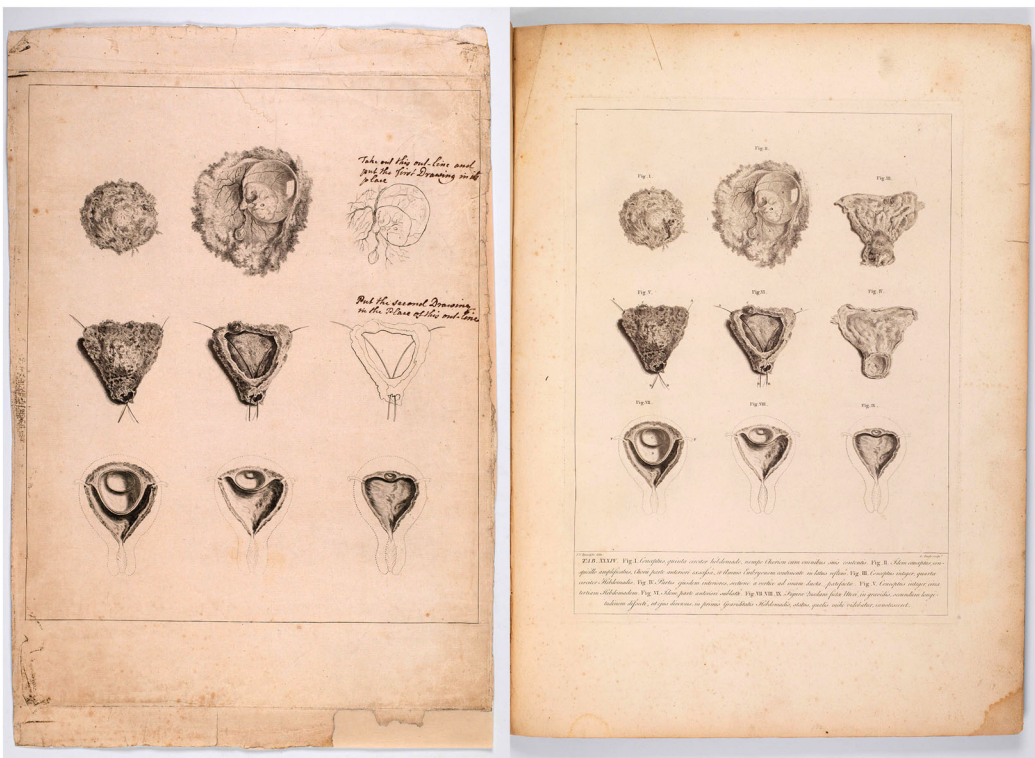
In addition to excluding plates that were deemed superfluous, Hunter's concern with visual excess also manifested in his attention to plates that combined outlined images with more fully modelled images. During the closing stage of *Anatomia's* production, Hunter maintained a tight control over the final revisions of the images, working closely with proofs of early states of engravings to indicate changes to be made. This aspect of Hunter's exertion of authorial control over the final image can be seen in revisions to Plate 32. An early state of Plate 32 shows that along with the fully modelled image of the foetus *in utero*



7. Jan van Rymsdyk (Dutch, d. 1790), first state proof engraving for Plate 32 in William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774), 36.5 × 47.5 cm, inscribed with lettering and numbered '33', Sp. Coll Hunterian Az.I.5 32/I. (Right) Plate 32 in Sp. Coll. Hunterian Az.5.3. Images courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Archives and Special Collections [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://www.wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

at Fig. 1, Hunter originally intended to include a corresponding outline of this image (Fig. 7). When Hunter considered a plate to be too crowded or an image to be unnecessary, those images were removed from the plate. Hunter conveyed his editorial decision to his engraver (in this case Rymsdyk) by scoring out the image on the proof print. This change is reflected in a later proof and the final engraved plate. Even outlined images that by their very brief, schematic nature were designed to aid cognition could be visually excessive, and thus dangerous to the book's epistemic goals.

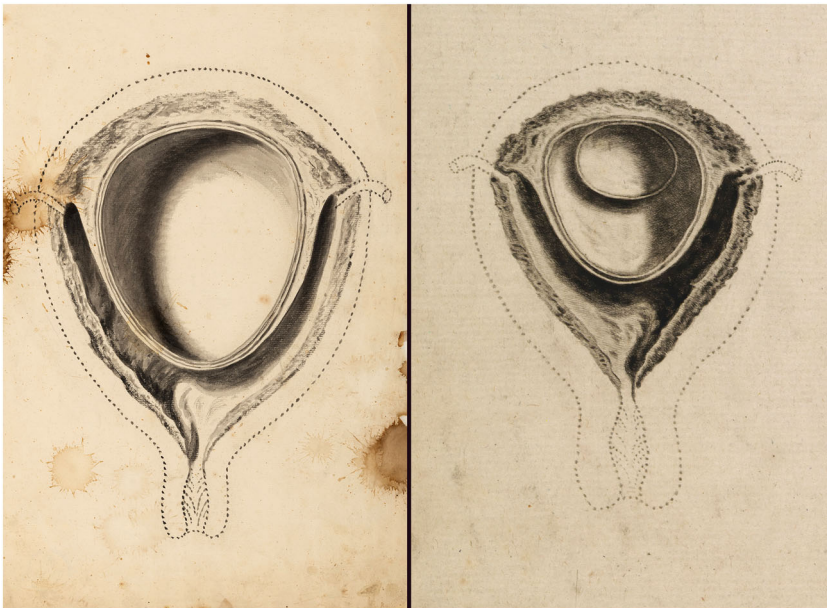
Modifying plates to extract unnecessary outlines enabled Hunter to maintain authorial control over the visual language of the book; this assertion of authorial control can likewise be seen in his revisions to the page layout and arrangement of images for Plate 34. A proof of an early state of Plate 34 shows that Hunter initially planned to include corresponding outlines of the fully modelled images of early stages of embryogenesis at



8. (Left) George Powle (fl. 1770) after Jan Van Rymsdyk (Dutch, d. 1790), annotated proof engraving of Plate 34 in William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/ The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774), c. 1772, engraving on paper, sheet: 69 × 49.6 cm, plate: 49.6 × 35 cm, inscribed 'Take out this outline and put the first Drawing in its place' and 'Put the second Drawing in the place of this out-line', Sp. Coll. Hunterian Az.I.5. (Right) George Powle (fl. 1770) after Jan Van Rymsdyk (Dutch, d. 1790), Plate 34 in William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/ The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774), Sp. Coll. Hunterian Az.5.3. Images courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Archives and Special Collections [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

three and five weeks within this plate layout (Fig. 8). In May 1772, Hunter dissected the body of a woman who had died when she was four weeks pregnant and decided — the subject being relevant to the topic of early embryogenesis already depicted — to replace the two bare outline figures already engraved on the plate with two new images. Hunter gave instructions to his engraver (in this case George Powle) to replace two outlined figures with two of Rymsdyk's more fully modelled images of his dissected subject. Hunter wrote his instructions directly on the proof of the early state: 'Take out this outline and put the first drawing [of the fourth conception] in its place' and 'Put the second drawing [of the fourth conception] in the place of this outline'.⁸⁴ Ultimately, Hunter decided that it was more important to include the naturalistic representation of the embryo in its fourth week. In this instance, Hunter's re-design of the plate layout was made to include information about a stage of embryonic development not previously depicted: the images contributed new information and acted as a link between the two dissections already depicted in the plate.

In fact, before Hunter came to rearrange the engraved images at Plate 34, he had already made an editorial decision about the layout of images for this plate; the last of the three images 'kept back' from the book is here identified as a preparatory design for a fourth image in the series of geometric images intended to represent the stages of embryonic development for Plate 34. Stylistic and subject similarities of a large, geometric drawing in black wash depicting a magnified plan of the uterus with the amniotic sac filling



9. (Left) Jan Van Rymsdyk (Dutch, d. 1790), unpublished preparatory drawing for Plate 34 (related to Figs. 7–9) in William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774), c. 1769–72, black chalk, wash and graphite on paper, 37.6 × 24 cm, MS Hunter HF226. (Right) Detail of Plate 34 showing Figure IX, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Az.5.3. Images courtesy of University of Glasgow Library, Archives and Special Collections [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

most of the uterine cavity suggests that the image logically follows Fig. 7 at Plate 34 (Fig. 9).⁸⁵ No details of the embryo within the amniotic sac are visible in this case, but the shading that gives depth to the uterine cavity is almost identical to that in Fig. 7 (reversed in the engraved version). The outer edges of the uterus and the position of the fallopian tubes are delineated with an identical dotted outline, and the image has the same geometric appearance as the images at Figs 7, 8, and 9 in Plate 34.

Hunter's process of arranging images for Plate 34 is evidence of his close attention to the visual layout of images on the page: the inclusion of the fourth geometric image at Plate 34 would have disrupted the harmonious and logical layout of the images presented on the page. As such, the final plate shows the three geometric conceptual images on the final row of figures in Plate 34, without a fourth image encroaching from the preceding two rows of images after real dissections. The 'types' of images are thus kept neatly separate here, a choice that maintains the distinct epistemic function of the two image types through the layout of the printed page. Hunter likely chose to exclude this fourth image so as not to disrupt this sequence and because it repeats elements of the other images. Given that this image was in fact not made following empirical observation of a specific dissection (he termed the subjects of these images 'supposed conceptions'), Hunter had to avoid an appearance that these geometrical images were 'stock' images.⁸⁶ Its inclusion would potentially 'overcharge' the book and endanger the legibility of the other images.

5. Concluding Thoughts

The visual language of *Anatomia* was carefully crafted through close attention to the creation, selection, arrangement, and exclusion of images within the book. It is surprising that the authorial narrative that Hunter puts forward about the book's creation has gone unquestioned until now, nor has its contemporary reception received scholarly attention. As we approach the 250th anniversary of the publication of *Anatomia*, this article's critical examination of the historical reception of the book sheds new light on the circumstances of its production and promotion and thus helps us to further understand its continuing power in the twenty-first century.

The critical examination of Hunter's authorial claims alongside new archival and material evidence put forward here extends our understanding of the book's production process to include Hunter's authorial and editorial practices and his commercial strategies. By recovering Hunter's construction of his authorship and his processes of controlling the creation and organization of the images within *Anatomia* (including the recovery of earlier arrangements in the sequence of images and images that the anatomist strategically excluded or ultimately edited out), Hunter's exertion of authorial and editorial control over the production of *Anatomia* and its visual language has been revealed. Stylistic concerns, anxieties regarding visual excess, and strategic associations all contributed to the construction of Hunter's public persona as the disinterested, polite author and 'gentleman of science'. The anatomist's direct and indirect descriptions of images and careful visual choices about images reveal his construction and display of professional knowledge and skill, his awareness of his audience and self-fashioning of a public professional authorial identity. Hunter attempted to control and direct his audiences' attention and cognition through his prefatory and explanatory remarks, which serve to construct and reinforce his authorship as judicious, credible, and restrained. Above all, they reveal the anatomist's drive to control the transmission and reception of the epistemic image. While this article has focused primarily on Hunter, its interdisciplinary approach would be

particularly useful in further study on hidden forms of authorship during this period. This has the potential to lead to a more nuanced understanding of the formation of professional identities within developing 'scientific' disciplines of the period, but also of the inherently collaborative process of preparing books for publication.

Eighteenth-century anxieties about excess permeated authorial, editorial, and publishing practices in a subtle and nuanced way. Close attention to the rhetorical tactics deployed by authors reveals these concerns, but the nuances within these authorial anxieties can be more fully understood through a close attention to the material conditions of book production. Hunter's construction of authorship was a process of self-fashioning, one that is complicated and exposed only through a close examination of his book's prefatory remarks, contemporary reviews, and the material remains of the printed book. Such examples are not easily excavated and depend upon a reassessment and examination of archival materials, such as proof prints and drawings. In many cases, these materials have yet to be catalogued in institutional collections and archives, and thus, previous connections between items remain invisible to researchers. Book historians have demonstrated the importance of comparative analysis between editions produced over time in understanding textual changes and reception; this article has extended this practice and shown the value of in-depth comparative analysis of printed books with their material remnants (in cases where such material survives). Such examples can offer rare insights into authorial, editorial, and collaborative image-making practices that can extend our understanding of the subtle yet significant ways in which anxieties about excess manifested in the eighteenth century.

NOTES

1. William Hunter, *Anatomia uteri humani gravidi tabulis illustrata/The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus, Exhibited in Figures* (Birmingham: Baskerville, 1774), preface u.p.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines have contributed to scholarship on *Anatomia*. Scholarship includes but is not limited to Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Gender, Generation and Science: William Hunter's Obstetrical Atlas', in *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World*, ed. by W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 385–412; Carin Berkowitz, 'The Illustrious Anatomist: Authorship, Patronage, and Illustrative Style in Anatomy Folios, 1700–1840', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 89.2 (2015), 171–208; Caroline Grigson, '"An Universal Language": William Hunter and the Production of *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*', in *William Hunter's World: The Art and Science of Eighteenth-Century Collecting*, ed. by Mungo Campbell and others (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 59–80; and Meredith Gamer, 'Scalpel to Burin: A Material History of William Hunter's Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus', in *William Hunter and the Anatomy of the Modern Museum*, ed. by Mungo Campbell and others (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 109–26.

4. This article draws on research presented in Chapter 3 of the author's PhD thesis: Alicia Hughes, 'Creating and Controlling a Visual Language: Image-Making and Authorial Control in William Hunter's Collection of Anatomical Drawings and Prints' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2021). This research was funded as part of the Leverhulme Trust project 'Collections: An Enlightenment Pedagogy for the 21st Century'.

5. See, for example, *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge*, ed. by Pamela H. Smith and others (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

1998); and Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), especially Chapters 2 and 5.

6. See David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York; London: Routledge, 2005); *The Broadview Reader in Book History*, ed. by Michelle Levy and Tom Mole Michelle (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2015); and Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; Lyminge, Kent: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1995).

7. See Johns, *The Nature of the Book*; Barchas, Chapters 2 and 5; Sandro Jung, *James Thomson's The Seasons, Print Culture, and Visual Interpretation, 1730–1842* (Lanham, MD: Lehigh University Press, 2015); and Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, NJ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1991). Also, Dahlia Porter, 'Epistemic Images and Vital Nature: Darwin's *Botanic Garden* as Image Textbook', *European Romantic Review*, 29.3 (2018), 295–308.

8. Hunter published a few papers in journals such as *Philosophical Transactions* and *Medical Observations and Inquiries*, but his authorial practices can primarily be seen in the material processes of dissecting bodies and making anatomical preparations, teaching, and lecturing, and his editorial activities for the Society of Physicians in London's journal, *Medical Observations and Inquiries*.

9. William Hunter to William Cullen, 1 August 1751, in *The Correspondence of Dr William Hunter 1740–1783*, ed. by C. Helen Brock, 2 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), I, 57, Letter 27.

10. Cullen to Hunter, 9 August 1751, in *Correspondence*, ed. by Brock, I, 60, Letter 29.

11. *William Hunter, 1718–1783: A Memoir by Samuel Foart Simmons and John Hunter*, ed. by C. Helen Brock (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1983), p. 21; Roy Porter, 'William Hunter: A Surgeon and a Gentleman', in *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World*, ed. by Bynum and Porter, p. 15; Helen McCormack, *William Hunter and his Eighteenth-Century Cultural Worlds: The Anatomist and the Fine Arts* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 33.

12. Paul Keen, *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s: Print Culture and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 3.

13. See the definition of 'Author' in Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (London, 1756), I, 185, *Early English Books Online* (hereafter EEBO) <<https://historicaltexts-jisc-ac-uk.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/ecco-0289500101/ecco-0289500101-1850>> [accessed 20 May 2020]. 'Author' was not included in the first edition in 1755.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Keen, *The Crisis of Literature*, p. 3.

16. See, for example, *Ways of Making and Knowing*, ed. by Smith and others; Johns, *The Nature of the Book*; and Barchas, especially Chapters 2 and 5.

17. See Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), p. 62; Berkowitz, pp. 171–208. Lianne McTavish's discussion of how man-midwives displayed their authority through illustrated books in early modern France is also useful. See Lianne McTavish, *Childbirth and the Display of Authority in Early Modern* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

18. Six guineas was £6 6s. For the pricing of Smellie and Jenty's books, see *Whitehall Evening Post* or *Intelligencer*, 23 November 1754, and *Whitehall Evening Post*, 28 February–2 March 1758; Jenty's *Demonstrations* sold for £1 5s. plain or £3 3s. coloured.

19. The cost of almost all books in the eighteenth-century market (even rare incunabula) was cheaper than this; the *Anatomia* (and publications by Smellie and Jenty) would be inaccessible to most. Thank you to Michelle Craig for this observation. For more on eighteenth-century book prices, see William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

20. For a general discussion of the decline of Latin in favour of vernaculars, see, for example, Fania Oz-Salzberger, 'Languages and Literacy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750*, ed. by Hamish M. Scott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), I, 192.

21. See Joseph B. Pike, 'Can Latin Be Revived as an International Scientific Language?', *The Classical Journal*, 14.1 (October 1918), 48–55; and Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 52–60.

22. George Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), II, 519. Extra-licentiates could be examined in Latin or English.

23. See Susan C. Lawrence, *Charitable Knowledge: Hospital Pupils and Practitioners in Eighteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 225–27. The status associated with classical expertise is emphasized in William Machmical's anecdotal stories about well-known eighteenth-century physicians: William Machmical, *The Gold-Headed Cane* (London: John Murray, 1827), see especially the descriptions of Mead, Askew, and Pitcairn, pp. 139–69. For the general popularity of classical authors, see Dorothy Marshall, *Dr. Johnson's London* (New York: Wiley, 1968), pp. 195–97. For 'gentlemanly' practices and identities in science, see Simon Shapin, *The Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), especially pp. 79 and 126–93; and Simon Shapin, 'A Scholar and a Gentleman': The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early Modern England', *History of Science*, 29.3 (1991), 279–327; and also Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

24. The use of Latin may have been particularly aimed at Dutch and German markets where Latin was still used in anatomical and surgical books. For a broader discussion on the role of translation in scientific texts in the early modern period, see *Translating Early Modern Science*, ed. by Sietske Fransen and others (Leiden: Brill, 2017); and for more on multi-version or bi- or multi-lingual texts, see Belén Bistué, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-Version Texts in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).

25. For example, Hunter sent a copy to Albrecht von Haller in Switzerland. See William Hunter to Albrecht von Haller, 23 January 1775, in *Correspondence*, ed. by Brock, II, 43, Letter 323. He also donated a few copies to British institutions.

26. 'Review', in *The Critical Review; or, Annals of Literature*, ed. by Tobias Smollett (December 1774), XXXVIII, 408–12 (p. 408). *Google Books* <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=RslPAAAAQAAJ&lpg=PA408&dq=critical%20review%20anatomia%20hunter&pg=PA408#v=onepage&q=critical%20review%20anatomia%20hunter&f=false>> [accessed 20 April 2020]. All reviews are anonymously written, and it has not been possible to identify the individual authors.

27. For more on Hunter's scholarly and bibliographical interest in linguistics, see Michelle Craig, 'The Library of Dr William Hunter: Collection, Usage, and Management of a Personal and Professional Library in the Eighteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2021), especially Chapters 4 and 5.

28. Hunter intended to publish a textual treatise to accompany the book, much like Smellie did. His nephew, Matthew Baillie, ultimately published the treatise in 1794: Matthew Baillie, *An Anatomical Description of the Human Gravid Uterus, and its Contents/by the Late William Hunter* (London: printed for J. Johnson and G. Nicol, 1794).

29. 'Review', in *The Monthly Review*, ed. by George Edward Griffiths (Oct. 1775), LIII, 305, *Google Books* <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ooQ3AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA306#v=onepage&q&f=false>> [accessed 20 April 2020].

30. These journals did not contribute innovative or critical thinking but rather presented a descriptive sum of a work. See Antonia Forster, 'Review Journals and the Reading Public', in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays* (London: Continuum, 2001),

pp. 171–90 (pp. 172–74). Also, Thomas Munck, 'Eighteenth-Century Review Journals and the Internationalization of the European Book Market', *The International History Review*, 32.3 (2010), 415–35. For more on the relationship between (Scottish) authors, publishers, and readers during the eighteenth century, see Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment & the Book: Scottish Authors & their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, & America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

31. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

32. 'Review', in *The Critical Review* (December 1774), XXXVIII, 408–12.

33. Hunter, preface.

34. Bernard Siegfried Albinus, *The Explanation of Albinus's Anatomical Figures of the Human Skeleton and Muscles, with an Historical Account of the Work. Translated from the Latin* (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1754), pp. xi–xii.

35. Berkowitz, *The Illustrious Anatomist*, p. 172.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

37. 'Review', in *The Monthly Review*, ed. by Griffiths, LIII, 307.

38. For the omission of Rymsdyk from Hunter's acknowledgements, see Sam Smiles, *Eye Witness: Artists and Visual Documentation in Britain 1770–1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 29–40; Harry Mount, 'Van Rymsdyk and the Nature-Menders: An Early Victim of the Two Cultures Divide', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29 (2006), 79–96; John Thornton, *Jan van Rymsdyk: Medical Artist of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Oleander, 1982); and Lyle Massey, 'Pregnancy and Pathology: Picturing Childbirth in Eighteenth-Century Obstetric Atlases', *The Art Bulletin*, 87.1 (March 2005), 73–91.

39. Massey, *Pregnancy and Pathology*, p. 83.

40. Hunter repeats this phrase in a promissory note referring to a painting he bought from Strange, dated 3 February 1772, saying 'In case of my death [...] I hereby leave him the Death of St Francis, a picture by Annibale Carracci, as a mark of the sense that I have of his many acts of disinterested friendship to me'. Quoted in McCormack, p. 99. For a broader discussion of Strange's involvement in Hunter's Fine Art-collecting practices (particularly the sale of Strange's collection of Old Masters in 1771), see McCormack, pp. 98–137.

41. Martin Clayton, 'Strange, Sir Robert (1721–1792)', *ODNB*, last modified 17 September 2015 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26638>>. See also James Dennistoun, *Memoir of Sir Robert Strange...* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman 1855); also, Martin Hopkinson, 'Sir Robert Strange', *Print Quarterly*, 25.4 (2008), 408–23.

42. For Hunter's involvement with artists and his role in the RA, see Martin Kemp, *Dr William Hunter at the Royal Academy of Arts* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1975); Anne Dulau-Beveridge, 'An Anatomist and the Artists: Hunter's Involvement', in *William Hunter's World*, ed. by Campbell and others, pp. 81–95; Grigson, pp. 59–80; McCormack, especially Chapters 4 and 5; and Peter Black, 'Taste and the Anatomist', in "*My Highest Pleasures*": *William Hunter's Art Collection*, ed. by Peter Black (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2007), pp. 63–100.

43. For discussions on consumption and display in the eighteenth century, see *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by Roy Porter and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1993); Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London: Routledge, 1995); *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. by John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1995).

44. Hunter, preface.

45. Hunter's reference to the 'finish' of the engravings points to broad discussions about 'finish' and 'minuteness' within the Royal Academy of Arts during the 1770s. See Mount, pp. 79–96.

46. This is the implication — the high price point of the book limited access. The book was a prestige publication, rather than utilitarian.

47. Hunter, preface.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. 'Over-charge', in Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*, II, 274, EEBO <<https://historicaltexts-jisc-ac-uk.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/eccoii-1583400102/eccoii-1583400102-2740>> [accessed 20 April 2020]. The OED includes the following definitions for 'overcharge': 'To load, fill, or supply to excess (*with something*); to overload, overburden; to overstock, overfill' and 'In art, literature, etc.: to lay on or apply (some aspect of style or technique) in excess. Also *intransitive*: to use an excess of words, ornament, etc. *Obsolete. rare*'. See 'overcharge, n.' and 'overcharge, v.', OED <<https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/Entry/134386?rskey=UCXUO3&result=1&isAdvanced=false>> [accessed 20 April 2020].
51. Deidre Shauna Lynch, *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 253–54.
52. Shapin, *The Social History of Truth*, pp. 79 and 126–93.
53. For 'politeness,' as articulated by Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and his successors, see Lawrence Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, 1660–1800* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000). For politeness, masculinity, and the gendering of behavioural norms, see G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
54. On curiosity and politeness, see Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); on aesthetics, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2013).
55. Simon Chaplin, 'John Hunter and the "Museum Oeconomy" 1750–1800' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2009), pp. 30–94. Politeness had also produced a new discourse on medical manners: see Mary Fissell, 'Innocent and Honourable Bribes: Medical Manners in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *The Codification of Medical Morality: Historical and Philosophical Studies of the Formalization of Western Medical Morality in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by R. Baker and others (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1993), pp. 19–45.
56. See Anita Guerinni, 'Anatomists and Entrepreneurs in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 59.2 (2004), p. 87.
57. Hunter to Cullen, 1768, in *Correspondence*, ed. by Brock, I, 288, Letter 169.
58. Hunter, preface.
59. 'Review', in *The Monthly Review*, ed. by Griffiths, LIII, 307.
60. 'Review', in *The Critical Review*, ed. by Smollett, XXXVIII, 412.
61. 'Review', in *The Monthly Review*, ed. by Griffiths, LIII, 307.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Shapin, *Social History of Truth*, pp. 79, 126–93; also Chaplin, *John Hunter and the 'Museum Oeconomy' 1750–1800*, pp. 30–94.
64. See, for example, 'Advertisements and Notices', in *Public Advertiser*, 23 November 1774. *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection* <<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/apps/doc/Z2001151681/BBCN?u=glasuni&sid=BBCN&xid=7b323c82>> [accessed 7 September 2020].
65. Hunter to William Cullen, 1768, in *Correspondence*, ed. by Brock, I, 288, Letter 169. For Baskerville, see Philip Gaskell, *A Bibliography of John Baskerville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); and *John Baskerville: Art and Industry of the Enlightenment*, ed. by Caroline Archer-Parré and Malcolm Dick (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 2018).
66. Hunter to Cullen, 22 February 1752, in *Correspondence*, ed. by Brock, I, 65, Letter 35.

67. Hunter, preface.

68. For more on Hunter's understanding of the historiography and bibliography of anatomy, see this author's PhD thesis, Hughes, 'Creating and Controlling a Visual Language'; and Craig, 'The Library of Dr William Hunter'.

69. Several newspaper advertisements announced the book's scheduled publication date as 28 November 1774, but an advert appearing in the *Public Advertiser* on 14 December 1774 announced that the book was published 'on this day'. The following newspaper advertisements for *Anatomia* (all of which were accessed via the *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*) were published in the lead up to the release of *Anatomia*: 'Advertisements and Notices', in *Public Advertiser*, 31 August 1774 <<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/apps/doc/Z2001150433/BBCN?u=glasuni&sid=BBCN&xid=2c9849fc>> [accessed 7 June 2020]; 'Advertisements and Notices', in *Morning Chronicle*, 25 August 1774 <<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/apps/doc/Z2000833598/BBCN?u=glasuni&sid=BBCN&xid=999d04f9>> [accessed 7 June 2020]; and 'Advertisements and Notices', in *London Chronicle*, 25–27 August 1774 <<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/apps/doc/Z2001686187/BBCN?u=glasuni&sid=BBCN&xid=119056f2>> [accessed 7 June 2020]. In November, newspaper advertisements indicate that the publication date was scheduled for 28 November 1774: see 'Advertisements and Notices', *Public Advertiser*, 21 November 1774 <<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/apps/doc/Z2001151651/BBCN?u=glasuni&sid=BBCN&xid=b5da5d67>> [accessed 7 June 2020]; and 'News', *General Evening Post*, 22–24 November 1774 <<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/apps/doc/Z2000449292/BBCN?u=glasuni&sid=BBCN&xid=b36f6974>> [accessed 7 June 2020]; and 'Advertisements and Notices', *Public Advertiser*, 23 November 1774 <<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/apps/doc/Z2001151681/BBCN?u=glasuni&sid=BBCN&xid=7b323c82>> [accessed 7 June 2020]. Finally, the announcement of the book's publication, 'Advertisements and Notices', *Public Advertiser*, 14 December 1774 <<https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/apps/doc/Z2001151983/BBCN?u=glasuni&sid=BBCN&xid=7f6fd544>> [accessed 7 June 2020].

70. See Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), for the 'print explosion', pp. 91, 85, 479, 76, 77; the 'print boom', pp. 87, 94; and 'print capitalism', p. 95; also, Brewer, Chapters 3 and 4.

71. See Catherine MacCauley, 'A Modest Plea for the Property of Copy Right', in *The Age of Authors: An Anthology of Eighteenth-Century Print Culture*, ed. by Paul Keen (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2014), pp. 305–14.

72. 'Review', in *The Monthly Review*, ed. by Griffiths, LIII, 306

73. 'Review', in *The Critical Review*, ed. by Smollett, XXXVIII, 412.

74. Matthew Sangster, 'Conceptions of Knowledge in William Hunter's Library', in *William Hunter and The Anatomy of the Modern Museum*, ed. by Campbell and others, p. 96.

75. Hunter to Cullen, 1768, in *Correspondence*, ed. by Brock, I, 288, Letter 169.

76. Carl Heydinger to Albrecht von Haller, 21 April 1772, in *Correspondence*, ed. by Brock, p. 43, Letter 250.

77. Hunter to Cullen, 1768, in *Correspondence*, ed. by Brock, I, 288, Letter 169; and Grigson, p. 70.

78. These paper objects are housed in the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections. Their connection to the production of the final book has remained unexplored until now. Some of these proof engravings have been situated within the wider material history of the production of the *Anatomia* in Mungo Campbell, 'The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus', in *William Hunter and the Anatomy of the Modern Museum*, ed. by Campbell and others, pp. 246–73. See especially, Cat. Nos. 75, 77, 80, 83–84, 87–89, and 95–96. However, the specific role these proof engravings played in the production of the final images and what they reveal about Hunter's control over this process have not been considered.

79. A full discussion of these drawings can be found in Hughes, 'Creating and Controlling a Visual Language', Chapter 3.

80. For a full discussion of the attribution of the drawings to Cozens, see Alicia Hughes, 'William Hunter and his Anatomical Artists', *The British Art Journal* (forthcoming autumn 2022).

81. Hunter, preface.

82. University of Glasgow Library Special Collections, MS Hunter HF29/2.

83. Hunter, preface.

84. University of Glasgow Library Special Collections, Hunterian Az.1.5. This editorial decision accounts for the discrepancy in the numbering of the sequence of images in Plate 34 (they are arranged Figs 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 and then 4, 7, 8, and 9). To make this change, the plate would have been heated and, instead of removing and re-engraving four figures in a completely new arrangement, the areas where the two outlined figures had been engraved were beaten out flat before being polished smooth and re-engraved to show the two new figures of a conception in the fourth week.

85. MS Hunter HF226. No final red chalk drawing exists in Hunter's collection. This could indicate that Rymsdyk created similar large preparatory drawings in black wash for Figs 7–9 before scaling them down and executing final drawings in red chalk, but they have not been located in Hunter's collection.

86. Hunter, Plate 34.

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