*British Literature in Context in the Long Eighteenth Century*

# PAINTING THE NOVEL

## PICTORIAL DISCOURSE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH FICTION

Jakub Lipski

ROUTLEDGE

# Painting the Novel

*Painting the Novel: Pictorial Discourse in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* focuses on the interrelationship between eighteenth-century theories of the novel and the art of painting – a subject that has not yet been undertaken in a book-length study. This volume argues that throughout the century novelists from Daniel Defoe to Ann Radcliffe referred to the visual arts, recalling specific names or works of art, but also artistic styles and conventions, in an attempt to define the generic constitution of their fictions. In this, the novelists took part in the discussion of the sister arts, not only by pointing to the affinities between them but also, more importantly, by recognising their potential to inform one another; in other words, they expressed a conviction that the idea of a new genre can be successfully rendered through meta-pictorial analogies. By tracing the uses of painting in eighteenth-century novelistic discourse, this book sheds new light on the history of the so-called "rise of the novel".

**Jakub Lipski** is Assistant Professor in the Department of English, Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz. Before obtaining his PhD in English Literature (University of Warsaw, 2013), he had studied English, Cultural Studies and Art History. He is the author of *In Quest of the Self: Masquerade and Travel in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Brill/Rodopi, 2014) and co-editor of *The Enchantress of Words, Sounds and Images: Anniversary Essays on Ann Radcliffe* (Academica Press, 2015). His research interests include eighteenth-century English literature and culture, as well as the correspondences between word and image.

**British Literature in Context in the Long Eighteenth Century**
Series Editors: Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins and Jack Lynch

For a full list of titles in this series, please visit www.routledge.com.

This series aims to promote original scholarship on the intersection of British literature and history in the long eighteenth century, from the Restoration through the first generation of the Romantic era. Both "literature" and "history" are broadly conceived. Literature might include not only canonical novels, poems, and plays but also essays, life-writing, and belles lettres of all sorts, by both major and minor authors. History might include not only traditional political and social history but also the history of the book, the history of science, the history of religion, the history of scholarship, and the history of sexuality, as well as broader questions of historiography and periodization. The series editors invite proposals for both monographs and collections taking a wide range of approaches. Contributions may be interdisciplinary but should be grounded in sound historical research. All manuscripts should be written so as to be accessible to a wide audience while also making lasting contributions to the field.

**Graveyard Poetry**
Religion, Aesthetics and the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Poetic Condition
*Eric Parisot*

**Invoking Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century British Imagination**
*Srividhya Swaminathan, Adam R. Beach*

**Making Gender, Culture, and the Self in the Fiction of Samuel Richardson**
The Novel Individual
*Bonnie Latimer*

**Restoration Stage Comedies and Hollywood Remarriage Films**
In Conversation with Stanley Cavell
*Elizabeth Kraft*

**Painting the Novel**
Pictorial Discourse in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction
*Jakub Lipski*

# Painting the Novel

## Pictorial Discourse in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction

**Jakub Lipski**

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

First published 2018
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*



*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*
CIP data has been applied for.

ISBN: 978-0-8153-5292-1 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-351-13781-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by codeMantra

# Contents

# List of Figures

# Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins and Jack Lynch for their interest in the project and for accepting my book proposal. My thanks are also due to the Routledge editorial team for their kind and professional cooperation.

This book is a product of several years of research that has been generously supported by Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz; in particular, I am grateful to the Faculty of Humanities and the Institute of Modern Languages and Applied Linguistics for providing institutional backing and continuous funding for this project.

Very much to the advantage of the book, I hope, I consulted portions of the manuscript with expert friends and colleagues. I would like to extend my warm thanks to Kamilla Elliott, Jerrold Hogle, Mary Newbould, Frédérick Ogée, Michael Oliver, Peter de Voogd and James Watt, all of whom were kind enough to share their insightful comments and suggestions – always constructively critical, never tinged with useless adulation. Grażyna Bystydzieńska has been, as always, much more than a perceptive reader of the whole manuscript. I would like to thank her not only for her expertise but also for the unwavering support, encouragement and interest in my research that she has shown over the years. My gratitude is also due to the two anonymous readers for Routledge, whose comments drew my attention to the issues I had failed to see. Needless to say, the responsibility for any weaknesses in the text is entirely mine.

Finally, this book would not have materialised without the support of my family. My heartfelt thanks go to my wife Aneta for her love, understanding and bottomless well of patience. Our two wonderful sons played their role, too. I thank Tadeusz for sleeping at night and forgiving me the fact that Woolf and Three Little Pigs do not feature in this book. Benedykt was first motivating me with his expected date of birth and then provided sobering wake-ups and very much welcome distractions when the writing process was coming to an end. This book is dedicated to them.


*Frontispiece: Allegorie della Pittura e della Poesia*. Francesco Furini. 1626. Oil on canvas. Galleria Palatina, Florence. By permission of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

# Introduction

The critical tradition of writing about the eighteenth-century novel has already reached a point where it becomes an object of interest in itself – in the form of meta-critical studies.[1] On the one hand, this is due to the vast corpus of critical commentary; on the other hand, it results from a lack of agreement about such basic issues as what the studied genre really is or whether it was something new in the eighteenth century or just a continuation of a centuries-long tradition.[2] Admittedly, there was no unanimity about these questions in the eighteenth century, either, which gave way to lively self-reflexive debates about the various forms taken by prose fiction at the time. *Painting the Novel* accounts for these discursive practices and emphasises the role of painting, in the form of pictorial and meta-pictorial content, in novelistic attempts at self-definition. The book aims to offer an overview of selected novelistic forms in the eighteenth century, including the novel of social ascension, the comic epic in prose, the Gothic novel, the sentimental novel, the *Bildungsroman*, as well as addressing highly individualised modes difficult to classify (*Tristram Shandy*), in order to argue that the "performance of genre"[3] that resulted in these, and other, variants was a largely intertextual and, most importantly, inter-artistic practice. I will aim to show that references to painting, which repeatedly pepper eighteenth-century fiction, had a generic agenda and, as such, elucidated the authors' discursive practices.

The critical interest in inter-artistic, or inter-medial, perspectives in eighteenth-century studies has a relatively long history.[4] In a way, just as eighteenth-century writers were not discouraged by the growing opposition to the sister arts theory (which I will address in due course), modern critics continue to examine the analogies between the different arts despite some strong voices against such an approach articulated on the methodological level.[5] A well-known objection is the one put forward by René Wellek and Austin Warren in their *Theory of Literature*, first published in 1942:

> The parallels between the fine arts and literature usually amount to the assertion that this picture and that poem induce the same mood in me. […] But this is the kind of parallelism which is of little

> worth for purposes of precise analysis. [...] Parallels between the arts which remain inside the individual reactions of a reader or spectator and are content with describing some emotional similarity of our reactions to two arts will, therefore, never lend themselves to verification and thus to a co-operative advance in our knowledge.[6]

Wellek and Warren may have been right about speculatively comparative approaches – studies examining mere "correspondences" with no reference to verifiable evidence.[7] The approach the authors recommend is a study of the different arts as illustrative of a particular socio-historical context, but one can sense a certain degree of contradiction here: such an approach is too dependent on speculation.

On the other hand, Wellek and Warren, writing back in the 1940s, seem to have ignored the actual interdependence of word and image in literature, such as the incorporation of the visual in a literary text, not necessarily in the form of illustration, or the self-conscious engagement of the writer with other forms of art. In what follows, nevertheless, I will be mindful of the empirical limits of a purely speculative approach to the "correspondence of the arts" and will point to verifiable evidence whenever parallels are established.

This book is meant as a contribution to an on-going critical debate on two levels. First, my aim is to analyse the eighteenth-century novelistic practices from the perspective of a related field of cultural activity. In this, the book should add to the current discussion of the eighteenth-century novel in context; this critical standpoint has been recently taken by Pierre Dubois in his *Music in the Georgian Novel* (2015) and Roger Maioli in *Empiricism in the Early Theory of the Novel* (2016).[8] Dubois and Maioli have different aims in their books, but the premise from which they depart is the same as mine: it is the belief that our understanding of the novel genre in the eighteenth century will benefit from contextualised, interdisciplinary readings. Second, my aim is also to offer a multifaceted account of the phenomenon in question, thus systematising, developing and going beyond some of the arguments put forward by fellow readers of eighteenth-century fiction in recent decades. Some of the issues I take up here have been tackled by others. Substantial interest has been given to eighteenth-century book illustration,[9] and even if this is not my field strictly speaking, I will touch upon some of the illustrations of the discussed scenes, as part of the paratext, to make a stronger case. The issues of the literary and the visual have also appeared in studies addressing the position of fiction in eighteenth-century print culture,[10] and my mentions of frontispieces and typography acknowledge this dimension of word and image crossovers. The interrelationship of painting, especially portraiture, and fiction has also been taken up in more focused studies, in which the inter-artistic relationship sheds light on social and cultural concerns.[11] Though my book

is not limited to this genre, portraiture will be a significant field of investigation throughout, not only in the obvious context of characterisation. In particular, *Painting the Novel* responds to Joe Bray's most recent *The Portrait in the Fiction of the Romantic Period* (2016), not necessarily by way of critical dialogue, but rather by way of complementation with eighteenth-century material. Bray's scope is slightly different, not only in terms of time but also subject matter, though there is an overlap between our books (Bray discusses the role of miniature portraits in Ann Radcliffe's fiction). More importantly, however, I concur with the author's assumption that painting opens new interpretative perspectives. Stating his aims, Bray writes: "The emphasis here will be not just on how the portrait is seen, but also on its interpretation and what this reveals about characters and their relationships."[12] In other words, the presence of the other art form informs our understanding of the novel, here especially in terms of characterisation. My perspective will be broader, including not only the different genres of painting but also its theories, and as such, it will hopefully help reconstruct a wider *picture* of eighteenth-century novelistic discourse, especially in terms of its self-reflexive tendencies.

## The Sister Arts Theory

Talking about literature in terms of the visual arts, especially painting, and, conversely, referring to literary concepts in evaluating artwork certainly dates back much further than the eighteenth century, which is the scope of this book. The so-called sister arts theory was one of the dominant fields of investigation among ancient thinkers, who formulated some of the most prevailing slogans addressing the affinities between the visual and the verbal.[13] Simonides of Ceos, as quoted by Plutarch, famously called painting "silent poetry" and poetry "speaking painting", while Horace, in the most enduring formulation in the field – *ut pictura poesis* ("as is painting so is poetry")[14] – implied that the ultimate point of reference for both poetry and painting is the visual imagination.

My aim here and throughout the book, however, will not be to address the intricacies of the ancient debate; rather, I am interested in the revival of interest in the sister arts theory that took place in the eighteenth century and its implications for novel writing. Even if *ut pictura poesis*, in both theory and practice, was never beyond the interests of writers on literature and the visual arts – as testified, for example, by the Humanist tradition[15] – it is neoclassical thought from the turn of the seventeenth century onwards that seems to have prioritised the issues of the affinities between literature and painting. Admittedly, the sister arts ideal was not approved of unanimously. As Niklaus Schweizer demonstrated, throughout the eighteenth century, there was a heated debate involving both the proponents of the "traditional *ut pictura poesis* position" and the opponents of it, pointing out the obvious differences

between the arts;[16] the latter standpoint would eventually find its culmination in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* from 1766.

In order to account for the apparent prominence of this debate in eighteenth-century Britain, I would like to point to two phenomena beyond the obvious predilection for things Classical, including Horatian thought, in the Augustan period. The first is the vindication of sight as the most important sense. Joseph Addison opens his *Spectator* essay "Pleasures of the Imagination" with the following remarks:

> OUR sight is the most perfect and most delightful of all our senses. It fills the mind with the largest variety of ideas, converses with its objects at the greatest distance, and continues the longest in action without being tired or satiated with its proper enjoyments. [...] Our sight [...] may be considered as a more delicate and diffusive kind of touch, that spreads itself over an infinite multitude of bodies, comprehends the largest figures, and brings into our reach some of the most remote parts of the universe.[17]

Half a century later, in volume 5, chapter 7 of Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, we read "that of all the senses, the eye [...] has the quickest commerce with the soul,—gives a smarter stroke, and leaves something more inexpressible on the fancy, than words can either convey—or sometimes get rid of".[18]

These observations stemmed from the conceptualisation of the central role of sight and vision in epistemological thought; for example, John Locke, in *An Essay on Human Understanding*, calls sight "the most comprehensive of all our senses".[19] The philosophical investigation into sight was complemented by scientific discoveries – most importantly, by Isaac Newton's *Opticks* (first published in 1704), which elucidated the way in which visual impressions are transformed into images.

The second phenomenon was the gradual democratisation of connoisseurship and visual experience. Estate design, works of art and urban spaces of aesthetic value, such as public gardens, were made universally available; they were no longer targeted at the upper class exclusively. Painting was, on the one hand, largely commoditised – the eighteenth century witnessed a rapid development and democratisation of art auctions.[20] On the other hand, it became part of the rapidly developing print culture; to a large extent, the public experience of a piece of painting was very often mediated by widely circulated engravings. The second half of the eighteenth century, in turn, brought about public exhibitions (1760, the Society of Artists) and the first museums (1753, the British Museum). In general, exposure to art and visual pleasure went far beyond the aristocratic experience of the Grand Tour and noblemen's collections (frequently resulting from the former).

Peter de Bolla, in his seminal *The Education of the Eye*, argues that the eighteenth century, in particular the middle decades, was a time when personal identity, or "modern formation of the subject" in his words, was largely the outcome of these new "practices of looking".[21] He puts forward the notion of "visuality" as the dominant characteristic of eighteenth-century culture. The "culture of visuality", he writes, stemmed from the understanding of "looking" as a "publicly available [...] set of activities", whose prominence was guaranteed by "a series of institutions, social and political practices, technologies of production and reproduction".[22] Given the philosophical, social and cultural manifestations of the dominance of the visual in the period, the heightened interest in the entanglement of words and images in aesthetic theory cannot surprise.

The neoclassical discussion of the theory in England begins with John Dryden's translation of Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy's *De arte graphica* (1668, Dryden's translation from 1695). The publication played a twofold role: it introduced the text itself to the English reader and, at the same time, included an (un)original commentary on these issues authored by Dryden – "A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry". The treatise became a standard point of reference for theorists and practitioners of painting in the decades to come. It was frequently reprinted, translated by others and disseminated through quotations and excerpts in other publishing contexts. Du Fresnoy's and Dryden's arguments were largely derivative and affirmative of the traditional *ut pictura poesis* standpoint (which is quoted in the first line of the treatise to be followed, shortly after, by Simonides's *pictura loquens* – speaking picture).[23] The true value of the book, as James Malek puts it, was its role as "a prompter" of the sister arts discussion in England.[24] If Du Fresnoy's treatise focuses predominantly on painting and is largely made up of practical advice on how to imitate nature properly (that is, how to make nature perfect with the use of a set of rules), Dryden's preface provides more insight into literature and its affinities with painting. He comments on several categories of imitation, such as invention, character, design, composition or expression, and establishes parallels between the arts. For example, "*Expression* [...] is that in a *Poem*, which *Colouring* is in a *Picture*".[25]

This classical methodology of discerning the underpinning parallels between the arts was also followed by John Hughes and Sir Richard Blackmore in their *Lay Monk* magazine. In the series of three essays titled *Parallel between Poetry and Painting* from 1713, we read:

> The Painter is a poet to the Eye, and a Poet a Painter to the Ear. One gives us Pleasure by silent Eloquence, the other by vocal Imagery. One shows the Art of Drawing and Colouring by the Pen, the other with equal Elegance expresses a poetical Spirit by the Pencil. When a Poet has formed an admirable Description of a Palace, a River, or a Grove, the Reader in Transport cries, What fine Painting is this?

Thus articulated thesis is supplemented with comparisons between painterly and poetic genres: "Grotesque Painting [...] has a great Likeness to the Low Poets, who write humorous Ballads, Farce and Burlesque Verse"; landscape painters "may be justly compar'd to the writers of Pastorals"; portraits resemble "the Productions of those Poets, who to celebrate the Praises of the Fair One by whose Beauty they are captivated, delineate the Face, and describe the Charms of her Person"; and finally, there is a similarity between "Heroick and Tragick Poetry and Painting of History, the two most excellent Kinds of imitating Nature".[26]

Admittedly, the sister arts debate tended not to treat the siblings equally. When Dryden changed the focus within the first English edition of *De arte graphica* – from painting to literature – it was indicative of a significant aspect of the eighteenth-century debate: the ordering of the arts. Du Fresnoy's task, among other things, was to argue for the supremacy, or at least equal status, of the image, which was a standpoint that was negotiated by Dryden – a man of letters himself. As a rule, neoclassical aesthetic thought was dominated by the proponents of the verbal, who considered historical painting – the dominant genre of the period – to have a limited storytelling potential. Nevertheless, there were strong opposing voices, too, pointing to what painting could and literature could not achieve. For example, Jonathan Richardson, in *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* from 1715, wrote:

> Words paint to the Imagination, but every Man forms the thing to himself in his own way: Language is very imperfect: There are innumerable Colours and Figures for which we have no name, and an Infinity of other Ideas which have no certain words universally agreed upon as denoting them; whereas the Painter can convey his Ideas of these things clearly, and without Ambiguity; and what he says every one understands in the Sense he intends it.[27]

There is no need to discuss in detail the various standpoints on the ordering of the arts,[28] but it is important to see this phenomenon as the immediate background of the so-called "indescribability topos" popular in eighteenth-century literature; such stock phrasings as "words cannot describe" or "words cannot express" are omnipresent in eighteenth-century fiction and are frequently combined with pictorial techniques, from appearance sketches to tableaux and, finally, to non-verbal elements, like the celebrated invitation extended by Tristram Shandy to the reader to "paint" Widow Wadman "to your own mind" in the blank page provided.[29]

The position of painting was most successfully vindicated in the times of William Hogarth and Sir Joshua Reynolds – the two celebrity-painters, reformers of the visual arts and founders of the "British school of painting". Hogarth captured the essence of "Englishness", as Nikolaus Pevsner

argued,[30] while Reynolds institutionalised the art as the first president of the Royal Academy of Arts (est. 1768). The decades dominated by Hogarth and Reynolds (1720s–1780s) were also the period of the so-called "rise" of the novel. As I will show throughout this book, the heightened interest in painting and aesthetic theory, but also the conviction that painting was not necessarily an inferior sibling of poetry, was constitutive of the visual architext for the multifaceted novelistic discourse in the period.

The definitive dissolution of the "sisterhood" in aesthetic theory is credited to Lessing and his *Laocoon*. The German thinker's idea was to abandon the traditional search for parallels between the arts and to argue for the peculiarities of painting and literature as separate artistic endeavours. For example, if the visual arts are best capable of rendering physical beauty, words are expressive of the subject's thought and affections; if the visual arts concentrate on a particular moment, the climactic moment of greatest tension, literature offers a temporal perspective on the represented characters and scenes; finally – and this is where Lessing foreshadows the modern theory of signs – if the visual arts depend on the imitation of natural objects (that is, on the use of natural signs), the signs at the writer's disposal are arbitrary. Lessing also put forward a number of practical hints: he argued against historical and allegorical painting, which in vain pursue the temporal (or narrative) perspective, as well as criticising descriptive and ekphrastic tendencies in some literary genres (such as descriptive poetry), which help achieve the effect of stasis.[31]

Lessing's opposing voice had its precursors on British soil such as Alexander Pope, Hildebrand Jacob, Edmund Burke, James Harris or Lord Henry Kames, many of whom are quoted or alluded to in *Laocoon*. Schweizer argues that they would have been Lessing's primary sources of inspiration: "It is my belief that Lessing derived major concepts of his aesthetic system governing the differentiation of the arts from England".[32] For example, having discussed the limits of descriptive poetry, and literary description as such (labelled "mere cold and trifling trash, to which little or no genius can be attributed"[33]), Lessing invokes Pope as an authority and gives a rather loose paraphrase of the poet's criticism of "pure description" in "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot" (1735):

> Pope, when a man, looked back with great contempt upon the descriptive efforts of his poetic childhood. He expressly desires that he, who would worthily bear the name of poet, should renounce description as early as possible; and declares that a purely descriptive poem is like a banquet consisting of nothing but broths.[34]

I would argue that the extent of the debate in English was one of the reasons behind a rather limited significance of Lessing in eighteenth-century

Britain. Even if some of the German's dramatic works were translated in the final decades of the century, the first English edition of *Laocoon*, as W. Todt writes in his *Lessing in England*, was made in 1826.[35]

One of the early opposing voices in Britain was the one by Hildebrand Jacob. In his essay *Of the Sister Arts* he first repeats the recurrent clichés, such as "[t]he nearer the *Poet* approaches to the *Painter*, the more perfect he is; and the more perfect the *Painter*, the more he imitates the *Poet*",[36] only to proceed to the actual subject matter of his work: the idea that "however they [i.e. the arts] may be reciprocally oblig'd to each other, and agree so well in the main, they have their *separate* Beauties too". For example,

> *Poetry* not only can express the external Signs of the Operation of the Mind, which are so lively represented by *Painting*; but also its finest *abstracted* Thoughts, and most *pathetic* Reflections. *Painting* cannot convey its *Images* in such *great Numbers*, and with so *quick* and *unwearied* a *Succession* as *Poetry* does; and there are almost innumerable *Images* in *Poetry*, which *Painting* is not capable of forming, and which are often the greatest Ornaments in *Poetry*.[37]

The passage foreshadows, in a way, what Lessing had to say about these differences.[38] This argument would also be an implied presence in critical responses to art in the eighteenth century; to give but one example, when Henry Fielding pays a compliment to Hogarth in his preface to *Joseph Andrews* (1742), he writes: "It hath been thought a vast Commendation of a Painter, to say his Figures *seem to breathe*; but surely, it is a much greater and nobler Applause, *that they appear to think*."[39]

James Harris's *Three Treatises* from 1744 follows an agenda similar to Jacob's. Harris first declares the arts to be akin in their imitative roles – they are sisters and daughters to nature, which is represented visually in the second edition of the *Treatises* (1765).[40] Then, however, he discusses their separate subject matters (again discerning between surface and depth as suitable for painting and poetry, respectively) and reliance on different media (natural and artificial signs).[41]

A strong opposing perspective on the sister arts theory was offered by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the thirteenth of his *Discourses* delivered at the Royal Academy (1786), where he argued against the stock parallels with an authority comparable to Lessing's. He expresses his conviction that

> no art can be grafted with success on another art. For though they all profess the same origin, and to proceed from the same stock, yet each has its own peculiar modes both of imitating nature, and of deviating from it, each for the accomplishment of its own particular purpose. These deviations, more especially, will not bear transplantation to another soil.[42]

The above is perhaps the most determined of the voices I have presented. Nevertheless, and this is what Reynolds shares with Jacob and Harris, the criticism is at the same time an implied acknowledgement of the "sisterhood" – the arts have the same origin and imitative function. What Reynolds disapproves of are attempts at transpositions – these are impossible to realise successfully given the "peculiar modes" the arts depend on.

As this book will show throughout, the belief that references and comparisons to painting can help define the newly emerging forms of prose fiction remained largely undiminished by the growing opposition to the *ut pictura poesis* standpoint. For one thing, the theoretical intricacies were not common knowledge, and their significance would have faded in comparison with the prevalence of the popular understanding of the natural affinities between the arts, reinforced by their common denominators (such as the concepts of connoisseurship, imitation or moral end) and shared platforms of distribution and dissemination (such as print and education). Furthermore, one cannot lose sight of the obvious reason behind the novelistic engagement with painting; namely, the real-life contacts that men of letters, including fiction writers, had with the representatives of the visual arts. This straightforward channel of mutual influence is highlighted by Flemming Olsen: "The ties between the Sister Arts would be strengthened by the warm friendships that existed between many of the performers of *pictura* and *poesis* respectively".[43] Olsen focuses on Alexander Pope's acquaintance with the painter Charles Jervas, pointing out that the background for their friendship were Pope's own attempts at portraiture as well as his decent collection of artwork. I have no intention here of offering biographical readings of fiction; at the same time, I have no intention of denying the importance of the novelists' real-life contacts and interests, and I will briefly account for them in the subsequent chapters.

## Self-Reflexive Writing

In order to contextualise properly the role of meta-pictorial comments in the novelistic discourse of the eighteenth century, I would now like to account for the self-theorising tendencies inherent in eighteenth-century fiction. In other words, I would like to show that a reference to painting within a piece of fiction – for example, Henry Fielding's mention of William Hogarth in the preface to *Joseph Andrews* – was not only testimony to the unwavering prevalence of the sister arts theory but also part of the discursive tradition characterising the early novel in English. The typical discursive practices included self-referential prefaces and dedications, commentaries within the narrative context (in the form of digressions or even lengthy chapters) and beyond it (for example, in correspondence), as well as autonomous critical texts, like essays or reviews.

Why would novelists fashion themselves as theorists? The early self-reflexive discourse did not as a rule display any profound theoretical insight. The recurrent motif is the so-called "authenticity trope" – the prefatory material introduces the actual content as authentic text, slightly edited perhaps, to avoid censure: there was no room for narrative prose fiction in the classical system of genres. In the opening of *Oroonoko* (1688), Aphra Behn writes:

> I do not pretend, in giving you the history of this royal slave, to entertain my reader with the adventures of a feigned hero, whose life and fortunes fancy may manage at the poet's pleasure; nor in relating the truth, design to adorn it with any accidents, but such as arrived in earnest to him: and it shall come simply into the world, recommended by its own proper merits and natural intrigues, there being enough of reality to support it, and to render it diverting, without the addition of invention.[44]

Although Behn refrains from using generic terms, the binaries she establishes – "history" vs. "adventures of a feigned hero"; "truth" vs. "fancy"; "reality" vs. "invention" – were typical of the early self-reflexive discourse distancing the offered narrative from the romance tradition on the grounds of its alleged authenticity or truthfulness. The same principle is followed by Daniel Defoe. In the preface to *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), he states: "The Editor believes the thing to be a just History of Fact; neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it [...]".[45] The author's fashioning as editor was another common trope at the time. This approach culminated in the prefaces of Samuel Richardson, an editor by profession, who despite being a trendsetter and a widely esteemed moralist, failed to openly declare that the letters making up *Pamela* or *Clarissa* were fiction.[46]

The author who willingly emphasised the fictitious nature of his writing was Henry Fielding. His prefaces to *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones* (1749), as well as the theoretical chapters opening each of the books making up the novels, locate the new form of prose fiction – here labelled "comic Epic-Poem in prose" – in the Aristotelian system of genres, and thus vindicate its status. In the preface to *Joseph Andrews*, he writes:

> The EPIC, as well as the DRAMA, is divided into Tragedy, and Comedy. HOMER, who was the Father of this Species of Poetry, gave us the pattern of both these, tho' that of the latter kind is entirely lost; which *Aristotle* tells us, bore the same relation to Comedy which his *Iliad* bears to Tragedy. [...]
>
> And farther, as this Poetry may be Tragic or Comic, I will not scruple to say it may be likewise either in Verse or Prose: for tho' it wants one particular, which the Critic enumerates in the constituent

> Parts of an Epic Poem, namely Metre; yet, when any Kind of Writing contains all its other Parts, such as Fable, Action, Characters, Sentiments, and Diction, and is deficient in Metre only; it seems, I think, reasonable to refer it to the Epic; at least, as no Critic hath thought proper to range it under any other Head, nor to assign it a particular Name to itself.[47]

Risking an overgeneralisation, I would claim that the novelists in the wake of Fielding did not have to feel ashamed when publishing their work, which could now be seen as part of a respectable tradition.

Fielding's comments inaugurate a serious and an openly public debate about prose fiction. Nevertheless, his remarks are also a useful prism through which one can see some of the dominant aspects of the "proto-debate" from the turn of the seventeenth century onwards, especially the gradual denigration of romance. If the early discourse centred on the authenticity and truthfulness of the narrative, as opposed to the fanciful romance, the more theoretically informed writing of Fielding and his successors capitalised on the categories of probability and realism, contrasting them with fantasy and improbability, which were typical of romance writing.

Fielding's remarks are also testimony to the invariable characteristic of the eighteenth-century theory of the novel – the imprecise and destabilised taxonomy. Fielding avails himself of such terms as "romance", "serious romance", "comic romance", "history" and "epic", and even if he attempts to distinguish between them, in particular by juxtaposing his comic epic with romance, his lack of consistence is apparent and already reflected in the wording "comic romance" as a synonym of "comic epic". A similar lack of consistence can be found in Tobias Smollett's theory. Smollett was one of the earliest writers to use the word "novel" with reference to what we today understand to be a novel (in the Dedication to *Ferdinand Count Fathom* – to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2), but shortly after, in an essay for his *Critical Review*, he uses the word "romance" in the very same context, reusing the definition he has offered for "novel". In this, Fielding and Smollett proved no better than the representatives of the proto-discourse, who, as Michael McKeon writes, used the terms "romance", "history" and "novel" "with an evident interchangeability that must bewilder and frustrate".[48]

Coming back to the above question – Why would eighteenth-century novelists repetitiously fashion themselves as theorists? – I would point to this taxonomical turmoil as the immediate reason. In other words, they tended to theorise their creative output because they were not certain about the genre or genres they were working on. It is worth noting here that the inconsistent use of terms was also indicative of a largely non-essentialist approach to genre in general. This is perhaps one of the

major obstacles for re-creating the emergence of the modern novel in the eighteenth century – what we today understand to be a "novel" would not have matched the idea of "a new species of writing" practised by writers almost three centuries ago. In fact, as I have indicated before, the word "novel" did not come to mean the novel until the second half of the eighteenth century. Before that time, it was a synonym of "novella" and was used to refer to short romance fictions. For example, in his preface to *Moll Flanders* (1722), Daniel Defoe writes that "The World is […] taken up of late with Novels and Romances".[49]

This generic fluidity of eighteenth-century prose fiction undermines the classical theoretical construct of the "rise" of the English novel in the eighteenth century as the one which anachronistically imposes the category of genre identity on the versatile narratives of the eighteenth century. The concept was most influentially formulated by Ian Watt in *The Rise of the Novel* (1957). Watt elaborates on the opposition to romance fiction in the eighteenth century and argues for the poetics of "formal realism" as the "lowest common denominator" of the novel – the marker of generic identity.[50] Watt has come under severe criticism, especially in recent decades, the central issues of which are thus summarised by Lennard Davis:

> [Watt] made some really big mistakes – he thought there was 'a' novel; he thought it had a beginning; he assumed it was a narrative fiction that displaced previous narrative fictions and had a "rise" located in metropole England. In doing so, he was naïve, sexist, racist, Anglophilic, logocentric, essentialist, positivist, vulgarly materialistic, and probably homophobic. But nobody is perfect.[51]

This book will not ignore Watt's ideas, especially as far as his insight into realism is concerned, but I would subscribe to Davis's judgement at least in two respects: first, I do not believe that an essentialist-generic approach to eighteenth-century fiction addresses the core of the issue; second, in the light of the inconsistent taxonomy and, at times, self-contradictory theoretical remarks put forward by the practitioners of fiction, it is impossible to argue that a "new genre" of fiction "displaced" previous fictions (i.e. the romance). Watt's system does indeed inform our understanding of Defoe, Fielding, Richardson and Smollett, but it fails to assess properly the contribution of writers whose position within the realist tradition was equivocal, such as Horace Walpole or Ann Radcliffe.

Illustrative of the generic instability of eighteenth-century prose fiction was also the tendency among the writers and theorists to label their project innovative. In other words, given the fact that as a rule they did not struggle to fit into a well-established generic system, they formulated individualised theories of narrative peppered with bold remarks

of originality and innovativeness. To give but a few examples, Fielding does not remember his "species" to have been "hitherto attempted in our language",[52] Walpole writes about "a new species of romance",[53] and Frances Burney promises not to follow "the same ground which they [i.e. her predecessors] have tracked".[54] Such comments encourage a non-essentialist approach to the category of genre, which I choose to take in what follows. Namely, my understanding of the novel genre in the eighteenth century will be governed by John Frow's notion of "performance of genre": "genres are not fixed and pre-given forms [...] texts are performances of genre rather than reproductions of a class to which they belong".[55] Accordingly, Frow continues, texts "are always potentially metacommunications about their frames".[56]

Even if the generic architext for the development of eighteenth-century fiction was destabilised and thus welcoming of "innovative" projects and new beginnings, the writers in proclaiming their novelty did not consider themselves to be deprived of a literary tradition from which they were deriving. However fluid in taxonomy, their "performance of genre" was largely intertextual, especially after Fielding – that is, when the authenticity topos was no longer predominant. Arguably, references to particular authors would have compensated for the lack of an established theory of prose fiction genres and helped situate the proposed project within the system of literature. Such names as Shakespeare, Cervantes or Le Sage are recurrent in the self-reflexive remarks throughout the century, but it is also worth noting that fiction in English was gradually establishing its own tradition, too. This is best reflected in Burney's preface to *Evelina*, in which, apart from the models for her epistolary mode – Rousseau and Marivaux – she lists such names as Johnson, Fielding, Richardson and Smollett as those novelists who helped vindicate the literary status of narrative prose fiction.

The intertextual gestures in the self-reflexive fictional discourse were of a versatile nature: from complimentary to critical and parodic. It happened that some texts were written as a direct response to a predecessor or predecessors. Such was the case of *Joseph Andrews*, written in the wake of Richardson's *Pamela*; Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron*, thought of as an improvement of Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*; or the whole body of Quixotic texts throughout the century transposing the Cervantine paradigm onto British soil.[57] Eighteenth-century novelists would also refer to manners of writing, other narrative genres and conventions. By and large, the discursive practices of self-conscious writers imply an understanding of literature as a system out of which individual texts generate meaning.

Another common feature of the self-reflexive discourse – and this brings me closer to the theme of this book – is the inter-artistic analogy. This critical topos was clearly related to the ongoing critical debates about the parallels between the arts, but it was also a stock rhetorical

pattern illustrative in general of the eighteenth-century culture of connoisseurship and aesthetic pleasure – widely available and thus welcoming of critical (or quasi-critical) responses. The continuing popularity of the *theatrum mundi* metaphor encouraged fiction writers to adopt theatrical terms, especially in the construction of characters and in plot design. The fact that many of them, like Fielding, Smollett, Goldsmith, Walpole or Burney, were playwrights, too, should not be ignored. Theatrical terms were employed not only in prefatory material but also within the narratives by way of authorial commentary (like in Fielding's discussion of the way the heroine should be introduced to the stage of the fictional world in *Tom Jones*). The self-conscious writers would also refer to sculpture (especially in characterisation) and, finally, painting, the art of which they invoked in a variety of contexts, both openly and by way of allusion – one of my aims in this book will be to elaborate on these contexts.

To recapitulate, the reasons behind the meta-pictorial remarks in eighteenth-century novelistic discourse can be logically arranged in the following way. First of all, the immediate background for the practising of the novel genre in the century was the sister arts debate – a recurrent topic in contemporaneous criticism and writing about art – as well as the scientific, philosophical and cultural paradigms of seeing, looking and deriving visual pleasure. Second, in the eighteenth century, the prevalent understanding of prose fiction genres was non-essentialist; that is, there was no such thing as *the* novel, and the discursive practices of fiction writers can be labelled "the performance of genre". Third, the self-reflexive discourse was largely intertextual and welcoming of non-literary artistic practices, in particular theatre and painting. All in all, after Robert Alter, I would consider eighteenth-century novelistic self-reflexivity as "a distinctive generic trend".[58]

## Terms and Methods

Before explaining the way in which I wish to proceed, I should make one fundamental reservation – this book is about literature. My intention is not to put forward an argument about the correspondences of the eighteenth-century novel and painting. Rather, my interest lies within the scope of fiction and I am only concerned with painting inasmuch as it, in my view, informs our understanding of the performance of the novel genre. In other words, I have no pretension to offer new insights into the visual arts themselves, but I do hope that this book will offer a new perspective on the novel by way of informative contextualisation. In line with eighteenth-century writers, I will humbly point out that a book-length reading of eighteenth-century novels by various authors in the context of the art of painting has been hitherto unattempted in eighteenth-century studies.

A word of clarification is also due to my use of the term "painting". I am aware that, strictly speaking, book illustration, circulated prints and drawings do not belong to painting as a field of visual arts. Nevertheless, I choose to include these forms in my scope for two reasons: first, graphic works were frequently modelled on paintings; second, there existed clear channels of influence between these fields, with the basic role of prints as disseminators of painting.

Given the aims I set myself, the methodologies of word and image studies do not dominate my analytical framework in what follows. Nevertheless, I do avail myself of a set of tools and critical concepts put forward by word and image scholars. Central for me is the notion of "pictorial", which has been given a lot of critical attention in word and image studies. An influential definition was proposed by Hagstrum, who elaborated on the pictorial by reverting the patterns of *ekphrasis* (a literary rendition of the visual): "In order to be called 'pictorial', a description or an image must be, in its essentials, capable of *translation* into painting or some other visual art".[59] This definition is illustrative of the traditional *ut pictura poesis* standpoint – it assumes the possibility of an intersemiotic translation and centres on the descriptive merits of a literary passage. It fails to encompass such manifestations of pictorialism as explicit or implicit references to artwork, scenes complementing the pictorial with a sense of motion or metaphorical uses of painterly language. That said, I will refer to the pictorial thus understood when discussing descriptive passages functioning as so-called "word-paintings". This term was proposed by Rhoda L. Flaxman, who used it with reference to the "frozen moments" in the narrative; that is, the moments when the narrative flow is suspended for the sake of the "painting-effect" created by description.[60]

My understanding of pictorialism will be a broad one, very much in line with Liliane Louvel's take on the notion: "it is the inclusion of a reference to the visual arts in a literary text, a reference which can be more or less explicit".[61] Thus understood, the notion of "pictorial" is sufficiently broad to include the cases beyond Hagstrum's scope. The practice of pictorialism might take both intra- and intertextual forms; in other words, the visual arts may be invoked by the text itself (description, framing devices, thematisation of looking) or by references to the world beyond the text (mentions of artwork or artists). The metaphorical use of painterly language for rhetorical purposes, which I will also address in this book, is also a form of pictorialism, as it encourages the reader to take the role of a viewer. Throughout the book, I will also use the terms "meta-pictorialism" and "meta-pictorial". These stand for a self-conscious use of the pictorial for discursive practices – a pictorial equivalent of meta-commentary; a meta-comment in which there is an explicit or implicit reference to painting.

In general terms, the theoretical framework for my readings of eighteenth-century fiction will be underpinned by the category of

transtextuality introduced by Gérard Genette in his *Palimpsests* (1982, English translation 1997), which was preceded by *The Architext* (1979, English translation 1992) and followed by *Paratexts* (published in French as *Seuils* in 1987, English translation 1997).[62] I do not intend to over-theorise my argument, but methodologically speaking, I share Genette's understanding of literature as an open system out of which subsequent texts generate its meaning. Genette, as Graham Allen summarises, argues for researching "a poetics which [...] studies the relationships (sometimes fluid, never unchanging) which link the text with the architextural network out of which it produces its meaning".[63] One of the aims I pursue in this book is to show that painting was an indispensable element of the architext and, thus, a natural point of reference for writers.

In accounting for the relationship I will often turn to the paratext, which is by nature illustrative of self-reflexivity. Genette considers various paratextual elements as "thresholds of interpretation" by virtue of their potential to orientate the process of reading. The theorist distinguishes two kinds of such material: *peritext*, which consists of titles, chapter titles, prefaces and notes, and *epitext*, including interviews, publicity announcements, reviews, addresses to critics, private letters and authorial and editorial discussions – everything concerning a given text.[64] Many of these will come to light in what follows.

Finally, my readings will be informed by the other aspects of Genette's transtextuality, or "textual transcendence", which is a broad term inclusive not only of intertextuality proper, which Genette defines as "the actual presence of one text within another", [65] but also of architextuality and paratextuality – which address the relationships discussed above – as well as metatextuality and hypertextuality. Hypertextuality understood as "any relationship uniting a text B (... *hypertext*) to an earlier text A (... *hypotext*), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary" [66] will rarely come into focus here, whereas metatextuality, a relation of commentary to another text, will invariably be devoted substantial attention. Admittedly, the boundaries between these terms are fluid and there will be numerous cases in which more than one category will seem relevant. For this reason, I do not intend to saturate the following readings with critical terms, as the literary texts will for the most part speak for themselves, and one label or the other will not change things essentially.

Genette's idea of "textual transcendence" will be the lens through which I will be seeing the meta-pictorial discourse of genre, as it highlights the inherent dynamism of genre, the notion of which is never stabilised and open to transtextual engagements, and seems particularly relevant for eighteenth-century fiction in the light of the issues I addressed before. Let me repeat that I do not understand the novel genre as a fixed entity, an ideal that the writers struggle to achieve.

Eighteenth-century novelistic discourse clearly transcends the text itself and searches for inspirations, models and paradigms not only in other texts but in non-literary artistic forms. As I have indicated before, my perspective is literary, and consequently, I will treat the invoked visual material in textual terms. In other words, paintings will be seen as visual texts incorporated into literary discourse.[67]

This being the general perspective adopted, I do not shy away from other critical standpoints. Some of the chapters will to a large extent depend on close reading; in others the selected material itself will encourage further insight from a particular perspective, from Freudian to Bakhtinian.

One final comment has to address the use of the words "novel" and "novelists" throughout the book. I realise that given the taxonomic issues I have addressed before, the use of the label "novelist" with reference to Defoe or even Fielding is anachronistic; I also realise that some critics hesitate to consider Defoe a novelist proper (whatever this means) and that others believe that there had been novels and novelists already in ancient civilizations. I choose to make use of these terms throughout, at times resorting to such phrasings as "prose fiction" or "narrative prose" for the sake of stylistic variety. After all, I do not aim in this book to define what *the* novel is or what it was in the eighteenth century. I will understand "novel" in broad terms as a relatively long piece of narrative prose fiction and will avoid passing arbitrary judgments as to what was "a novel", what "a romance" or what just a "novella" (as some would label Walpole's *Otranto*[68]). After all, assuming that the genre is *performed*, there is no need to arrive at definitive, or essentialist, conclusions.

That said, I do not fail to see that the eighteenth century was a formative period for the "life" of the genre; whether it witnessed a "rise", "raising", "making" or "evolution" of the novel is not going to be determined in this book.[69] Nevertheless, for some reasons, be it political, social or aesthetic, there was a heightened interest both in the writing of prose fiction and in its theory, and there was a widespread feeling, as I have already pointed out, that what was being written was somehow original. This book will attempt to shed new light on the phenomenon, elaborating on the variety of forms taken by the novel genre.

## Material and Chapter Contents

The selected material covers a wide range of novel types and a relatively long period of time. The basic assumption behind this choice was to give a substantially broad perspective on the century, on the one hand, and to account for the formation of some of the most prevailing novel projects, on the other. Chronologically speaking, the following readings are framed by discussions of Daniel Defoe and Ann Radcliffe. The choice of

Radcliffe should not raise doubts, as she was clearly the most successful and influential writer of the late eighteenth century, one that opened the door to Romantic fiction. Conversely, I am aware that the inclusion of Defoe in a book studying the self-reflexive tendencies in novelistic discourse requires justification. Admittedly, as I have shown before, Defoe's self-reflexive language belongs to the tradition of what I labelled proto-discourse – after all, Defoe pretended to be publishing true stories, endowed with a tinge of professional editing. Nevertheless, Defoe's proto-discourse does merit attention, especially because of its engagement, albeit implicit, with the art of painting – as I will demonstrate in Chapter 1, the decade of Defoe's involvement in novel writing coincided with a heightened interest of the writer in the world of the fine arts.

One further reservation has to be made about my choice of Defoe as the *first* author to be discussed. I realise that in contemporary criticism there have been strong objections to the labelling of Defoe as "the father of the novel", put forward, for example, by feminist critics who argue for a proper appreciation of women writers preceding the author of *Robinson Crusoe* or writing at his time.[70] I do not aim in this book to offer an over-historicised perspective on the novel and will shy away from constructing any linear evolution of the novel genre, even though I will indeed establish links between successive novelists. That said, my choice of Defoe as the starting point does not point to his role as "originator" or "inventor" of the genre, an issue I would rather leave open. The general agenda behind my selection was to focus on authors whose self-consciously formulated projects exerted a major impact on the other prose fiction writers and played a role in the ongoing critical debate. As I will show in Chapter 1, Defoe was not only a major factor in the popularisation of the novel of social ascension and the picaresque (not to mention the Robinsonade), but also a writer who critically engaged in the issues of the realist and the allegorical modes, the subjects of which he tackled with the help of pictorial and meta-pictorial content. To that end, I will analyse Defoe's 1724 *Roxana*, with references to *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Moll Flanders* (1722). This chapter will be for the most part a contextualised focused reading, the starting point for which will be the painterly metaphor in the preface to *Roxana*.

Chapter 2 revisits William Hogarth's contribution to the performance of the novel genre by offering readings of Henry Fielding's, Tobias Smollett's and Laurence Sterne's novelistic projects in the mid-eighteenth century – that is, in the two decades of Hogarth's position as England's leading painter and engraver. In particular, the chapter focuses on the explicit references to Hogarth in Fielding's novels, the implied incorporation of the Hogarthian aesthetic of variety in Smollett's theory of the novel articulated in *Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753) as well as Sterne's engagement with Hogarth's aesthetic of the waving line in *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67). By discussing these aspects, I aim to evaluate

Hogarth's impact on the techniques of characterisation, narrative and topographical design.

Chapter 3 elaborates on the actual use of painting in the Gothic novel. It departs from a well-known story behind the publication of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764). As the author makes clear in his correspondence, the idea for "a gothic story" was inextricably linked with his architectural project at Strawberry Hill. However, rather than delving into the spatial parallels between Otranto and Strawberry Hill, this chapter addresses the implied presence of Walpole's gallery of portraits in the novel, and the narrative and ideological functions performed by the motif of the animated portrait, which I interpret as an uncanny micro-analogue of the Gothic project in general. The chapter demonstrates that in the Gothic tradition, the imprint of painting on the novel was not only discursive but also literal and tangible; in other words, paintings as objects are recurrent in Gothic texts and draw attention to such issues as the haunting presence of the past, identity and family bonds, as well as exuding an aura of mystery. This chapter, like Chapter 5, does not depend on a close reading of limited material but surveys a relatively extensive corpus of text in order to show the generative potential of the animated portrait in Gothic fiction.

Chapter 4 is a focused reading of Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778), which departs from the author's prefatory remark about "drawing characters". In the chapter, I argue that the promise to "draw from nature, though not from life"[71] reveals significant aesthetic implications. By the time *Evelina* was published, the aesthetic difference between "nature" and "life" had been famously conceptualised by Burney's friend Sir Joshua Reynolds. The chapter demonstrates that Burney fulfils her promise only partially – in her abstract treatment of Evelina's "complete beauty". In contrast, it is argued, the representation of the shadowy world of the carnivalesque is by all means "singular" and "particular". The chapter shows that the pictorial language used to represent the carnivalesque contrasts the poetics of absence characterising the portraits of Evelina. The chapter further argues that Burney's inconsistencies, as reflected through visual language, relate *Evelina* to the complex generic network of the eighteenth century. I demonstrate that Burney's novel becomes a heterogeneous text, where the female *Bildungsroman*, documenting Evelina's reinstatement as a member of polite society, is counterbalanced by the visually attractive poetics of particularity and realism.

Chapter 5 accounts for the codification of sentimental iconography in late eighteenth-century fiction. To this end, it offers a case study of the allusions to Guido Reni from Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) to Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1796–7) and traces the history of Guido's "heads" in the light of the so-called "physiognomical revival" and the gradually sentimentalised approach to continental Catholicism. In the chapter, I argue that the motif of Guido's "heads" is in general

illustrative of the formation of sentimental iconography – a potentially pictorial system developed by recurrent images "drawn" with words, often outside their original contexts. The chapter shows that the sketch of Father Lorenzo in *A Sentimental Journey*, where Guido's name appears, became an enduringly powerful word-painting, whose influence stretched beyond the fashion for Sternean imitations and adaptations.

The above outline makes clear that I do not intend the subsequent chapters to repeat the same analytical pattern and to prove more or less the same on the basis of variable material. Rather, the chapters vary from single-author or even single-text studies to survey accounts, from ones centring on novelists to those underpinned by the figure of a painter. Likewise, the pictorial content that the chapters analyse takes different forms. Chapter 1 stems from a pictorial metaphor Defoe used to describe his style (a metaphor that depended on a well-established parallel between colours and literary expression) and then elaborates on the role of word-paintings; Chapter 2 makes sense of meta-pictorial uses of Hogarth's works and aesthetic (by way of quotation and allusion); Chapter 3 moves from meta-pictorialism towards the actual incorporation of paintings as objects in the narrative; Chapter 4 discusses word-paintings against the background of the aesthetic theory invoked paratextually; and Chapter 5 generalises the meaning of the meta-pictorial use of Guido Reni in the context of late eighteenth-century sentimentalism. On the whole, the studied pictorial content includes painterly metaphors, descriptive passages, explicit and implicit references to painters, specific paintings and schools of painting, the motif of painting as an object, and, finally, engagement with aesthetic theories. I believe that such a flexible perspective is the right choice if the multifaceted role of painting for the performance of the novel genre is to be acknowledged properly.

## Notes

1 See, for example, the double special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* devoted to Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel* (12, no. 2–3 [1999–2000]) edited by David Blewett; and Nicholas Seager, *The Rise of the Novel: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

2 This tension is best visible in the juxtaposition of Ian Watt's theory of the "rise" of the novel as an eighteenth-century invention and Margaret Anne Doody's view on the "true story" of the genre, going back to ancient times. See Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001); Margaret Anne Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

3 I am borrowing this phrase from John Frow, *Genre* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006). I will elaborate on what it means later on.

4 A lot of ink has been spilt on eighteenth-century descriptive poetry in the context of the sister arts debate; see, for example, Jean H. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from*

*Dryden to Gray* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Flemming Olsen, *The Ut Pictura Poesis Tradition and English Neo-Classical Landscape Poetry* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013). There have also been collections of essays devoted to the word and image crossovers in the eighteenth century; see Richard Wendorf, ed., *Articulate Images: The Sister Arts from Hogarth to Tennyson* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983); Peter Wagner, ed., *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), especially the section "Iconotexts: The Eighteenth Century"; Christina Ionescu and Renata Schellenberg, eds., *Word and Image in the Long Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008). Numerous single-author studies from this perspective include Morris R. Brownell, *Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); W. B. Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Joseph McMinn, *Jonathan Swift and the Arts* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010).

5 A useful survey of the methodological approaches to the study of literature and the visual arts is offered in W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 83–88.

6 René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), 127.

7 This approach is exemplified by Jeffrey Meyers, who arbitrarily juxtaposes novels and painters on the grounds of a speculatively comparative agenda. Jeffrey Meyers, *Painting and the Novel* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975).

8 Pierre Dubois, *Music in the Georgian Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Roger Maioli, *Empiricism in the Early Theory of the Novel: Fielding to Austen* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

9 See, for example, David Blewett, *The Illustration of Robinson Crusoe, 1719–1920* (Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1995); Christina Ionescu, ed., *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2011).

10 See, for example, Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Kevin Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll, eds., *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013).

11 See Alison Conway, *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the Eighteenth-Century Novel, 1709–1791* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press); Kamilla Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction: The Rise of Picture Identification, 1764–1835* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

12 Joe Bray, *The Portrait in Fiction of the Romantic Period* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 2.

13 The sister arts theory was at times also inclusive of music. This is beyond the scope of my book, and I will not address the various attempts at drawing parallels between music and the other arts.

14 As Hagstrum points out, the significance of Horace's statement for the sister arts debate was based on a misunderstanding. In the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions the punctuation of Horace's statement was changed (from "*ut pictura poesis: erit quae*" into "*ut pictura poesis erit*"),

the modification of which deprived the phrase of its original tentativeness. Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts*, 59–61.

15 See Rensselaer W. Lee, "Ut pictura poesis: The Humanistic Tradition of Painting", *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 197–269.

16 Niklaus Schweizer, *The Ut Pictura Poesis Controversy in Eighteenth-Century England and Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1972).

17 Joseph Addison, "Pleasures of the Imagination", *Spectator*, no. 411 (1712). *The Spectator Project* (Rutgers University, 2011), 713–714, www2.scc.rutgers.edu/spectator/.

18 Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. Melvyn New and Joan New. 3 vols (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1978–1984), 432.

19 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Roger Woolhouse (London: Penguin, 1997), 145.

20 See Thomas M. Bayer and John R. Page, *The Development of the Art Market in England. Money as Muse, 1730–1900* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011).

21 Peter de Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 25.

22 De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye*, 5.

23 Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy, *De arte graphica. The Art of Painting. Translated into English, together with an Original Preface containing A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry by Mr. Dryden* (London: W. Rogers, 1695).

24 James S. Malek, *The Arts Compared: An Aspect of Eighteenth Century British Aesthetics* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1974), 16.

25 Du Fresnoy, *De arte graphica. The Art of Painting*, xlviii.

26 John Hughes and Sir Richard Blackmore, "Parallel between Painting and Poetry", *The Lay Monk*, no. 31 (1713), *Spenser and the Tradition: English Poetry, 1579–1830*, complied by David Hill Radcliffe, http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?action=GET&textsid=33875.

27 Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London: John Churchill, 1715), 5–6.

28 For a detailed analysis of the problem, see Lawrence I. Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

29 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 226.

30 Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (London: Penguin, 1956).

31 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. E. C. Beasley (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853).

32 Schweizer, *The Ut Pictura Poesis Controversy*, 69.

33 Lessing, *Laocoon*, 117.

34 Lessing, *Laocoon*, 118.

35 W. Todt, *Lessing in England* (Heidelberg, 1912), 5.

36 Hildebrand Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts: An Essay* (London: William Lewis, 1734), 4.

37 Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts*, 5.

38 The German philosopher's ideas are also reminiscent of Jacob's perspective on the signs used by the respective arts: painting and music, he writes, are "universal languages" and can thus be understood by everyone and everywhere. Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts*, 6.

39 Henry Fielding, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), 6–7.

40 See Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts*, 135.
41 James Harris, *Three Treatises. The First Concerning Art, the Second Concerning Music, Painting and Poetry, the Third Concerning Happiness* (London: John Nourse and Paul Vaillant, 1744).
42 Joshua Reynolds, *The Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London: James Carpenter, 1842), 235.
43 Olsen, *The Ut Pictura Poesis Tradition*, 16.
44 Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko and Other Writings*, ed. Paul Salzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6.
45 Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3.
46 Admittedly, Richardson was much more explicit as to the fictitious character of his narratives in his correspondence. For a systematic study of Richardson's letters as theoretical novelistic discourse, see Joseph F. Bartolomeo, *A New Species of Criticism: Eighteenth-Century Discourse on the Novel* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), Chapter 2 "Cracking Facades of Authority: Richardson, Fielding, and Johnson".
47 Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 3.
48 Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 25.
49 Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, ed. Linda Bree (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3.
50 Watt, *The Rise of the Novel.*
51 Lennard J. Davis, "Who Put the *The* in *the Novel*: Identity Politics and Disability in Novel Studies", *Novel* 31 (1998): 79–101 (80).
52 Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 3.
53 Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story,* ed. Nick Groom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 13.
54 Frances Burney, *Evelina; Or the History of A Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, ed. Vivien Jones and Edward A. Bloom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 10.
55 Frow, *Genre*, 3.
56 Frow, *Genre*, 17.
57 In the last two decades, the Quixotic tradition in English fiction has been given a lot of critical attention. See Wojciech Nowicki, *Awatary szaleństwa: O zjawisku donkichotyzmu w powieści angielskiej XVIII wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2008); J. A. G. Ardila, ed., *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influnce of Cervantes in Britain* (London: Legenda, 2009); Dragoş Ivana, *Embattled Reason, Principled Sentiment and Political Radicalism: Quixotism in English Novels, 1742–1801* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014).
58 Robert Alter, *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), xii.
59 Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts*, 20.
60 Rhoda L. Flaxman, *Victorian Word-Painting and Narrative: Towards the Blending of Genres* (Ann Arbour: UMI Research Press, 1998), 9.
61 Liliane Louvel, *Poetics of the Iconotext*, ed. Karen Jacobs, trans. Laurence Petit (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 73.
62 Gérard Genette, *The Architexts: An Introduction*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

63 Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), 100.
64 Genette, *Paratexts*, 3.
65 Genette, *Palimpsests*, 1–2.
66 Genette, *Palimpsests*, 5.
67 That is why I choose not to adopt Liliane Louvel's notion of "transpictoriality", the theory of which she offers as a transposition of Genette's transtextuality for word and image studies. See Chapter 3 of *Poetics of the Iconotext*.
68 See, for example, Carol Margaret Davison, *Gothic Literature, 1764–1824* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009).
69 Since Watt's controversial theory of the "rise", a number of critics have avoided the term and offered their own paradigms. See John Skinner, *An Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Raising the Novel* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); J. A. Downie, "The Making of the English Novel", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9 (1997): 249–266; Brean Hammond and Shaun Regan, *Making the Novel: Fiction and Society in Britain, 1660–1789* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983).
70 See, for example, Dale Spender, *Mothers of the Novel: 100 Good Women Writers before Jane Austen* (London and New York: Pandora, 1986).
71 Burney, *Evelina*, 9.

# 1 "Painted in Its Low-priz'd Colours"

## The Realist and the Allegorical in Daniel Defoe's *Roxana*

In a manner characteristic of the early eighteenth-century proto-discourse, Daniel Defoe precedes his 1724 *Roxana* with a preface highlighting the truthfulness of the following narrative.[1] Assuming the role of a mere "Relator", Defoe typically maintains that the story is in fact "a History", whose "Foundation [...] is laid in Truth of Fact",[2] but at the same time admits to editorial interferences for the sake of "the Instruction and Improvement of the Reader". Accordingly – he writes – "all imaginable Care has been taken to keep clear of Indecencies, and immodest Expressions" (2). On the other hand, towards the end of the preface he declares that in order for "Vice" to be exposed successfully, it must be "painted in its Low-priz'd Colours" (2). Commenting on the manner of writing in painterly terms, Defoe avails himself of the tradition of the sister arts debate, in particular the proponents of the *ut pictura poesis* standpoint, who employed a conventional parallel comparing colours in painting with expression in poetry. In this chapter I would like to take up the visual metaphor and treat it as a prism through which to perceive the ensuing narrative. I will argue that for Defoe, the fine arts, and especially seventeenth- and eighteenth-century realist and allegorical painting, were a significant point of reference in his attempt to conceptualise the novel form.

The self-proclaimed "lowness" was the reason for the writer's exclusion from the contemporary canon – the other novelists considered him a verse satirist and political pamphleteer, and he was not included in eighteenth-century accounts of the rise of the novel.[3] The situation changed in the following century when Walter Scott, among others, argued for a proper appreciation of his genius. Scott's reflections develop a biographical piece written by John Ballantyne and were first published in *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott* in 1827. Tellingly enough, in one of his first observations, Scott praises Defoe's works resorting to visual terms; he labels them products of a "copious vein of imagination" and compares them to a "rich embroidery" into which multifarious materials are woven.[4] Elsewhere, the critic comments on the loose construction of Defoe's narrative, which,

rather than being treated to the novelist's disadvantage, leads to another painterly comparison:

> They [i.e. scenes of the stories] are not like those of the regular drama, connected together by a regular commencement, continuation, and conclusion, but rather resemble the pictures in a showman's box, which have no relation further than as being inclosed within the same box, and subjected to the action of the same string.[5]

Finally, Scott takes up the subject of Defoe's "low" aesthetic and draws further parallels with the art of painting. The critic labels the author of *Roxana* the incomparable "master" of the picaresque, which, however, has been "justly rejected" by the "improved taste of the present age".[6] Nevertheless, even though the focus on crime and roguery deserves scorn, the art of representation itself should be duly appreciated, as it resembles that of the Spanish realist painter Bartolomé Murillo, who is "justly admired" for his "truth of conception" as well as "spirit of execution".[7] Towards the end of his sketch, Scott rephrases the same idea and compares Defoe's style to Dutch painting. In some cases, he argues, pleasure can be derived from "mean and disagreeable" objects by virtue of them being represented in a skilful and highly plausible manner.[8]

This parallel between Dutch painting and novelistic realism proved attractive in the years to come. Hippolyte Taine, in his *History of English Literature* (1863), for example, uses the affinity with "the great age of Dutch painting" as the common denominator for such diverse realisms as those of Jane Austen, George Eliot and Charles Dickens, among others.[9] Ian Watt, in turn, accounting for the emergence of "formal realism" as a new poetics of prose fiction in the first half of the eighteenth century, searches for analogies in exactly the same field. Explaining the difference between the realist and the idealist modes of writing, he refers to the corresponding modes in painting – Rembrandt's *vérité humaine* and neoclassical *idéalité poétique*.[10]

Coming back to Defoe's prefatory remark in *Roxana*, I will point out that it was by no means a singular instance, and thus should be properly contextualised within Defoe's output as a whole. The writer's interest in painting, as reflected in his writings, has not been a central focus of Defoe criticism in recent decades. Nevertheless, Maximillian Novak's 1996 essay "Picturing the Thing Itself, or Not: Defoe, Painting, Prose Fiction, and the Arts of Describing"[11] offers a meticulous outline and an insightful discussion of the author's references to painting throughout his work, and my attempt to contextualise *Roxana* in terms of Defoe's attraction to the art of painting is thus reliant on some of Novak's findings. Concentrating on the novel's immediate context, the first text that merits attention is the poem *Compleat Art of Painting*, most probably from the year 1720,[12] which was a translation of Du Fresnoy's *De arte graphica* (1668). As I mentioned in the Introduction, the poem had already been rendered into English by John Dryden (in 1695), who

preceded the translation with his own essay titled "A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry", thus transposing onto British soil the Continental debate over the sister arts. Defoe's attempt at translation would also have been an opportunity to ponder the affinities between the sister arts. The treatise might have been Defoe's point of reference when he wrote about the prefatory "Low-priz'd colours". Being a practical handbook for painters, Du Fresnoy's work praises colouring as a means of expression which "never yet / Dishonour'd *Painting*".[13] On the other hand, in accord with classicist aesthetics, the French theorist is very strict on the issue of vulgar content:

> Things hollow, little, separated, broke,
> All barb'rous Things, and which the Eye do shock;
> Things party-colour'd, and those, which are made
> All of an equal Force of Light and Shade;
> Things filthy, impudent, unseemly, obscene,
> Cruel, fantastic, wretched, poor and mean;
> Things to the Feeling rough, or sharp, avoid,
> *All things* in which there *Natural Forms* destroy'd
> And by *Confusion* of their *Parts* made void:
> For th' *Eyes* with *Horror*, and *Reluctance*, grutch
> To see those *Things*, the *Hands* disdain to touch.[14]

I would argue that Defoe's self-defence in the preface to *Roxana* should be seen in the light of this aesthetic – an aesthetic Defoe was engaged with by way of translation. Stemming from the paradigms elaborated upon therein (the role of colours and the choice of content), the author of *Roxana* establishes his own aesthetic standpoint – one that assumes that realist "colouring" is faithful to nature irrespective of the lowness of the material. "Vice", Defoe writes, is represented "not to make People in love with it, but to expose it" (2). Significantly, the remark is not shrouded in an overtly didactic discourse. Such was the case in the preface to *Moll Flanders* (1722), where Defoe excuses vulgar content on the grounds of an allegedly moralist agenda:

> There is not an ill thing mention'd, but it is condemn'd, even in the Relation, nor a vertuous just Thing, but it carries its Praise along with it: What can more exactly answer the Rule laid down, to recommend, even those Representations of things which have so many other just Objections lying against them? Namely, of Example, of bad Company, obscene Language, and the like.[15]

Compared with this fragment – which addresses the very same aspect of Defoe's poetics – the pictorial remark in *Roxana* highlights the concept of exposure, thus implying that the reading will at times take the form of viewing, and that a realist representation itself, on the grounds

of its potential to "expose" the scenes faithfully, compensates for the "lowness" of content.

As Novak argues, through the translation of *De arte graphica* the novelist would have prepared himself for making comments on the art of painting in the years to come.[16] These were most extensively offered in *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, which started to appear in 1724, the year of *Roxana*'s publication, and which features a narrator who claims to have "some Pretension to Judgement in Pictures".[17] The travel narrative touches upon painting, painters and British collections with some frequency, and Defoe expresses his admiration for such artists as Anthony van Dyck, Jacopo Tintoretto and Raphael.[18] The context for the publication of *Roxana* is thus framed by two texts that make painting one of their primary concerns.

Given Defoe's preoccupation with the visual in the 1720s, the prefatory painterly metaphor cannot in any way surprise, and I would argue that it should not be seen only as a conventional rhetorical device. As a matter of fact, however, the preface is not the only element of the paratext that draws the analogy with painting. The frontispiece to the first edition of the novel, reprinted or modified in a number of subsequent editions, is another one, even if it somewhat contradicts the prefatory message. There is no evidence that Defoe played a role in arranging for this particular engraving to be included in the edition, but it nevertheless becomes the "threshold of interpretation". In fact, as Rodney Baine persuasively argues, Defoe in general would have had little to say as for the preliminaries of his books. Baine begins his essay with a strong criticism of reading too much into such material:

> Among the misinterpretations from which Daniel Defoe has suffered, some of the most interesting have been due to scholars' ignorance of bibliography. Especially important distortions of his artistry have resulted from their misinterpretations of the title pages of his fiction.[19]

Then, he argues that in Defoe's time, it was actually publishers that composed the title pages and the authors would typically have been largely ignorant of the final product until finally published. That said, Baine nevertheless addresses the central role of the frontispiece in the first edition of *Roxana*, pointing out its impact on the reading of the narrative. He comments on the frontispiece with reference to the actual scene it represents, implying that this choice was not accidental and played a role in *Roxana*'s reception.[20] Chloe Wingston Smith, in turn, adds that the early editions of the novel in fact promoted the image of Roxana as depicted in the frontispiece, treating the represented scene as "the novel's symbolic crux".[21] The author aside, the frontispiece is there, and it does imprint itself on the reader's perception of the ensuing narrative. Genette

in *Paratexts* is perfectly aware of the fact that paratextual material does not have to come from the author exclusively:

> The sender of a paratextual message [...] is not necessarily its *de facto* producer, whose identity is not very important for us. [...] The sender is defined by a putative attribution and an acceptance of responsibility. Most often the sender is the author (authorial paratext), but the sender may equally well be the publisher [...] The author and the publisher are (legally and in other ways) the two people responsible for the text and the paratext [...].[22]

Janine Barchas, in turn, points out that the "visual self-consciousness" of a text should be regarded as "a combination of print culture happenstance and [...] authorial design", resulting from a collaboration of several parties.[23] The printed text does not depend for its interpretative potential on the issues of authorship and intentionality.

The potential of the frontispiece to orientate the reader's perception was also exploited in the first edition of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). In a frequently reprinted and imitated engraving (Figure 1.1), Crusoe poses in a serpentine manner, dressed in a furry outfit, with a sabre at his waist and two rifles resting on his shoulders. The quasi-coulisse in the background take the form of a ship struggling with a storm (left) and a slope of the island fenced off by a palisade (right).

The picture corresponds to a sketch of himself that Crusoe offers when he sees a ship in the vicinity of the island:

> In the mean Time, I fitted my self up for a Battle, as before; though with more Caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of Enemy than I had at first [...] my Figure indeed was very fierce; I had my formidable Goat-Skin Coat on, with the great Cap I have mention'd, a naked Sword by my Side, two Pistols in my Belt, and a Gun upon each Shoulder.[24]

This passage comes from the concluding part of the narrative, when Robinson has already made himself the proper "King of the Island" and is going to help the Spanish captain fight the mutiny of his crew and reclaim the ship, thus making it possible for himself to finally leave the island. Crusoe offers to help the Spaniards provided they acknowledge his authority on the island: "while you stay on this Island with me, you will not pretend to any Authority here".[25] The frontispiece, then, does not draw the reader's attention to those scenes that we would consider the most iconic, such as the shipwreck or the meeting with Friday. Instead, it selects the one that is perhaps the most illustrative of the imperial agenda behind the narrative. Crusoe becomes an allegory of dominance: both the dominance over the newcomers and over nature (implied by the

*Figure 1.1* Frontispiece to the first edition of *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe. 1719. HathiTrust Digital Library.

goat-skin coat and the palisade in the background). This message does not depend for its impact on Defoe's decision (or lack thereof). The frontispiece becomes an inherent element of the text.

Coming back to the frontispiece in *Roxana* (Figure 1.2), the engraving is a realist portrait of "The Famous ROXANA" in her Turkish dress. The heroine poses against a lavish background and assumes a serpentine posture displaying the magnificence of the attire. Importantly, she is holding a mirror in her right hand, which orientates the interpretation of the scene. Roxana's attribute is here clearly an allegory of vanity and lasciviousness, and the whole scene thus follows the iconography of *vanitas*.[26] The allegorical mode, however, does not require Defoe's self-proclaimed


*Figure 1.2* Frontispiece to the first edition of *Roxana* by Daniel Defoe. 1724. McMaster University Library.

"lowness" of style; on the contrary, vice is here represented in a glow of magnificence.

Taking both the preface and the frontispiece into consideration, I would argue that the paratext of *Roxana* introduces two different schools of painting which, in a sense, shed light on Defoe's understanding of the novel form in the context of the fine arts. On the one hand, there is the implicitly invoked tradition of representing vice literally in its vulgar "lowness", which can be seen in a number of Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century; on the other hand, the book opens with an explicit reference to the contemporary tradition of the realist portrait,

still reliant on baroque allegorical iconography. In what follows, I will attempt to illustrate the practical literary implications of Defoe's indebtedness to these two visual genres.

Commenting on the correspondence between Defoe's writing and Dutch realist painting, Novak focuses on the novelist's art of description, which displays a high sensitivity to detail and produces tableaux-like scenes.[27] This characteristic was also extensively discussed by Watt, who approached it from the perspective of the neoclassical aesthetic debate over the merits of the general and the particular. Watt argued that Defoe's preoccupation with detail, defining the realist mode of novel writing, places him in opposition to the neoclassical focus on universality and generalisation and makes him similar to the Dutch school characterised by particularity.[28] These affinities inform our readings of Defoe's works, though only by virtue of comparison and parallel. I will attempt to show that a more direct dependence on the art of painting in Defoe's narrative can be observed in "pictures" that are, in a sense, inscribed in the text itself. These pictures, or more appropriately "word-paintings", are the "frozen moments"[29] not only suspending the narrative but also offering a vantage point from which to read it.

A significant image that reoccurs throughout the text and exemplifies the novel's "low" aesthetic is the presentation of Roxana with her children on her hands, suffering from extreme poverty after they have been left by her first husband. When the situation is first hinted at, Defoe's narrator resorts to a typical hyperbolical remark: "my Condition was the most deplorable that Words can express" (13). Implied here are limits of verbal expression, foreshadowing, in a way, the painterly language she will later on adopt. Shortly after, she even declares that her "Distress" was "inexpressible" and "not to be describ'd" (16). Nevertheless, as one would expect, the reader is immediately presented with the following sketch:

> You shall judge a little of my present Distress by the Posture she [i.e. her friend Amy] found me in: […] I was in a Parlour, sitting on the Ground, with a great Heap of old Rags, Linnen, and other things about me, looking them over, to see if I had any thing among them that would Sell or Pawn for a little Money, and had been crying ready to burst myself, to think what I should do next.
>
> […] one of the Children open'd the Door, and they came directly into the Room where I was, and where they found me in that Posture, and crying vehemently, as above; […] when they saw me; how I look'd, for my Eyes were swell'd with crying, and what a Condition I was in as to the House, and the Heaps of Things that were about me […] they sat down like Job's three Comforters, and said not one Word to me for a great while […]
>
> The Truth was, there was no Need of much Discourse in the Case, the Thing spoke it self; they saw me in Rags and Dirt […]; thin, and

> looking almost like one Starv'd, who was before fat and beautiful: The House, that was before handsomely furnish'd with Pictures and Ornaments, Cabinets, Peir-Glasses, and every thing suitable, was now stripp'd, and naked, most of the Goods having been seiz'd by the Landlord for Rent, or Sold to buy Necessaries; in a word, all was Misery and Distress, the Face of Ruin was every where to be seen. (17–18)

Central to the sketch are the three ideas that are repetitiously invoked: Roxana's "Posture", silence and the act of seeing. First, the mentions of "Posture" suggest a deliberate spatial arrangement, a kind of posturing to an observing portraitist. The approaching Amy first sees Roxana through the opening door, which literally frames the distressed heroine in the pose she adopts. The act of seeing clearly takes precedence over words. Being introduced with remarks on the limits of verbal expression, the sketch thematises speechlessness and silence as appropriate reactions to the stimuli it offers; a silent contemplation of "the Thing [which] spoke it self". As a matter of fact, the juxtaposition of silence with the "Thing" speaking for itself may well have been an allusion to the debate over the sister arts: let us recall Simonides of Ceos' famous statement "Poetry is a speaking picture, and painting mute poetry", employed by Du Fresnoy, among others, who uses the exact words "speaking Picture" and "mute Poetry" (*Pictura loquens, muta Poesis*) in *De arte graphica*.[30]

The painterly quality of the sketch is also achieved by the dominance of materiality, both in terms of Roxana's body and the surrounding objects. Significantly, the role of the material is also defined by absence – the once "fat" Roxana is now alarmingly "thin", and the once lavish and fully furnished apartment is now "stripp'd and naked"; a bodily metaphor that I believe is by no means accidental. This is where the sketch suggests the possibility of an allegorical reading. "Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return. The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away", says the Biblical Job in an attempt to account for his sudden and surprising misfortunes.[31] Roxana herself explicitly compares her situation to Job's, and the final part of the sketch, featuring the Landlord taking away her goods, is clearly based on the iconography of *vanitas* derived from the Book of Job. The fact that the final part of the sketch introduces a temporal dimension to Roxana's ruin (the juxtaposition of "before" and "now") does not in any way loosen its relationship with the art of painting. On the contrary, the visual afterlife of the Book of Job reveals diverse attempts to endow the illustrations with a temporal dimension. The several images that are drawn in the final part of the sketch would be easily accommodated in one painting that would be reminiscent, for example, of numerous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Dutch versions of the "Trials of Job" or "Life of Job", encompassing

several scenes on one canvas, and thus narrating, as it were, the gradual worsening of his lot.[32]

The scene remains a crucial point of reference throughout the narrative, a recurrent image in Roxana's mind's eye. It reappears as a warning and as an excuse for her misdemeanours, which she considers to be committed out of fear and necessity. Thus, the image motivates Roxana to act and defines her aspirations – the situation should never take place again, as in the following example:

> Then the dreadful Scene of my Life, when I was left with my five Children, &c. as I have related, represented itself again to me, and I sat considering what Measures I might take to bring myself to such a State of Desolation again, and how I shou'd act to avoid it.
>
> (162)

Understood in this way, and accordingly represented, the scene constitutes a founding episode for Roxana's adventures, setting them against both an economic and a moral context. The heroine's rebellious nature and protean resilience distinguish her from the God-fearing and largely passive Job. The trials of the latter reveal his indomitability and stable ethos; the vividly represented misfortunes of Roxana, in contrast, define her as an anti-Job, deprived of a stable selfhood and rebelling against Providential order.

An analogous, though for the most part future-oriented, use of the imagery of misery as a warning and an incentive to act, whether morally or not, characterises the narrative of *Moll Flanders*. Here, however, what she pictures mentally does not necessarily lead her back to her previous circumstances, but represents what the future might look like unless she takes some steps to prevent it. The protagonist repeatedly finds motivation in the images that unfold in her mind's eye. For example, when she hesitates about becoming a married man's mistress, the terrifying alternative helps Moll take the decision: "I had the terrible prospect of Poverty and Starving which lay on me as a frightful Spectre, so that there was no looking behind me".[33] Elsewhere, she believes that such images are the devil's doings, prompting her to follow up on his temptations supported by "the frightful prospect of Poverty and Distress".[34] This is the case when she decides to steal, again prompted by the "prospect" of misery. The repetitious use of the word "prospect" – a vision of the future – emphasises the visual dimension of thought; the mind operates in images.

The second image inscribed in the text of *Roxana* that I would like to concentrate on refers to the genre of painting alluded to in the frontispiece – namely, the *turquerie* portrait – and constitutes an equally significant element in terms of the book's narrative and ideological development. *Turquerie* painting was a reflection of orientalist fashions in Europe

from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In Britain, the trend flourished in the first decades of the eighteenth century, having been triggered by the exotic fascinations of King George I and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, a contemporary celebrity. The latter's *turquerie* portraits (see Figure 1.3) as well as her *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1716–1718, published posthumously in 1763) were not only the two most significant manifestations of the trend but also highly influential trendsetters. As Baine persuasively argues, the orientalist portraits of Lady Mary (by such painters as Godfrey Kneller or Jonathan Richardson) would have been highly inspiring for Defoe.[35]

Furthermore, the popularity of the fashion coincided with the contemporary craze for masquerades. Indeed, the two phenomena have much in common: the *turquerie* portrait is a portrait in disguise, as a rule in Turkish dress, which was itself a very popular masquerade costume at the time.[36] It is no wonder then that the *turquerie* episode in *Roxana*

*Figure 1.3 A Woman Called Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Sir Godfrey Kneller. 1715–1720. Oil on canvas. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

takes place during one of the masked balls organised by the heroine in her London apartment.

The scene begins with a detailed sketch representing the dress. It is illustrative of Defoe's art of description in general and thus comparable to the particularity of Dutch painting:

> The Dress was extraordinary fine indeed, I had bought it as a Curiosity, having never seen the like; the Robe was a fine *Persian*, or *India* Damask; the Ground white, and the flowers blue and gold, and the Train held five Yards; the Dress under it, was a Vest of the same, embroider'd with Gold, and set with some Pearl in the Work, and some *Turquois* Stones; to the Vest, was a Girdle five or six Inches wide, after the Turkish Mode; and on both Ends where it join'd, or hook'd, was set with Diamonds for eight Inches either way [...].
>
> (174)

The mercantile poetics of the description, the exact information on the measurements and types of material, creates the impression of tangible luxury and abundance, very much in contrast to the "Misery and Distress" of the scene analysed before. The irritatingly enumerative account, multiplying the goods, as it were, contrasts with the atmosphere of want and absence defining Roxana's former situation.[37] The dress thus functions as an index of her new social self – the Lady, an index of her fulfilled aspirations.

The description is followed by a dynamic account of the heroine's preparations for a dancing performance, that is, the climactic point of the organised ball. Roxana retires to her closet, puts the dress on and comes down to her drawing room, having all the masks wait behind the shut door. Then, "the Folding-Doors were flung open [...] The Company were under the greatest Surprize imaginable; the [...] Musick stopp'd a-while to gaze; for the Dress was indeed, exceedingly surprizing, perfectly new, very agreeable, and wonderful rich" (175). This is the first instance of Roxana being objectified by the gaze of those marvelling at her figure in the Turkish dress. The painterly aspect of the scene, as was the case of the "Misery and Distress" scene, is implied by the door, which literally frames the posturing figure. Another analogy is the role of silence. Just as the previous scene was subject to wordless contemplation, here the surprise and admiration of the observers are highlighted by the music that stops. Before the actual dancing performance, the effect of which is the very much symbolic naming of the heroine ("*Roxana, Roxana*" [176], cried one of the masks), the dressed-up heroine remains motionless at the door, so that the "whole Room" could see her (175).

The Turkish dress reappears in the remaining part of the novel but nowhere with equal force and meaningfulness. Here it serves a central

role in illustrating the heroine's successful struggle for fame and life in abundance, and its identity-forming potential is explicitly established by the quasi-ritualistic act of naming following her performance.[38] As Julie Park puts it, through putting on the Turkish dress, Roxana "suppress[es] [her] former self in order to live with respectability".[39] Further implications, as well as the allegorical message it conveys, can be discerned from its artistic provenance.

As mentioned above, the scene should be seen in the context of contemporary orientalist fashions in portrait painting. The meanings carried by the *turquerie* portrait as a genre were naturally strictly related to those associated with the Turkish dress as a commodity in early eighteenth-century material culture. Aileen Ribeiro, an authority on the period's fashion and its social, cultural and ethical implications, points out that being "low-necked and unstructured", the dress "had a pleasing air of indecorum" about it,[40] hence its popularity at largely immoral masked assemblies. The dress thus came to symbolise not only the contemporary predilection for luxurious goods but also the sins of vanity and lasciviousness following from the said weakness. Consequently, even though the *turquerie* portrait as a genre belongs to the realist school of painting, a number of examples were allegorised by meaningful paraphernalia, most notably masks suiting the masquerading character of the scene. Although the representation of Roxana at the door of the drawing room is not embellished by any allegorical items, the atmosphere of *vanitas* is by all means preserved. On the one hand, there is the frontispiece – with the mirror standing for vanity – which is directly linked to the scene described; on the other hand, there is the masked ball, which in Defoe's time was fiercely attacked by moralists as an assembly of sin. William Hogarth's emblematic print – *Masquerades and Operas* – was published in the year of *Roxana*'s publication (1724), and even if Defoe did not have this particular representation in mind when writing his own masquerade scene, both works rely on the same ideas of the so-called anti-masquerade movement.[41] In the words of David Blewett, the masquerade in Roxana is "at the heart not only of the plot but also of the moral commentary of the novel".[42]

The two word-paintings that I have discussed shed light on two aspects of Defoe's take on the novel genre – the ideological aspect and the narrative aspect. The scenes are illustrative of Defoe's somewhat oxymoronic combination of the realist and the allegorical, a characteristic that would have appealed to the author of *Roxana* in both the Dutch school of painting and the contemporary portrait in disguise. The literally depicted adventures of Roxana, epitomised in the strikingly meticulous and vivid scenes of distress and luxury, respectively, are apparently much more than meets the eye and lead to a realm beyond what is tangible and direct. They reveal the narrator's stance on Providential order as well as invoking the topos of the vanity of human wishes and

aspirations. Whether these reflections and implications conveyed by the narrator should be taken seriously as true testimony to her reformed morals is another story; nevertheless, in terms of genre, they perfectly fit into Defoe's system of generic conventions, constituted by those coming from narratives of travel and adventure, spiritual autobiographies, Providence books and parables.[43]

In blending realism with allegory, *Roxana*'s word-paintings correspond to the pictorial content in *Robinson Crusoe*. Throughout the narrative, like Roxana, Robinson has a tendency to imagine himself and his surroundings in terms of scenes to be viewed. When he assumes a distanced position of an observer, the narrative becomes increasingly pictorial – realistically detailed, on the one hand, and welcoming allegorical readings, on the other. One such passage is the description of Crusoe's cave-magazine:

> I made large Shelves of the Breadth of a Foot and Half one over another, all along one Side of my Cave, to lay all my Tools, Nails, and Iron-work, and in a Word, to separate every thing at large in their Places, that I might come easily at them; I knock'd Pieces into the Wall of the Rock to hang my Guns and all things that would hang up.
>
> So that had my Cave been to be seen, it look'd like a general Magazine of all Necessary things, and I had every thing so ready at my Hand, that it was a great Pleasure to me to see all my Goods in such Order, and especially to find my Stock of all Necessaries so great.[44]

If the frontispiece depicts Robinson's imperial dominance, the represented transformation of a cave into a well-organised magazine is illustrative of the protagonist's re-enactment of the story of civilization. The historically earliest form of home – the cave – is adapted to the standards of the modern world, displaying order and abundance. The passage is open to other interpretations: Pat Rogers, in his seminal reading of the scene, argues that it is emblematic of Crusoe's character as the methodical English tradesman,[45] whereas Novak offers a fascinating reading of the scene in terms of its correspondence with the iconography of eremite saints: "There was nothing anachronistic in viewing the hero of the work as 'Saint Robinson' and as a new version of one of the Desert Fathers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (especially in Dutch painting, unsurprisingly).[46]

As for the narrative implications of *Roxana*'s pictorialism, the two scenes stand for the protagonist's progress, illustrating her gradual rise from a symbolic death at the beginning of her story to a rebirth in a new social self, living in the lap of luxury and enjoying the fruits of her resilience and flexibility. The scenes capture the crux of the genre Defoe practised and helped to popularise – the novel of social ascension – exemplifying both the inciting incident and the climactic point. At the same time, however, through their structural similarities – especially

Roxana's largely passive role of the object that is being gazed at – they seem to indicate that there are limits to her agency in social progress, and that the achieved status is far from being stabilised as a permanent state of things, a feeling that relates to the atmosphere of *vanitas* the word-paintings exude.

## Notes

1 An earlier version of this chapter was published as "'Painted in its Low-Priz'd Colours': Daniel Defoe's *Roxana* and the Art of Painting", in *From Queen Ann to Queen Victoria: Readings in 18th and 19th Century British Literature and Culture*. Vol. 5, ed. Grażyna Bystydzieńska and Emma Harris (Warszawa: Ośrodek Studiów Brytyjskich, 2016), 253–264.
2 Daniel Defoe, *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress*, ed. John Mullan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1. The following references will be parenthetical and are to this edition.
3 See Homer Obed Brown, "The Institution of the English Novel: Defoe's Contribution", *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 29, no. 3 (1996): 299–300.
4 Walter Scott, *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott. Vol. IV. Biographical Memoirs* (Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., 1827), 281.
5 Scott, *Biographical Memoirs*, 299.
6 Scott, *Biographical Memoirs*, 284.
7 Scott, *Biographical Memoirs*, 284.
8 Scott, *Biographical Memoirs*, 313.
9 See Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Art of the Everyday: Dutch Painting and the Realist Novel* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 5.
10 Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 17.
11 Maximillian E. Novak, "Picturing the Thing Itself, or Not: Defoe, Painting, Prose Fiction, and the Arts of Describing", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9, no. 1 (1996): 1–20.
12 P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, in their attempt at re-visioning the Defoe canon, raised doubts as to the authorship of the poem. See P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1998), 276. Novak, on the other hand, believes these doubts to be unsubstantiated and treats the translation as Defoe's whenever addressing the novelist's artistic interests; see, for example, his *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 636. Given his expertise in the field of "Defoe and the arts", I am inclined to subscribe to Novak's opinion.
13 Charles-Alphonse du Fresnoy, *Compleat Art of Painting*, trans. D[aniel] F[oe] (London: T. Warner, 1720), 27.
14 Du Fresnoy, *Compleat Art of Painting*, 40–41.
15 Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, ed. Linda Bree (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5.
16 Novak, "Picturing the Thing Itself", 7.
17 Qtd. in Novak, *Daniel Defoe*, 636.
18 See Novak, "Picturing the Thing Itself", 7–10. To read more on Defoe's art commentary in the *Tour*, see my "Travellers, Connoisseurs and Britons: Art Commentaries and National Discourse in the Travel Writings of Daniel Defoe and Tobias Smollett", forthcoming in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*.
19 Rodney M. Baine, "The Evidence from Defoe's Title Pages", *Studies in Bibliography* 25 (1972): 185.

20 Baine, "The Evidence from Defoe's Title Pages", 190–191.
21 Chloe Wingston Smith, *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 104.
22 Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 8–9.
23 Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5.
24 Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 213.
25 Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 215.
26 The mirror in Roxana's hand may be also interpreted as reflective of the identity policy she is following – throughout, she imagines herself as being observed. As Paula Backscheider puts it, Roxana constantly analyses herself "as if she were an auditor or looking in a mirror". Paula R. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: Ambition & Innovation* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 192.
27 Novak, "Picturing the Thing Itself, 13–17.
28 Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 17–18. It is also worth mentioning here that Defoe, in general, had a penchant for things Dutch, as Margaret Sönmez vividly demonstrates, and that the decades in the aftermath of the Glorious Revoultion (1688) saw a gradual increase in the amount of Dutch artwork in British collections. See Margaret J.—M. Sönmez, *Defoe and the Dutch: Places, Things, People* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2015); Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).
29 Rhoda L. Flaxman, *Victorian Word-Painting and Narrative: Towards the Blending of Genres* (Ann Arbour: UMI Research Press, 1998), 9.
30 Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy, *De arte graphica. The Art of Painting. Translated into English, together with an Original Preface containing A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry by Mr. Dryden* (London: W. Rogers, 1695), 2.
31 Job 1: 21.
32 The collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art features an interesting French tapestry from ca. 1818 – "Episodes of Robinson Crusoe" – which includes all the major events dispersed in the picture. This proves nothing, of course, but the similarity with analogically composed Dutch narrative paintings is striking.
33 Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 101.
34 Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 105.
35 Rodney M. Baine, "Roxana's Georgian Setting", *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 15, no. 3 (1975): 466.
36 See Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (London: Methuen, 1986), 60–61.
37 Defoe repeatedly uses the technique of enumeration with a similar agenda. For example, in *Moll Flanders*, the protagonist thus boasts about her success in the "trade" of stealing: "I was the richest of the Trade in *England* […] for I had 700 *l.* by me in Money, besides Cloaths, Rings, some Plate, and two gold Watches, and all of them stol'n, for I had innumerable Jobbs, besides these I have mention'd." Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 211.
38 As Clair Hughes demonstrates, Roxana's successive selves and the clothes she wears are inextricably linked throughout the novel. See the chapter "The Fatal Dress: Daniel Defoe's *Roxana*" in Clair Hughes, *Dressed in Fiction* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006), 11–32.

39 Julie Park, *The Self and It: Novel Objects in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 29.
40 Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), 105.
41 To read more on anti-masquerade writing, see my *In Quest of the Self: Masquerade and Travel in the Eighteenth-Century Novel. Fielding, Smollett, Sterne* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014), 59–64.
42 David Blewett, "'Roxana' and the Masquerades", *The Modern Language Review* 65, no. 3 (1970): 499. A well-contextualised reading of the masquerade in *Roxana* is also offered in Christopher Borsing, *Daniel Defoe and the Representation of Personal Identity* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2017), 123–124.
43 Analysing *Robinson Crusoe*, Artur Blaim writes about these "three distinct, though interrelated levels, each governed by different generic conventions and introducing its own unique type of meanings". I believe Blaim's conclusions address *Roxana*'s generic constitution, too. Artur Blaim, *The Adventurous Parable: Defoe's* Robinson Crusoe (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskie, 1994), 54.
44 Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, 59–60.
45 Pat Rogers, "Crusoe's Home", *Essays in Criticism* 24 (1974): 375–390.
46 Maximillian E. Novak, "The Cave and the Grotto: Realist Form and Robinson Crusoe's Imagined Interiors", *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 20, no. 3 (2008): 450–451.

# 2 William Hogarth and Mid-Eighteenth-Century Novelistic Projects

In John Ireland's memoirs of William Hogarth – *Hogarth Illustrated* from 1804 – one can find the artist's own commentary on his work: "I [...] turned my thoughts to a still more novel mode, viz., painting and engraving modern moral subjects, a field not broken up in any country or any age".[1] The word "novel" was not used with a generic agenda, of course, but it is still possible to see this self-definition in the context of contemporary novelistic discourses, not least because of the concluding proclamation of innovation – a trope characteristic of prefatory matters in eighteenth-century fiction. What Hogarth also shared with the early theorists and practitioners of the novel was a need to invoke other forms of art in attempts at theorising his own output. He found the best point of reference in the theatre: "I [...] wished to compose pictures on canvas similar to representations on the stage [...]. I have endeavoured to treat my subjects as a dramatic writer: my picture is my stage, and men and women my players [...]".[2]

Even if Hogarth was a self-proclaimed "dramatic writer", there is an inherently narrative quality to his work. First, he practised the genre of "cycles" or "progresses" – that is, series of paintings or prints (or both) arranged in chronological order and telling stories very much reminiscent of contemporaneous fiction. *A Harlot's Progress* (paintings completed in 1731, now destroyed, prints published in 1732), *A Rake's Progress* (paintings completed in 1733, prints published in 1735) and *Marriage à la Mode* (paintings completed in 1743, prints published in 1745) were his most successful cycles; in recent criticism, they have been considered as proto-comics[3] or graphic novels.[4] Second, as if the chronological arrangement had not been enough, Hogarth had a tendency to endow the prints with accompanying inscriptions clarifying the story: he provides the names of the characters, briefly summarises the events and comments on them from a didactic angle. Finally, there is a narrative quality in the very composition of the pictures themselves. As Peter de Voogd puts it, referring to Hogarth's remarks in his treatise on art, *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753),

> by organizing his canvas in a pattern of clearly distinct groupings of people and objects (much as the writer organizes his subject in topic

> paragraphs), he could develop a consecutive sequence within one frame, provided the viewer's eye would be forced to move from one group to another [...].[5]

In other words, there is a narrative dimension to the very arrangement of Hogarth's scenes. By inviting the viewer's eye to wander, say, from left to right, the painter endows the scene with a temporal quality, thus trying to compensate for the limits of the visual – by nature atemporal. A very successful example of this is the first plate of *Marriage à la Mode* – "The Marriage Settlement". The scene consists of two major groupings of characters – the fathers discussing the marriage contract on the left, slightly in the foreground, and the betrothed couple on the right, spatially moved towards the background. In Robert Cowley's words, there is a clear "sequence of enclosed actions", in which the signing of the settlement brings about the unhappiness imprinted in the pair's countenances.[6]

Hogarth's narrative potential was well recognised by his contemporaries. Shortly after the publication of the progresses, there appeared a number of verse and prose retellings of the original stories, at times illustrated with pirated engravings. These texts elaborated on the textual material provided by Hogarth himself and offered conventional but very much literary narratives structured as either typically moral stories or "mildly pornographic 'explanatory' texts".[7] The idea to develop Hogarth through literary means lived on into the twentieth century. To give but two examples, *The Rake's Progress*, a successful opera by Igor Stravinsky to a libretto by W. H. Auden and Chester Kallman, premiered in 1947, while in 1999 there appeared *A Harlot's Progress*, a novel by David Dabydeen re-visioning the story of Hogarth's black slave boy from Plate 2.

Hogarth enjoys a secure position in the histories of the early English novel, though, curiously enough, there is no mention of his contribution in Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel*. Watt's failure to mention Hogarth is surprising, given the fact that the critic develops the paradigm of particularity versus universality. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, Watt referred to the language of painting in elaborating on the paradigm, commenting on the category of particularity with reference to Dutch realist painting. One feels that a mention of Hogarth would be very much in place here given the painter's contribution to the developments in novelistic realism in the 1740s.

Recently, Steven Moore has gone so far as to actually include his progresses in the history of the novel, labelling them "graphic novels" and arguing for their mediation in the transition from the amatory fiction of the 1720s to the realist fiction of the 1740s.[8] This is a provocative, though justifiable, claim given the prominence of Hogarth in the novelistic discourse of the 1740s. Historians of the novel tend to ponder

the surprising absence of notable achievements in the realm of prose fiction in the 1730s.[9] There is seemingly a gap between Defoe, on the one hand, and Richardson and Fielding, on the other. Watt did much to canonise the three as the "fathers" of the modern novel, but he fails to explain convincingly the meaning of the decade in between, while Hogarth's progresses from the 1730s clearly imprinted themselves on the novelistic output of the 1740s. As Richard Altick put it, Hogarth not only "adapted some of the chief methods of literature of his time" but also embodied "the essential spirit of the literature of the first half of the eighteenth century" to the effect that he now should be regarded as "a practitioner of one art who occupies a place of honor in two".[10] My aim in this chapter is to review the two aspects of this imprint that are arguably the most visible: characterisation and narrative design.

## Fielding, Hogarth and Character

Hogarth's closest ally in the world of letters was Henry Fielding. Their cooperation began in the realm of theatre, which is best exemplified in Hogarth's frontispiece to one of the best plays written by Fielding – *The Tragedy of Tragedies* (1731). From then on, there appeared numerous points of convergence in their work – they deployed similar motifs and used the same localities; negotiated the neoclassical ideals by both making use of them and subverting them; instructed and entertained, adopting parallel content and plot patterns; and, finally, produced their work self-consciously by commenting upon it and theorising it.

A classically educated writer, Fielding practised diverse literary forms of prose and verse and manifested an understanding of the visual arts as an inherently related field of cultural activity. This view would have been prompted by his real-life contacts with painters. Hogarth aside, Fielding was friends with the portraitist John Ellys, Hogarth's partner at St. Martin's Lane Academy and an imitator of Sir Godfrey Kneller.[11] By and large, Fielding repeatedly draws parallels between the two arts as well as availing himself of painterly metaphors for rhetorical purposes. His classical sister arts standpoint is well reflected by one observation from his final piece of writing – *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1754). Commenting on an admirable country estate, he points out "that the painter who would assist his imagination in the composition of a most exquisite landscape, or the poet who would describe an earthly paradise, could no where furnish themselves with a richer pattern".[12]

The Fielding-Hogarth analogy has a very long history in eighteenth-century criticism. The critical approaches vary from biographical studies, researching into the actual relationship between the two figures, to formalist comparative approaches, focusing on the apparent correspondences and parallels between the literary and visual poetics, respectively.[13] My aim here is not so much to revisit the analogy itself, but to

address the generic implications of Fielding's meta-pictorial comment in the preface to *Joseph Andrews*, where he puts forward his celebrated definition of the novel as the "comic Epic-Poem in Prose". In fact, both the painter and the writer exchanged compliments by referring to each other in their attempts at theorising the kind of art they were practising. In Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, Hogarth's name is invoked in the context of characterisation and the differences between the categories of burlesque and ridiculous:

> Now what *Caricatura* is in Painting, Burlesque is in Writing: and in the same manner the Comic Writer and Painter correlate to each other [...] He who should call the Ingenious *Hogarth* a Burlesque Painter, would, in my Opinion, do him very little Honour: for sure it is much easier, much less the Subject of Admiration, to paint a Man with a Nose, or any other Feature, of a preposterous Size, or to expose him in some absurd or monstrous Attitude, than to express the Affections of Men on canvas. It hath been thought a vast Commendation of a Painter to say his Figures *seem to breathe*; but surely, it is a much greater and nobler Applause, *that they appear to think*.[14]

Clearly flattered by the compliment in Fielding's novel, Hogarth returned it in his print *Characters and Caricaturas* (1743), included in the subscription ticket to *Marriage à la Mode*, which, like Fielding's preface, comments on the difference between the eponymous categories. Below the sketch itself there is the following inscription "For a farthar Explanation of the Difference Betwixt Character & Caricatura See ye Preface to Joh. Andrews". Both Fielding and Hogarth, then, thought it fit to refer to each other in the context of characterisation. By reconsidering Fielding's indebtedness to Hogarth on the level of character, I will try to comment on Fielding's novelistic project in general.

As one would expect, the practical consequence of the meta-pictorial comment in the theoretical preface is Fielding's use of Hogarth in the narratives proper (not only in *Joseph Andrews* but also in *Tom Jones* and *Amelia*). In spite of the crypto-quotations or allusions, such as in the interpolated stories of Mr. Wilson in *Joseph Andrews* – a version of *A Rake's Progress* with a happy ending – the explicit references to Hogarth are made in the context of character representation. Chronologically, the first one comes from Book I of *Joseph Andrews*, the scene of Lady Booby's unsuccessful advances towards Joseph. To render her astonishment at Joseph's rejection of her, Fielding's narrator provides the following commentary:

> You have seen the Faces, in the Eighteen-penny Gallery [...] but from none of these, not from *Phidias*, or *Praxiteles*, if they should return to Life—no, not from the inimitable Pencil of my Friend *Hogarth*,

> could you receive such an Idea of Surprize, as would have entered in at your Eyes, had they beheld the Lady *Booby*.[15]

A similar use can be found later on, when the narrator is incapable of depicting Mrs. Tow-wouse's grimace – "Nature had taken such Pains in her Countenance, that *Hogarth* himself never gave more Expression to a Picture";[16] then also in *Tom Jones*, when the terrified servant of Squire Western is about to announce Sophia's disappearance – "O, *Hogarth*! had I thy Pencil! then would I draw the Picture of the poor Serving-Man";[17] and in *Amelia*, when Mrs. Vincent, in debtors' prison, admits to having committed murder – her image was such as even Hogarth would not be able to paint, "a Fury in higher Perfection".[18]

Apart from invoking Hogarth in the context of momentary reactions, the novelist treats him as a source of reference when commenting on the permanent qualities of some of his characters. In *Tom Jones*, the narrator deems it unnecessary to describe Bridget Allworthy, as her sketch "is done already by a more able Master, Mr. *Hogarth* himself, to whom she sat many Years ago, and hath been lately exhibited by that Gentleman in his Print of a Winter's Morning"[19] (a quote from Hogarth's *Morning*). The same technique is adopted when Mr. Partridge's wife is introduced (the work referred to is Plate 3 of *A Harlot's Progress*, in particular the woman pouring tea)[20] and the look of Mr. Thwackum (compared to the guard in Plate 4 of *A Harlot's Progress*).[21]

Most of the figures characterised with reference to Hogarth are those exemplifying the category of the ridiculous theorised in the preface to *Joseph Andrews*. They masquerade as greater than they really are and are subject to a comic unmasking, thus producing the effect of the ridiculous.

Tellingly enough, the figures that are characterised with reference to Hogarth are in no way the protagonists of the narratives, despite the fact that they illustrate Fielding's theory of the "comic Epic-Poem in prose". The unmasking of the ridiculous is meant to be the basic generic constituent of Fielding's novels, but the stories of Lady Booby or Bridget Allworthy coming to be seen in true light are far from the main narrative threads making up the carefully constructed plot. As promised by the titles, the novels are principally about the eponymous characters, their "adventures" and life "histories".[22] When taking this into account, one can say that the role of Hogarth for Fielding's fictional characters is rather secondary, in spite of being highlighted in the theoretical preface.

When the main characters are introduced, Fielding's pictorialism comes to the fore, too, but this time the novelist avails himself of radically different traditions. Here, as Sean Shesgreen shows, Fielding relies on the technique of the idealised "anatomical catalogue", depicting the characters' hair, forehead, eyebrows, nose, mouth, teeth, lips, complexion, neck and bosom, thus offering a picture-like suspension of

the narrative flow. Such catalogues were typical of Ancient Greek love poetry, Italian pre-Renaissance love poetry, Provençal poetry, English Renaissance poetry and French verse and prose romance.[23] An indispensable part of the technique of catalogue was referring to artwork, especially sculpture and portraiture. The most developed sketch of this type is the portrayal of Sophia in *Tom Jones*. The passage is preceded by a lengthy digression on the proper way of introducing major characters (Chapter 1, Book IV) and begins as a parody of mythological discourse (references to the deities of nature). The actual sketch is largely intertextual and meta-pictorial. The traditional catalogue of beauty is complemented by references to such poets as John Suckling or John Donne, mentions of sculpture (*Venus de' Medici*), as well as being endowed with painterly similes (to the colour palette). At one point, however, in a manner similar to the discussed uses of Hogarth, we read that she is "most like the picture of Lady *Ranelagh*; and [...] the famous Duchess of *Mazarine*".[24]

The two invoked canvases were painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723) and Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), respectively – the two influential and extremely popular portraitists, succeeding Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) in the position of principal court painter. They were the pioneers of the English portrait school, and there is a clear continuity between their work (with Kneller succeeding Lely at court). Their best-known projects include the series known as "Beauties" – Lely's *Windsor Beauties* (1660s) and Kneller's *Hampton Court Beauties* (c. 1700), the second of which, created in a dialogue with Lely's, is mentioned at the beginning of the sketch of Sophia: "Perhaps [...] thou [i.e. the reader] hast seen the Gallery of Beauties at *Hampton-Court*".[25]

Lely's and Kneller's portraiture is seen to have founded the British portrait school in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century – that is, before the emergence of Hogarth as a successful portraitist. Their painting is illustrative of baroque ornamentality, on the one hand, and classicist idealism, on the other – these were exactly the qualities Hogarth turned against in his popular engravings, and, what is more, exactly the qualities Fielding and later on Tobias Smollett criticised as inherent in the genre of romance. In the preface to *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding promises to refrain from using sublime diction and from introducing characters of the "highest [Rank]", since he believes these traits to be characteristic of the "grave Romance".[26] Contrarily, sublimity and grandeur are at the core of Lely's and Kneller's art. The same might be said of the other meta-pictorial comments in the sketches of Fielding's protagonists. In *Joseph Andrews*, Fanny's neck displays a whiteness that "the finest Italian Paint would be unable to reach",[27] while Tom Jones, in Fielding's second novel, is compared to "the Picture of *Adonis*".[28]

These meta-pictorial comments illustrate the organising strategy of Fielding's two best-known novels – a contrasting arrangement of

characters that are best defined when juxtaposed with their opposites. In fact, Fielding's self-conscious narrator himself refers to the "Vein [...] of Contrast" as the one behind the arrangement of his narrative and "all the Works of the Creation".[29] Paradoxically, however, on the level of genre, this juxtaposition is inclusive of the prose form otherwise criticised and rejected throughout the self-reflexive commentaries in both novels – the romance.[30] Apparently, the stories of both Joseph and Tom are standard romance narratives, as defined by Northrop Frye in *The Secular Scripture* (1976). As Frye has it, in a romance, the focus is on the progress of a hero whose ultimate objective is to be united with the heroine. This quest is disturbed by the hero's antagonists, antithetically related to the idealised protagonists.[31] In Frye's archetypal terms, the romance plot is the *mythos* of summer, which begins with a disruption of a state of order and happily concludes, having lead through winter and death, with a new order (a rebirth) and maturity.[32] Joseph and Tom disrupt the state of order when they leave home and set out on a journey – their rite of passage – that stands for the phase of winter and death. They establish a new order (are reborn) when they return home to be reunited with heroines and settle in the countryside, which stands for ultimate self-realisation and personal maturity.[33]

This general plot pattern is complemented by the poetics of "formal realism". As discussed in Chapter 1, Watt defines this poetics with reference to the antithetical philosophical schools of empiricism and idealism and the painterly modes of particular realism and universal idealism. The contrast between Hogarth, on the one hand, and Kneller and Lely, on the other, I would argue, is exactly the one of the two modes above. When Hogarth is invoked, the reader's attention is drawn to details – extraordinary grimaces, expressions of surprise, characteristic traits endowed with a tinge of grotesque. This is what Hogarth mastered and what is by all means appropriate for the poetics of formal realism. The sketches of Fielding's protagonists, in contrast, are clearly universalised. They depend on abstract aesthetic categories, such as beauty, proportion, imprinted nobility or good nature. Likewise, the school of portrait represented by Lely and Kneller advocated discerning a universal essence from the countenance to be depicted, the effect of which was ingratiating idealism.[34]

Despite explicit statements denigrating the romance tradition, then, Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones* merge the poetics of the "comic Epic-Poem in prose" and the romance. On the one hand, they depend for their generic identity on the unmasking of ridiculously hypocritical characters depicted in accord with the rules of formal realism and with references to Hogarth; on the other hand, the central plot patterns underpinning the two novels follow the paradigm of the quest, typical of the romance, in which the idealised hero overcomes allegorised and universalised obstacles on his road to self-discovery and

reunion with the beloved one. The romance heroes and heroines are, in Fielding's novels, accordingly universalised and idealised, with the help of meta-pictorial comments, and as such are clearly contrasted with the realm of the ridiculous and grotesque. In his study of Fielding's literary portraits, Shesgreen convincingly demonstrates the romance provenance of the protagonists in *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones*. For example, it is possible to discern striking parallels between the sketches of Joseph and Tom and those of the characters from Scudéry's romance *Almahide* – Don Alvares and Abinarrays, respectively.[35]

Fielding's last novel *Amelia* (1751) is a rather non-standard one; one that reconciles and resolves some of the contrasts and boundaries discussed so far. In *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones*, the looks of Fanny and Sophia are clearly idealised; if some deficiencies are mentioned, they are skilfully explained away. For example, the small-pox mark on Fanny's chin and a dimple on her cheek are seen as harmoniously counterbalancing each other, whereas her sun-burnt countenance produces the effect of "such a Bloom, that the finest Ladies would have exchanged all their White for it". In sum, Fanny displays "a natural Gentility, superior to the Acquisition of Art".[36] In Sophia, in turn, even if her chin was rather "large", it clearly had "its Share in forming the Beauty of her Face".[37]

The case of Amelia is much more complex, even if one would expect an idealistic strategy similar to the former ones. In contrast to the previous novels, Fielding does not introduce an authoritatively narratorial sketch of her appearance but mediates her person through the perspectives of others. First, in the story of Captain Booth, she appears "in the first Dawn of her Beauty" expressing "Charms […] absolutely out of [his] Reach". Curiously enough, what renders her more "accessible" to a character of Booth's standing is an accident in the effect of which "her lovely Nose was beat all to pieces" thus doing a serious "Injury […] to her Beauty".[38] Her deficiencies are highlighted towards the end of the narrative, when Mrs. James offers a fully fledged sketch of her person:

> In the first Place […] her Eyes are too large; and she hath a Look with them that I don't know how to describe; but I know I don't like it. Then her Eyebrows are too large; therefore indeed she doth all in her Power to remedy this with her Pincers: for if it was not for those, her Eyebrows would be preposterous. – Then her Nose, as well proportioned as it is, hath a visible Scar on one Side. – Her Neck likewise is too protuberant for the genteel Size, especially as she laces herself: for no Woman in my Opinion can be genteel who is not entirely flat before. And lastly, she is both too short and too tall. […] I mean that she is too tall for a pretty Woman, and too short for a fine Woman. There is such a Thing as a kind of insipid Medium – a kind of something that is neither one Thing nor another.[39]

One should not take the observations of an envious character for granted, but despite the tinge of narratorial irony contextualising the sketch, some of the remarks included render Amelia's person accurately. Indeed, when compared with the antithetically arranged characters in *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones*, the eponymous heroine in Fielding's final novel can be taken as "neither one Thing nor another". Alison Conway argues that the damaged yet still beautiful appearance of Amelia brings Fielding's aesthetic closer to the Richardsonian model of particularity. As she has it, the scar on Amelia's nose makes her an individualised entity, unlike the universalised beauty of Sophia, for example.[40] The pictorial analogy established in this context is illustrative of this novel approach. The impression of particularity is reinforced by the use of the miniature portrait of Amelia, which Captain Booth laments about having lost. As he puts it, "Next to *Amelia* herself, there was nothing which I valued so much as this little Picture: for such a Resemblance did it bear of the Original, that *Hogarth* himself did never, I believe, draw a stronger Likeness".[41] The miniature, in contrast to large-scale aristocratic portraits, functions as an index of individual identity. It can be treasured as a keepsake of the beloved one, rather than as the monumental testimony to abstract nobility. This time, the character is not meant to copy a painterly model; conversely, the painting is meant to do justice to the individual. Hogarth is not invoked as a master of the ridiculous, whose iconography can serve as a generative architext, nor are Lely and Kneller referred to as those who knew how to render beauty in painting. This time it is the individualised character who serves as the model to be represented, and Hogarth is mentioned as the principal realist.[42]

Admittedly, there is an aura of ambiguity evoked by Amelia's damaged nose, which in the eighteenth-century context could easily be taken as an indication of syphilis – an indication ill becoming the virtues Amelia seems to embody. This is the kind of ambiguity Hogarth delighted in. For example, the series of *Marriage à la Mode* is framed by signs of the disease. In the first plate, they can be seen in Lord Squanderfield, whereas in the final plate, on the body of his innocent grandson. The ambiguity of Amelia was detected by Fielding's early readers, such as Samuel Johnson, and the idea was persuasively developed by Terry Castle, who traced the trajectory of moral ambiguity throughout the novel (principally in the masquerade scene, which she combined with the scene of Amelia's unmasking her operated nose).[43] Fielding himself wanted to explain the ambiguities away, for example, by revising the manuscript and highlighting Amelia's beauty in spite of her deformity.[44] Nevertheless, the impression remains that when individualism and particularity take precedence over universalism and idealism, there is no way of protecting the text against multiple interpretations.

In sum, the characterisational uses of Hogarth, as well as the other mentioned painters, shed light not only on Fielding's developing constructions

of character, but also on the applicability of Fielding's own theory of the novel. Fielding's meta-pictorialism appears to be a barometer of the writer's gradual move towards realism, characterised by an abandonment of ideal forms. Paradoxically enough, this apparently self-conscious move is carried out in a novel in which meta-commentaries do not dominate the writing in the manner they used to in the previous narratives. In the brief dedication to his friend Ralph Allen, Fielding declares: "I will not trouble you with a Preface concerning the Work".[45] In Defoevian terms, the "thing" is to speak for itself, and does not need an excessive theory or promotion. A brief meta-digression that can be found in the opening chapter of Book I makes the point: "Life may as properly be called an Art as any other; and the great Incidents in it are no more to be considered as mere Accidents than the several Members of a fine Statue or a noble Poem".[46]

## Smollett and Hogarthian Variety

Like Fielding, Tobias Smollett was a man of many literary talents, though perhaps he was not as successful as his contemporary beyond the realm of prose.[47] As for his interest in the arts, there existed well-established preconceptions about his alleged ignorance, formed on the basis of his rather controversial aesthetic judgments articulated in *Travels through France and Italy* (1766).[48] In a sense, ignorance in matters of taste used to be treated as part and parcel of Smelfungus's "splenetic" journeying. Sterne's rather unfair label in *A Sentimental Journey* (1768)[49] was a starting point, as it combined Smollett's alleged travelling mode with lack of taste:

> The learned SMELFUNGUS travelled from Boulogne to Paris—from Paris to Rome—and so on—but he set out with the spleen and jaundice, and every object he pass'd by was discolored or distorted—He wrote an account of them, but 't was nothing but the account of his miserable feelings.
>
> I met Smelfungus in the grand portico of the Pantheon—he was just coming out of it—'*Tis nothing but a huge cock-pit*, said he—I wish you had said nothing worse of the Venus of Medicis, replied I—for in passing through Florence, I had heard he had fallen foul upon the goddess, and used her worse than a common strumpet, without the least provocation in nature.[50]

This view on Smollett's knowledge of the arts spread well into the twentieth century. Robert Etheridge Moore in *Hogarth's Literary Relationships* simply writes that Smollett "knew literally nothing about any other painter" than Hogarth.[51] In fact, as more recent studies of the novelist show, Smollett demonstrated considerable expertise in the

arts. Richard Jones locates the novelist in the centre of aesthetic and philosophical debates in mid-eighteenth-century Glasgow and points to his periodical contributions. In the *Critical Review*, Smollett published a number of essays on the fine arts and reviewed contemporary works, whereas in the *British Magazine*, he supported the Society for the Improvement of the Arts and took part in the current debates on aesthetics and artistic issues. For Jones, the bold aesthetic statements in *Travels through France and Italy* were an extension of the practice of reviewing.[52] William Gibson, in turn, prioritises Smollett's responses to art in various literary media and argues that the novelist's at times radical judgments were a form of iconoclasm – a way of going beyond the widespread preconceptions and conventional connoisseurship with the intention of articulating authentic critical remarks.[53] Gibson also points to Smollett's real-life contacts with painters, including not only Hogarth but also the landscapist John Taylor (c. 1745–1806) and the illustrator Francis Hayman (1708–1776).

Tobias Smollett made several attempts at defining the type of narrative he was writing. In his prose debut, *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), he puts forward an unsurprisingly intertextual argument, denigrating romance and praising his models – Cervantes and Le Sage, the author of *The Adventures of Gil Blas* (1715–1735), which "described the knavery and foibles of life, with infinite humour and sagacity".[54] The preface itself lacks painterly metaphors and allusions, but the following "Apologue", in which Smollett instructs his readers not to search for real-life equivalents of the characters in the novel, depends solely on a comparison with the art of painting.

Critics of Smollett agree that his most mature take on novel theory comes from the dedication of *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* from 1753. As Jerry Beasley puts it, the dedication "contains Smollett's only fully articulated statement of a theory of novelistic composition",[55] albeit construed in only the few following lines:

> A Novel is a large diffused picture, comprehending the characters of life, disposed in different groups, and exhibited in various attitudes, for the purposes of an uniform plan, and general occurrence, to which every individual figure is subservient. But this plan cannot be executed with propriety, probability or success, without a principal personage to attract the attention, unite the incidents, unwind the clue of the labyrinth, and at last close the scene by virtue of its own importance.[56]

The offered definition is very clear and precise and not only sheds light on Smollett's competence in the realm of prose fiction but also accurately distinguishes his novelistic project from those of his rivals, especially Fielding's, and helps to understand better the seemingly loose

organisation characterising his plots. The definition is also one of the earliest uses of the term "novel" with a generic agenda. Let us recall that only five years before, Smollett was not yet in the position to do so, despite the otherwise clearly manifested competence in genres of prose fiction.

Smollett must have been rather satisfied with the thus articulated theory, as ten years later, in an anonymous review of the relatively obscure *The Peregrinations of Jeremiah Grant* (1763), he reuses it by quoting some of its elements word for word:

> This kind of romance is a diffused comedy unrestrained by the rules of the drama, comprehending a great variety of incident and character, referring however, to one principle action and one particular personage, whose importance must not only engage our attention and esteem, but also unite the whole concatenation of scenes and adventures. He must still maintain his dignity, like the chief figure in the foreground in a picture; and the author, as the painter, must take care to preserve a "keeping" in his performance; that is, all the other characters shall be in some measure subservient to the principal, and kept from advancing forwards so far as to rival the chief of the drama, in the attention of the reader.[57]

By changing the word "novel" for the coinage "this kind of romance", Smollett testifies to the still prevalent taxonomical turmoil. Nevertheless, the idea remains largely the same: the genre is labelled "diffused" and an open analogy is made to the art of painting. Commenting upon the definition, Maximillian E. Novak argues that Smollett's was "the first important novelist" to relate the newly emerging realist novel to contemporaneous realist painting and thus "expand the relationship of the sister arts [...] to a general theory of prose fiction", in which he followed in Fielding's footsteps.[58]

What certainly draws attention is the repetitious use of the label "diffused", which implies a centrality of this notion in Smollett's understanding of the novel form. Beasley is right to point out that "diffused" as well as "picture" are key concepts in Smollett's theory, which explain the novelist's understanding of plot and the resulting narrative procedure, respectively.[59] In other words, Smollett conceptualises the narrative as a series of loosely related images, held together by a principal character "in the foreground".

In contrast to Fielding, Smollett does not explicitly name his model, restraining himself to general painterly metaphors and similes. Nevertheless, I would like to argue that the offered definition is much indebted to William Hogarth's aesthetic thought and practice and to his theory of art articulated in *The Analysis of Beauty* from 1753, the year of *Ferdinand Count Fathom*'s publication.

The Smollett-Hogarth analogy as a critical concept has a relatively long history, just like the Fielding-Hogarth analogy, and was prompted, like in the case of Fielding, by Smollett's openly declared and repeatedly articulated admiration for "the inimitable Hogarth."[60] In the essay "Hogarth, Smollett, and Fielding", part of the series *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century* (1853), William Thackeray not only discusses the correspondences between the three humourists but also quotes the earlier judgments of the same kind put forward by Charles Lamb and William Hazlitt.[61] In twentieth-century and contemporary criticism, Hogarth's name appears in literally any book-length study of Smollett as well as being treated as the immediate context for critical discussions of his novels in modern scholarly editions.[62] There is a chapter on "Hogarth and Smollett" in Robert Etheridge Moore's *Hogarth's Literary Relationships* (1948) and an unpublished, over six-hundred-page-long PhD dissertation *Tobias Smollett, William Hogarth, and the Art of Caricature* by Giulia Giuffré (University of Oxford, 1979), whereas one of the aims of Jerry Beasley's *Tobias Smollett: Novelist* (1998) – arguably the most successful and comprehensive study of Smollett's fiction in recent years – is to go beyond mere allusions to, and (crypto)quotations from Hogarth and to argue that Hogarth would have been "the most influential model of all" for Smollett's "manner" of writing in general.[63] Nevertheless, one notices that the prevailing method of researching into the Smollett-Hogarth analogy is first to trace the actual references to the painter in Smollett's novels and, second, to focus on the technique of caricature. This approach is well exemplified by R. E. Moore, who devotes most of his attention to reviewing Smollett's mentions of Hogarth in the context of characterisation, his crypto-quotations from the painter and the differences in Smollett's and Hogarth's approaches to caricature and satire.[64] There is a tendency to go for "character", in a Fieldingesque manner, and forget that in Smollett's theory, the "diffusion" of composition is central, even if the protagonist is indispensable in making the "diffused picture" a readable narrative. Beasley's take on the issue is a notable exception, and it is much closer to my perspective here, even if he mentions *The Analysis of Beauty* only once and in passing.

Generally speaking, Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* is not typically invoked in the studies of Smollett and has not yet been treated as a vital context for the brief theory of the novel in *Ferdinand Count Fathom*. When Beasley comments on the passage in the definitive Georgia UP edition, he does acknowledge Hogarth, but fails to develop the issue: "As a painter of verbal pictures, Smollett had learned much from his contemporary Hogarth".[65] Admittedly, one major reason for not including the *Analysis* in readings of Smollett's "Dedication" is the timing: *Ferdinand Count Fathom* was published in February, Hogarth's treatise most probably in December. It is, however, possible to argue that Smollett would have been familiarised with Hogarth's ideas well before 1753. As Ronald

Paulson shows in his monumental *Hogarth*, the concept of the line of beauty, ultimately developed in *The Analysis*, was Hogarth's major preoccupation already in the mid-1740s, and it was a frequent conversation topic in the circle of his acquaintances. As Paulson speculates,

> We can imagine Hogarth during the years 1745–1753 strolling around London, observing as always expressions and movements, the way light plays on a surface, the form shadows take as he passes beside a wall [...] seeking examples to fit his thesis. [...] It is difficult to imagine his not passing on his observations about form to his friends and colleagues and, perhaps, anyone who would listen.[66]

This is mere speculation, of course, but it finds its support in Hogarth's autobiographical notes as well as those of his friends – David Garrick and George Vertue.[67] That Hogarth pondered the line of beauty well before 1753 is also reflected in visual documents – it is included, accompanied by an inscription, in his 1745 self-portrait *Guliemus Hogarth* (or *Painter with His Pug*). Then, on 24 March 1752 – the year when Smollett was writing *Ferdinand Count Fathom* – Hogarth published a subscription note in Fielding's *The Covent-Garden Journal*, advertising the treatise and the prints illustrating its ideas. As Hogarth was working on the text itself, he considered asking his "literary friends" for help in the writing, which he recalls in his personal notes.[68] There is no way of proving that Smollett would have been one of those, and indeed no need to do so. Nevertheless, it seems well documented that *The Analysis of Beauty* was an almost decade-long project, and one that Hogarth by no means kept confidential. All this is also accounted for in Hogarth's preface to *The Analysis*, where he openly admits to having consulted the project with his friends and relates having taken part in a number of disputes about it well before the publication of the actual text.[69] Smollett's acquaintance with Hogarth's project might also be indicated by his mention of the hay dance.[70] At least this is the kind of association Beasley makes in his definitive edition of the novel, referring to Hogarth's treatment of the hay in *The Analysis*: a "cypher of S's, or a number of serpentine lines interlacing, or intervolving each other".[71]

In any case, in essence, there is a clear correspondence between Smollett's definition and Hogarth's aesthetic theory. The basic idea underpinning Smollett's project is that of an oxymoronic juxtaposition of "diffusion", "difference" and "variety", on the one hand, and "uniformity" and "unity", on the other. In this, Smollett derived from a long tradition of reconciling such extremes in eighteenth-century thought and artistic practices. In a celebrated passage from *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (an excerpt of which is quoted in Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* in the entry for "picture"), John Locke authoritatively states that "complex ideas [...] are made up of many particular substances considered together, as united into one idea". He illustrates

the tenet using a pictorial metaphor: "it suffic[es] to the unity of any idea, that it be considered as one representation or picture, though made up of ever so many particulars".[72] The related aesthetic of "unity in variety" was best reflected in the poetry of Alexander Pope. At the beginning of his "Windsor-Forest" (1713), we find the following description:

> Here hills and vales, the woodland and the plain,
> Here earth and water, seem to strive again;
> Not *Chaos* like together crush'd and bruis'd,
> But as the world, harmoniously confus'd:
> Where order in variety we see,
> And where, tho' all things differ, all agree.[73]

This way of thinking, in turn, was thought of as a revival of the ancient ideal of *concordia discors* – the yoking together of seemingly contradictory images and notions – in which Pope clearly excelled (as is exemplified by *An Essay on Man*). The oxymoronic phrases "harmoniously confus'd", "order in variety" and "all things differ, all agree" may well have been Smollett's point of reference, but the most systematic approach to the aesthetic of unity in variety is to be found in Hogarth's *Analysis*.

In the treatise, Hogarth distinguishes six categories of form that he believes are inherent elements of beauty: fitness, variety, uniformity, simplicity, intricacy and quantity. Defining the first, Hogarth goes beyond the notion of decorum and acknowledges the importance of functionality. Writing about variety, he argues that it should be "composed": "variety uncomposed, and without design, is confusion and deformity" (28). He illustrates this central idea with the pyramidal logogram on the title page of the treatise (Figure 2.1). The logogram shows the line of beauty, which stands for variety, contained in a pyramidal frame. Framing thus is an indispensable technique to achieve the ideal of a composed variety.

As for uniformity and the traditionally related categories of regularity and symmetry, Hogarth puts forward the ideal of difference within uniformity, claiming that regularity and symmetry should be superseded by curves, contrasts and motion (29–30). Simplicity is appreciated, but only when endowed with variety (30). Intricacy is related to the way in which the viewer is engaged in appreciating an object or artwork. It is an inherent quality of the object observed that "*leads the eye*" in the manner of "*a wanton kind of chase*". This is where the aesthetic of "the *waving* and *serpentine* lines" comes to the fore. Importantly, in this context, Hogarth makes an analogy with narrative arts, arguing that the pleasant "labour of the mind" employed in the tracing of the thickening plot in a novel is an equivalent to the wandering of the eye (33). Needless to say, intricacy should also be "composed", giving the impression of "*a composed intricacy of form*" (34). Finally, quantity is seen as adding to grace (36).

Admittedly, there is much evidence in the contents of Smollett's novels to undermine the ideal of a composed variety. Smollett clearly managed

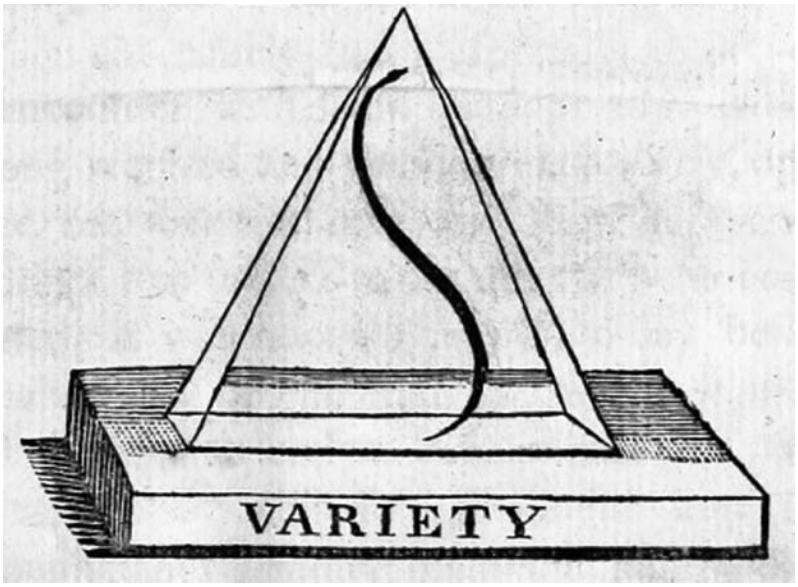



*Figure 2.1* Detail from the title page of *The Analysis of Beauty* by William Hogarth. 1753. HathiTrust Digital Library.

to offer a "diffused" picture in his narratives, but at least in his early pieces of fiction, published in the 1740s and 1750s, it is difficult to discern a "uniform plan". The eponymous protagonists – Roderick, Peregrine and Ferdinand – do indeed focalise the diffusion, but they are apparently not enough to create in the reader any impression of a planned composition. In an attempt to account for this, Beasley refers to "the Hogarthian assumptions about the nature of narrative", reviews Smollett's anachronisms in *Ferdinand Count Fathom* and argues that "like a Hogarth series [the novel is] an act of interpretation […] an exercise in the kind of narrative economy, typical of spatial form, by which everything seems to happen almost simultaneously, as in a painting".[74] All this is true enough, but it is in fact a kind of theorising about what is clearly missing in Smollett – a composition. What Beasley seems to claim is that the apparent lack of organisation may be interpreted as an organisation of a different kind. The analogy to Hogarth's series is not the best choice, either, even if Beasley is right to point out that "the contrapuntal and alternating plots" in *Count Fathom* (covering the doings of villainous Ferdinand and good-natured Renaldo, respectively) might have been modelled on Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* from 1747.[75] Beasley subscribes to R. E. Moore's opinion that Count Fathom is closely modelled on *A Rake's Progress*,[76] but in fact, apart from alluding to some details in Hogarth's progress, Smollett's novel has little to do with the series in terms of narrative design.

In general, in contrast to *Count Fathom* and the other early novels by Smollett, Hogarth's progresses can serve as examples of successful applications of the writer's theory of fiction. They do not solely depend on a depiction of simultaneous actions, but rather show the protagonists' evolution in time. The narrative frame is what organises the progresses, endowing the separate pictures with a "uniform plan". The protagonist in the foreground does not unite the versatile plates merely by virtue of him or her being always in the centre of attention; in fact, it is the extensive temporal dimension of his or her life story, imposing a harmoniously arranged frame on the represented episodes, that realises the Hogarthian ideal of a composed variety. The progresses are thus a far more appropriate context for the novels of Fielding, which likewise depend on a harmonious organisation of episodes, and a comparative study of the two forms shows a number of clear parallels.[77] Beasley attempts to find a similar "tactic" in Count Fathom, but he only manages to find a trajectory of success (in Volume 1) and failure (Volume 2). This is hardly enough to talk of Fieldingesque "organic regularity".[78]

That said, I do share Beasley's opinion that "Smollett was at his most Hogarthian in *Ferdinand Count Fathom*",[79] and this indebtedness, as I have already argued, should not be seen only in the numerous allusions to and quotations from Hogarth,[80] but rather in his reliance on Hogarthian design, as reflected by the features of Smollett's pictorialism. In other words, I would not search for parallels in terms of narrative design, but rather in terms of the pictorial design of particular scenes and episodes, or, as R.E. Moore puts it, Smollett's "own broad canvases".[81] I do not mean Smollett's tableaux exclusively but also the episodes in the narrative that are autonomous and display the merits of Hogarthian aesthetic.

The first of those is the brief account of Ferdinand's early childhood, which in fact is a sketch of his mother's life (Chapters 2–4). The setting for the most part is the military camp and the battlefield, even if the exact localities change – the camp and the battlefield are the spaces for the most important events; this is where the infant Ferdinand is born, where the mother makes her living (by whoring and thieving), where she finds her husbands, and where she dies. The camp and the battlefield as the background endow the representation with an impression of vastness that Hogarth relates to the category of quantity. Given their spaciousness, they are also metaphorically a kind of "canvas" onto which the doings of the characters can be painted. The episode begins with a meticulous description of the way the mother took care of her child – she carried him in a knapsack and fed him with gin. One cannot help thinking of the woman in the foreground of Hogarth's *Gin Lane* from 1751 (Figure 2.2), who likewise fails to breastfeed the child despite the fact that she appears to have been preparing to do so.

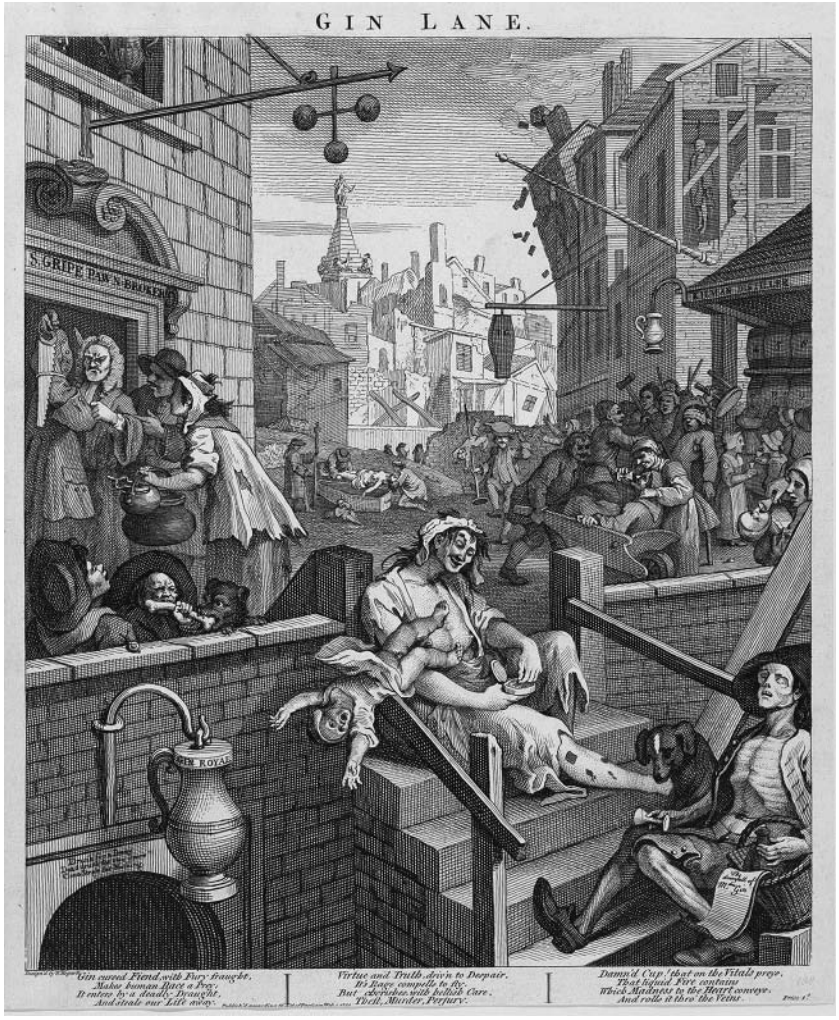



*Figure 2.2* *Gin Lane*. William Hogarth. 1751. Etching and engraving. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

As she traverses the camps and battlefields, Ferdinand's mother keeps her belongings in a wagon, which is indicative of her life in motion. Our eye, as it were, follows her incessant movement within the camp and the battlefield as well as through the European countries she finds herself in. Her eventual death, concluding the episode in Chapter 4, has been a shadowy presence from the very beginning, given the context. It is possible to see here another parallel with *Gin Lane*, in which the drunk mother in the foreground is doubled by a naked woman put into

a coffin in the background. All is presented in a nutshell, and there is an impression that things are taking place at the same time, or at least follow one another immediately – the descriptions are full of conjunctions and adverbial phrases indicating simultaneity. The quickly changing scenes within the episodes are nevertheless packed with detail, a predilection for which is already manifested in the scrupulous description of the woman carrying her child. The arrangement of the scenes creates an impression of randomness, but in fact they all serve narrative functions – the mother's chaotic life leaves an imprint on the character, education and social status of Ferdinand. The episode is a successful application of the idea of uniform diffusion, in Smollett's terms, or composed variety, in Hogarthian terms.[82]

Another example of Hogarthian design can be found in Chapter 39, in which Ferdinand is "made acquainted with a new scene of life" – an introduction that foreshadows the pictorial dimension of the passage to follow. The "new scene of life" is the Marshalsea prison – a closed (and thus framed) scene displaying a number of singular types.[83] The first of these, who volunteers to take Ferdinand on a tour of the prison, is carefully represented as he enters Ferdinand's cell (we might assume that the entrance door is again a typical painterly frame for the sketch of Captain Minikin's appearance). The catalogue-like depiction of Minikin is not a caricature but depends on the aesthetic of humorous particularity, typical of Hogarth. This is implied by the accumulation of such words as "remarkable", "extraordinary", "singularity", "extravagant exaggeration", "original" and "peculiarities", all of which traits are duly observed by the "discerning eyes" of Ferdinand. Thus represented, the guide to Marshalsea promises to introduce Ferdinand to the whole society of the likes of him, "the gentlemen under his care", to whom he serves as their "ambassador". Before they proceed, Minikin offers an allegorical observation of what the scenes to be seen represent: "this place, Sir, is quite a microcosm, and as the great world, so is this, a stage, and all the men and women merely players" – an observation reminiscent of what Hogarth had to say about his art.[84]

The first prisoners Ferdinand is taken to see are "the king and the major", preoccupied with military planning. Not to disturb them, Ferdinand perceives the two through a keyhole, which is suggestive of the pictorial "frozen moment" to come. Ferdinand is observing a most absurd scene in which the mentally challenged "king" and "major" govern the armies of "green peas" and "oyster-shells".[85] When he joins them in the end, the king arranges for dinner to be served. This is when the next personage appears – the cook, Sir Mungo Barebones – "the most remarkable object which had hitherto presented itself to the eyes of Fathom". He is meticulously depicted as an "uncouth figure", and so is the final prisoner to appear on the stage – the French chevalier, an "original" who makes "a very suitable addition to such an assemblage of rarities".[86] These

rarities, exhibited, as it were, in a cabinet of curiosities, occupy a dinner table in the cell of King Theodore. The extraordinary portraits are thus gathered in one group scene; or, in other words, the diffused picture is made uniform by way of a group arrangement. The ensuing scene of dinner, taking up Chapter 41,[87] is an allusion to Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation* from 1732, a print to which Smollett had already referred in the scene of drinking in *Peregrine Pickle*.[88] The dinner scene is an apt climax of the prison episode – a moment endowing the represented diversity with an impression of uniformity.

Stemming from the assumption that there is no need to excuse and explain Smollett's lack of clear narrative plan, on the one hand, and acknowledging that there is more to Smollett's novels than a poetics of chaos and randomness, on the other, I would argue that the merits of Smollettian design, in particular the reconciliation of the oxymoronic juxtaposition of diffusion and uniformity, can be best seen in the novelist's visual imagination. As if advised by Hogarth, Smollett endows his series of pictorial scenes with a sense of movement, inviting the eye to wander against a relatively stable background. In a manner similar to the pyramid form framing the line of beauty in Hogarth's treatise, Smollett's "broad canvases", such as the camp, the battlefield or the prison, contain and exhibit diversified, though purposely arranged, elements. Admittedly, Smollett's complete narratives do not consistently depend on this poetics, though, nevertheless, I would argue this is the kind of reconciliation between unity and variety Smollett considered central to the novel genre.

## Sterne and "Howgarth's Witty Chissel"

If the parallels between Smollett's theory of the novel and the ideas put forward in Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* are rather implicit and subject to interpretation, the novelistic afterlife of the line of beauty becomes the most tangible in Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.[89] Sterne's self-reflexivity in the novel is extreme, even in the context of such self-conscious authors as Fielding. If Fielding intertwined the narrative with theoretical digressions serving as explanations, justifications or tutorials, Sterne's narrative in its entirety takes the form of a commentary upon itself. As the theoretical cliché goes, Sterne wrote a novel about writing a novel. Even though the commentary itself, though excessive, could not be taken as pioneering,[90] Sterne's innovative contribution is the type of visual comment he practised; namely, rather than merely referring to the visual arts, Sterne went so far as to actually include the visual alongside the verbal.

It is not easy to write about Sterne and the visual today, after so much ink has been spilt on these issues. William Holtz, Peter de Voogd and W. B. Gerard, to name but three significant names, have written extensively on the various aspects of Sterne's reliance on painting and the visual imagination, in general.[91] These include his use of

graphic elements, such as the marbled page or the black page; his predilection for stasis, gesture and posture; the language of painterly metaphors; allusions to artists, aesthetic thinkers and artwork; as well as the visual dimensions of his books as material objects. Studies of Sterne and the visual have duly acknowledged the role of Hogarth – both as an illustrator and a source of reference informing our understanding of Sterne's aesthetic. Being aware of the contribution of my forerunners, I am at the same time convinced that it is impossible not to include Sterne, and particularly *Tristram Shandy*, in a book on painting in the eighteenth-century novel. What follows, then, will not attempt to offer a wide-ranging perspective on the visual aspects of the novel. I will concentrate predominantly on the actual uses of Hogarth's line of beauty and their implications for Sterne's narrative and typographical design.[92]

First, however, a few remarks should be made on Sterne's real-life engagement with the art of painting, which might be taken as the immediate background for his literary pictorialism. Sterne's definitive biographer Arthur Cash labels the writer "an amateur painter" and points to the only extant piece of evidence – *The Mountebank and his Macaroni*, which was a collaborative work of Sterne and his friend Thomas Bridges, now preserved only as an engraving.[93] The work is also mentioned in Sterne's letters: "—The 2 Pictures of the Mountenbank & his Macaroni—is in a Lady's hands, who upon seeing 'em—, most cavallierly declared She would <not> never part with them—".[94] Sterne's practical involvement in the arts is also confirmed in his later correspondence. In a letter to Laurence Sulivan, he relates that he presented their mutual friend "with colours, and an apparatus for painting, and gave her several lessons before I left town.—I wish her to follow this art […]".[95] Gerard argues that just as the evidence of Sterne's painterly ventures is rather scarce, it should not be taken as a major field of his activity. He emphasises the fact that only one piece of artwork is extant and that the mentions of painting throughout his personal writings are rather dispersed and not too frequent.[96] I would argue that at times, a passing remark in private writings is more revealing that a repetitious discussion of a subject, but verifying the extent of Sterne's dedication to painting is not my task here. What is apparently beyond doubt is the fact that Sterne's literary pictorialism would have at least partially stemmed from his own practice of the arts.

Even if it cannot be stated with any degree of certainty that Sterne and Hogarth knew each other personally,[97] there is enough source material to prove their professional cooperation. Having published the first volumes of *Tristram Shandy*, and being already aware of its promising reception, Sterne made an attempt to have it illustrated by Hogarth, the most successful artist at the time, most likely with an intention to boost the success of the London edition (the first volumes came out in York). In an often-quoted letter to his friend Richard Berenger, an acquaintance of Hogarth, Sterne writes that he would "give both my ears […] for no more than ten Strokes

of Howgarth's witty Chissel, to clap at the Front of my next Edition of Shandy". He even pointed to the exact scene to be thus represented: "the loosest Sketch in nature of Trim's reading the sermon to my father & my uncle Toby".[98] This was a bold choice. In the very passage, Sterne directly alludes to Hogarth's line of beauty, with reference to Trim's posture, but at the same time confronts it with the line of science, dependant on nature.

> He stood,—for I repeat it, to take the picture of him in at one view, with his body sway'd, and somewhat bent forwards,—his right leg firm under him, sustaining seven-eighths of his whole weight,—the foot of his left leg, the defect of which was no disadvantage to his attitude, advanced a little,—not laterally, nor forwards, but in a line betwixt them;—his knee bent, but that not violently,—but so as to fall within the limits of the line of beauty;—and I add, of the line of science too;[99]

In the letter, Sterne adds that this kind of illustration would "mutually illustrate his System & mine", which implies a mild criticism of *The Analysis of Beauty*. As Holz argues, the scene acknowledges Hogarth the theorist but at the same time puts forward a counterargument – the rules of the line of beauty are not necessarily faithful to nature.[100] The sketch in *Tristram Shandy* concludes with an ironic comment: "This I recommend to painters;—need I add,—to orators?—I think not; for, unless they practise it,—they must fall upon their noses."

When the precepts of the line of beauty are taken up without the use of the mentioned "line of science" – that is, when Hogarth's system is adopted on its own – the effect verges on the ridiculous, as in one sketch of Dr. Slop:

> Imagine to yourself a little, squat, uncourtly figure of a Doctor *Slop*, of about four feet and half perpendicular height, with a breadth of back, and a sesquipedality of belly, which might have done honour to a Serjeant in the Horse-Guards.
>
> Such were the out-lines of Dr. *Slop*'s figure, which,—if you have read *Hogarth*'s analysis of beauty, and if you have not, I wish you would;—you must know, may as certainly be caracatur'd, and convey'd to the mind by three strokes as three hundred.[101]

Despite such treatment, Hogarth completed the task, coming up with two versions of the frontispiece (one for the first London edition (Figure 2.3), the other for the reprint), for which he expected no fee. In fact, he not only completed the task but also self-reflexively gave justice to Sterne's implied criticism by inserting the figure of Dr. Slop, whose plump head and obese belly produce an outline very much reminiscent of the line of beauty.


*Figure 2.3 Trim Reading the Sermon.* Frontispiece to the second edition of *Tristram Shandy* by Laurence Sterne. William Hogarth. 1760. Private collection.

Even though the line of beauty itself seems to be taken with a pinch of salt in *Tristram Shandy*, I would argue that Hogarth's treatise is nevertheless a meaningful presence throughout the reading of Sterne's book; one that can inform our understanding of the aesthetic tension that is arguably central to *Tristram Shandy*'s narrative and also typographical design – the tension between the straight line and the waving line.[102] In a sense, this contrast was one of the central considerations in early novelistic discourse. Namely, the following questions seem to have been implied: To what extent is it possible to follow a straight narrative line?

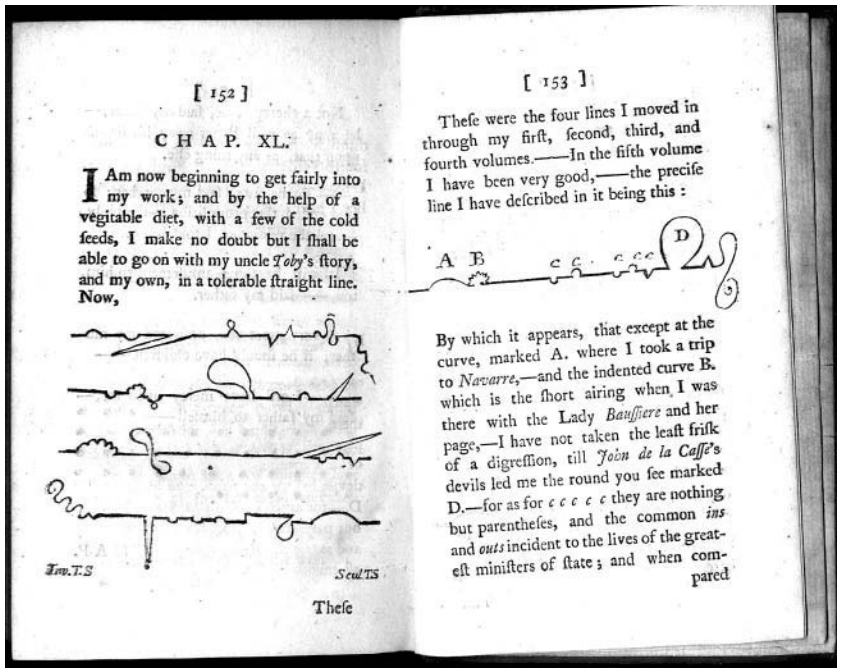
What are the merits of digression? What is the role of interpolated tales? These issues were also tackled by Fielding and Smollett, and the author of *Tom Jones* would even address them openly in some of his theoretical interludes (like the celebrated comment on digressions).[103]

In the 1750s and 1760s, when Sterne was writing *Tristram Shandy*, *The Analysis of Beauty* was the best known elaboration on the merits of the waving line and the limits of the straight line. Even if Hogarth's scope was the visual arts, he does make uses of literature to clarify his points – for example, he mentions the plot when considering the category of intricacy and refers to writing in paragraphs when instructing about composition. The waving line, of which there are several types, is in general illustrative of Hogarth's ideal of variety,[104] and thus contrasted with the straight line, standing for the traditional qualities of regularity, symmetry and plainness, which, in Hogarth's system, do not add to the effect of beauty. Hogarth's own contribution are the precisely delineated lines of beauty and grace, but the theory, as he is trying to prove in the introduction to the treatise, dates back to the masters of the previous centuries who intuitively recognised the limits of straight outlines and regularities. In order to challenge "the strong prejudices in favour of straight lines" (4), he refers to both theorists and practitioners of the arts. One major authority he invokes is Lomazzo, in particular, his remarks on the art of Michelangelo. Lomazzo argued that the painter's pyramidal and serpentine arrangements and forms were best capable of overcoming the limits of visual arts; namely, they guaranteed the effect of motion by virtue of being imitative of the flame of fire (whose shape is reminiscent of Hogarth's waving line) (2–3). Hogarth then quotes similar arguments by Du Fresnoy and relates a transition of style, "from a straight and stiff manner" to the "serpentine line", undergone by Raphael under the influence of Michelangelo (5).

In the body of the treatise, Hogarth avails himself of an argument from human nature. In order to account for the delight the eye takes in waving forms, Hogarth discusses the natural inclination towards motion, as reflected in pastime activities, and declares: "This love of pursuit, merely as pursuit, is implanted in our natures" (32). This statement conceptualises the theorist's methodology – throughout *The Analysis*, the superiority of the waving line is supported by examples taken from the natural world. The most elaborate of these is the example of the human body, especially the muscles, which are representative of the delightful composition of waving lines:

> Of these fine winding forms then are the muscles and bones of the human body composed, and which, by their varied situations with each other, become more intricately pleasing, and form a continued waving of winding forms from one into the other [...].
>
> (53)

Sterne's peculiarity in *Tristram Shandy* is a graphic commentary on these issues; his meta-pictorialism becomes visual. Hogarth's theory is clearly alluded to at the end of volume 6, with self-reflexive remarks taking the form of lines illustrative of the different types of narrative Tristram is adopting (Figure 2.4). The narrative lines immediately precede the most narratively straightforward volume 7 (Tristram's Grand Tour) and are meant to illustrate the narrative progression of the first five volumes, with a short remark being made on volume 6. They are seemingly representative of Tristram's improvement in narrative design, part of which, we are made to believe, is the gradual precedence taken by the straight line, eventually fulfilled in volume 7. In terms of form, the lines embody a struggle between the straight line, standing for traditional narrative, and the various types of the waving line, illustrative of Tristram's digressions and – generally speaking – narrative idiosyncrasies. Some of the forms displayed by the waving lines allude to the lines distinguished by Hogarth in his *Analysis*, in particular the second curve in the third line and the ending of the fifth line.



[ 152 ]

CHAP. XL.

I Am now beginning to get fairly into my work; and by the help of a vegitable diet, with a few of the cold ſeeds, I make no doubt but I ſhall be able to go on with my uncle *Toby*'s ſtory, and my own, in a tolerable ſtraight line. Now,

*Inv. T.S* *Scul.TS*

Theſe

[ 153 ]

Theſe were the four lines I moved in through my firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth volumes.——In the fifth volume I have been very good,——the preciſe line I have deſcribed in it being this :

A B c c c c c D

By which it appears, that except at the curve, marked A. where I took a trip to *Navarre*,—and the indented curve B. which is the ſhort airing when I was there with the Lady *Bauſſiere* and her page,—I have not taken the leaſt friſk of a digreſſion, till *John de la Caſſe*'s devils led me the round you ſee marked D.—for as for *c c c c c* they are nothing but parentheſes, and the common *ins* and *outs* incident to the lives of the greateſt miniſters of ſtate; and when compared

*Figure 2.4* Narrative lines. Volume 6, Chapter 40 of *Tristram Shandy* by Laurence Sterne. Private collection.

Tristram's comments on the superiority of the straight line are outwardly ironic:

> If I mend at this rate, it is not impossible——by the good leave of his grace of *Benevento*'s devils——but I may arrive hereafter at the excellency of going on even thus;
>
> ---
>
> which is a line drawn as straight as I could draw it, by a writing-master's ruler, (borrowed for that purpose) turning neither to the right hand or to the left. This *right line*,—the path-way for Christians to walk in! say divines——
>
> ——The emblem of moral rectitude! says *Cicero*——
>
> ——The *best line*! say cabbage-planters——is the shortest line, says *Archimedes*, which can be drawn from one given point to another.——
>
> I wish your ladyships would lay this matter to heart in your next birth-day suits!
>
> ——What a journey![105]

The straight line is produced with the use of a ruler that does not belong to him; it is praised by divines, philosophers, scientists and cabbage-planters; clearly, Tristram does not belong there, and his promised efforts to render the ensuing volume straight are only partially successful. The narrative of Tristram's Grand Tour is indeed more linear, but Tristram remains faithful to the ideal of "straightness" only in the early chapters of the volume, which illustrate his very much literal escape from death. Once he feels more secure, he cannot help getting lost in the minutiae, playing with the convention of the travel account, as exemplified in his account of the stay in Auxerre. In fact, even the above passage itself, typographically speaking, displays a peculiar inability to preserve the ideal of straightness. Once the line is drawn, the commentary to follow is fragmented and arranged in a loose manner, its qualities highlighted by the discontinued dashes – in principle straight lines. The effect is that reading the passage is like setting the eye on a kind of "wanton kind of chase", as Hogarth would put it. Sterne thus ensures non-straightforward motion on the space of the pages as textual and typographical entities.

This is also the context for an emblematic treatment of the waving line. The final volume 9 features a conversation between Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim. The two are debating the issue of celibacy, and at one point, Trim makes a point in the following manner: "Whilst a man is free—cried the Corporal, giving a flourish with his stick thus—— / A thousand of my father's most subtle syllogisms could not have said more for celibacy."[106] The flourish is graphically represented (Figure 2.5), and as the dash following the mention of freedom signals the moment of the act, there is a correspondence established between liberty and the flourish. On

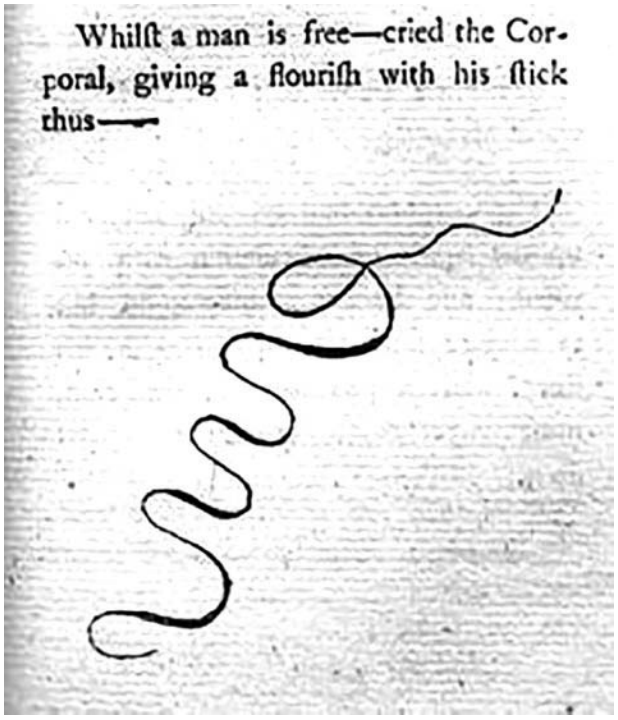



*Figure 2.5* Corporal Trim's flourish. Volume 9, Chapter 4 of *Tristram Shandy* by Laurence Sterne. Private collection.

a smaller scale, the flourish expresses Sterne's freedom from the idiosyncratic confinements of Hogarth's line of beauty; as Newbould puts it, it is an "anarchic variation" on Hogarth's model. On the other hand, given the contextual ambiguities (a discussion of celibacy), it capitalises on the reconciliation of narrative "impotence and creativity"[107] – a paradox lying at the core of the confrontation of the waving line and the straight line.

In *Tristram Shandy*, the application of the waving line and the tension between the aesthetic of linearity and non-linearity can thus be observed on the three spatial levels of the book as distinguished by Christopher Fanning[108] – the spaces of print (e.g. narrative lines, dashes, arrangement of text), the spaces of the fictional world (e.g. postures, gestures) and the spaces of fictional technique (e.g. plot, digressions).[109] Tristram also addresses the issue in his verbal commentaries. Approaching narrative in terms of journey, he writes:

> Could a historiographer drive on his history, as a muleteer drives on his mule,—straight forward;----for instance, from *Rome* all the way to *Loretto*, without ever once turning his head aside either to

> the right hand or to the left,—he might venture to foretell you to an hour when he should get to his journey's end;-----but the thing is, morally speaking, impossible: For, if he is a man of the least spirit, he will have fifty deviations from a straight line to make with this or that party as he goes along, which he can no ways avoid.

The metaphor of the journey is not accidental, as it helps highlight the principle of non-linear motion that governs the aesthetic of *Tristram Shandy*, just like it underpins Hogarth's theory in *The Analysis*.[110] What follows the passage above is an indication that non-straightforward motion is caused by the doings of the eye: "He will have views and prospects to himself perpetually solliciting his eye, which he can no more help standing still to look at than he can fly".[111] As I wrote before, juxtaposing movement and vision was also what Hogarth did in attempt to unravel the natural predilection for the waving line.

Coming back to the visual commentaries in *Tristram Shandy*, the element that merits special attention is the marbled page (Figure 2.6). The marbled page (or pages, as both recto and verso are marbled) is included in volume 3, and is preceded by a comment justifying the special attention it should be given – Tristram labels it the "motly emblem of my work".[112] Why should it be emblematic? For one thing, the marbling guaranteed ultimate originality and singularity, qualities Sterne would have assumed to determine the textual and material identity of *Tristram Shandy*. The leaf was produced separately, and there was no way for two leaves (or even for the recto and verso layouts) to be identical; consequently, each edition of *Tristram Shandy* became an autonomous artwork.[113] I would argue, however, that the marbling, displaying a never-ending, as it were, entanglement of meandering lines and bobbles, is also emblematic of the aesthetic of the waving line. The lines are confined in the rectangular frame, producing the effect of composed variety.[114] An autonomous entity, by way of manual production and insertion, the marbling becomes a kind of prism through which the text can be read. The inherent dynamism, impression of incessant motion and uniqueness of each and every leaf determine the literary and visual experience of *Tristram Shandy*, the reading of which becomes like a "wanton kind of chase" along the waving outlines within the marbling.

The emblematic aesthetic of the marbling gains an even greater significance when confronted with the emblematic dimension of *Tristram Shandy* as a whole. In general, Sterne had a weakness for portraits of himself and was well able to recognise their marketing potential. Having sat for Sir Joshua Reynolds in March and April 1760, Sterne was eager to widely circulate the engravings of the famous painting. In one of his letters, he writes: "There is a fine print going to be done of me—so I shall make the most of myself, & sell both inside & out".[115] Metaphorically speaking, the same function would have been performed by the subsequent volumes of *Tristram Shandy*. Resorting to a conventional parallel

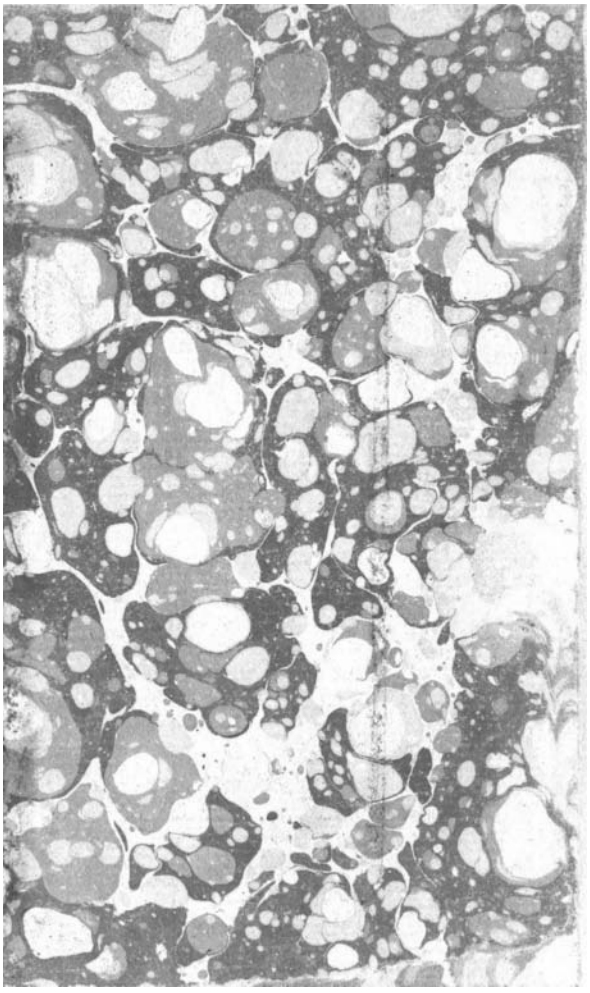


*Figure 2.6* The Marbling. Volume 3, Chapter 36 of *Tristram Shandy* by Laurence Sterne. Private collection.

between biographies and portraits, in one of his letters to David Garrick, Sterne labels the book "a picture of myself".[116] If the book is a portrait of Sterne and the marbling an emblem of the book, the marbled page then becomes yet another portrait of the author. Like Hogarth, Sterne apparently searches for the sources of his aesthetic of variety in man; if the bodily constitution is for Hogarth the best manifestation of composed waving lines, the writer's self (Tristram's and Sterne's) is best reflected by the meandering aesthetic of the book in general, and the marbling in particular. In both cases, the compositional frame is

guaranteed by the human form. Paradoxically, then, *Tristram Shandy* fulfils the ideal proclaimed in Smollett's theory of the novel, where "diffusion" is made "uniform" by virtue of the central character.

Concluding, I would like to return to Sterne's letter to John Berenger and the sketch of Trim reading the sermon. Analysing the sketch, W.B. Gerard points to the scanty pictorial material included. If the poses and gestures of the gathered are indeed meticulously described, there is little that we know about the expressions, colours or background – that is, standard pictorial elements. Gerard compares Sterne's technique with Fielding's and Smollett's and argues that Sterne's "pictorialism" has too often been taken for granted, and that, as a matter of fact, in Sterne's sketches and tableaux, there is much more that needs to be concretised and imagined by the reader or potential illustrator than given by verbal means. He thus advocates the concepts of "visual imagination" and "pictorial appeal", rather than pictorialism itself.[117] I would argue that the aesthetic of the waving line can at least partially account for the limited pictorial content in Sterne's sketches. When Hogarth begins his *Analysis*, he recommends that readers should focus on the outlines of forms and treat them as if they were empty shells. Only then can our attention move towards the merits of the waving line. In the mock dedication in *Tristram Shandy*, in turn, the author recommends his work by making use of Roger de Piles's painter's scale, which was originally appended to his 1708 *The Principles of Painting*:

> to speak more like a man of science,—and measure my piece in the painter's scale, divided into 20,—I believe, my Lord, the out-lines will turn out as 12,—the composition as 9,—the colouring as 6,—the expression 13 and a half,—and the design,—if I may be allowed, my Lord, to understand my own *design*, and supposing absolute perfection in designing, to be as 20,—I think it cannot well fall short of 19.[118]

Design, expression and outlines – these are the highest rated qualities; interestingly, their precedence comes at the cost of the traditionally pictorial aspects of colouring (of which there is little information throughout the narrative) and composition (understandably so in the context of the narrative). Accordingly, Sterne's visual passages meticulously represent the poses and gestures – the outlines of the body – and ignore colours or the background details. Tellingly enough, "out-lines" are an extra category added by Tristram to the other four taken from de Piles.

Let us recall that when Sterne asked for Hogarth's illustration, he made clear that he would be happy with "no more than ten Strokes of Howgarth's witty Chissel". What kind of illustration would ten strokes produce? Clearly, the result would be a kind of *non finito*[119] sketch depending on the line capturing the essence of the scene.[120] It is possible that Sterne's idea of pictorialism was much ahead of his time and that

the Hogarthian aesthetic of the waving line, singularly transformed and negotiated in *Tristram Shandy*, not only imprinted itself on the narrative and typographical dimensions of the text but also offered Sterne a new perspective on the image itself.

Hogarth's imprint on the art of the novel goes beyond his collaboration or artistic dialogue with the three novelists discussed, and his role in the novels of Charles Dickens capitalises on the artist's far-reaching impact. Nonetheless, it is vital to recognise the special importance of his enduring presence in the realm of prose fiction in the mid-eighteenth century. The two decades – from 1740 to 1760 – were perhaps the most productive and influential in the century as far as novel writing was concerned. It was then that the chief novel forms were practised and theorised and the word "novel" came to be used in a manner similar to the way it is used today. The multifaceted contribution of Hogarth to the three major novel projects, especially the discursive entanglement of his name, artwork and thought, testifies to the artist's position in the eighteenth-century architext. It is indeed remarkable that it generated such diverse approaches to the novel and its aspects. Hogarth is a presence behind both stock characters and those more individualised; he inspires a harmonious composition as well as promoting narrative intricacies; he offers visual parallels to scenes of stasis and dynamic motion; finally, he manages to escape the confines of parody and offers a lens through which to see the aesthetic core of the parodying text.

## Notes

1 John Ireland, *A Supplement to Hogarth Illustrated* (London: Published for the Author, 1804), 24–25.
2 Ireland, *A Supplement to Hogarth Illustrated*, 25–26.
3 Thierry Smolderen, *The Origins of Comics: From William Hogarth to Winsor McCay*, trans. Bart Beaty and Nick Nguyen (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014), 10–24.
4 Steven Moore, *The Novel: An Alternative History. 1600–1800* (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 701.
5 Peter Jan de Voogd, *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth: The Correspondences of the Arts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981), 57.
6 Robert L. S. Cowley, *Marriage-à-la-Mode: A Re-View of Hogarth's Narrative Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 51.
7 David Bindman, *Hogarth and His Times* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 74.
8 Steven Moore, *The Novel, 710*.
9 See Lacy Marschalk, Mallory Anne Porch and Paula R. Backscheider, "The Empty Decade? English Fiction in the *1730s*", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 26, no. 3 (2014): 375–426.
10 Richard D. Altick, "Humorous Hogarth: His Literary Associations", *The Sewanee Review* 47, no. 2 (1939): 266, 256, 261.
11 Martin C. Battestin, *A Henry Fielding Companion* (Westport and London: Greenwood, 2000), 61.

12 Henry Fielding, *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, Shamela, and Occasional Writings*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), 620–621.
13 Useful outlines of the history of the Hogarth-Fielding analogy can be found in Voogd, *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth*, 7–30 and Frédéric Ogée, "'O, Hogarth, had I thy Pencil': Delineations of an Alleged Friendship", in *Henry Fielding (1707–1754): Novelist Playwright, Journalist, Magistrate. A Double Anniversary Tribute*, ed. Claude Rawson (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 201–206.
14 Henry Fielding, *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), 6–7.
15 Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 40–41.
16 Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 61.
17 Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones*, ed. Martin C. Battestin and Fredson Bowers (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), 555.
18 Henry Fielding, *Amelia*, ed. Martin C. Battestin (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 43.
19 Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 66.
20 Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 82.
21 Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 138.
22 For a discussion of the empiricist agenda behind Fielding's use of "history", see Roger Maioli, *Empiricism and the Early Theory of the Novel: Fielding to Austen* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 74–79.
23 Sean Shesgreen, *Literary Portraits in the Novels of Henry Fielding* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972), 22–23.
24 Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 156.
25 Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 155.
26 Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 4.
27 Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 152.
28 Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 810.
29 Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 212.
30 In *Joseph Andrews*, for instance, we read that "those voluminous Works commonly called *Romances*" contain "very little Instruction or Entertainment". Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 4. Elsewhere, Fielding declares that he will "cautiously avoid the Term Romance" so as not to be accused of introducing unrealistic characters. Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 489.
31 Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 55.
32 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 198–202.
33 To read more on Fielding and the romance tradition see Henry Knight Miller, *Henry Fielding's* Tom Jones *and the Romance Tradition* (British Columbia: University of Victoria, 1976) and my *In Quest of the Self: Masquerade and Travel in the Eighteenth-Century Novel. Fielding, Smollett, Sterne* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014), 37–58.
34 The aesthetic tension between particularity and universality in Fielding is addressed in Maioli, *Empiricism and the Early Theory of the Novel*, 69–79.
35 Shesgreen, *Literary Portraits in the Novels of Henry Fielding*, 33, 127.
36 Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, 153.
37 Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 157.
38 Fielding, *Amelia*, 66.
39 Fielding, *Amelia*, 454.
40 Alison Conway, *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel, 1709–1791* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 140.

41 Fielding, *Amelia*, 108–109.
42 As Conway aptly observes, "The turn towards the non-satiric Hogarth – Hogarth the portrait painter – marks the difference between the understanding of female character informing his representation of Sophia Western and the new ideas revealed in his characterization of Amelia". Conway, *Private Interests*, 142. In Hogarth's best known self-portrait –*Painter and His Pug* from 1745 – the artist's face is too characterised by a prominent scar. Fielding would have been familiar with the canvas and Amelia's nose may well have been a meta-pictorial signal of a different Hogarthian aesthetic in the novel.
43 Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (London: Methuen, 1986), chapt. 5 "Masquerade and Allegory: Fielding's *Amelia*", 177–252.
44 The "nose controversy" is usefully summarised in Peter Sabor, "*Amelia*", in *The Cambridge Companion to Henry Fielding*, ed. Claude Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 97–99. Hugh Amory argues that the revisions might have been introduced by Fielding's biographer Arthur Murphy. Hugh Amory, "What Murphy Knew: His Interpolations in Fielding's Works (1762), and Fielding's revision of Amelia", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 77 (1983): 133–166.
45 Fielding, *Amelia*, 3.
46 Fielding, *Amelia*, 17.
47 Smollett's biographers point out that the writer considered himself first and foremost as a tragic playwright and had difficulty coming to terms with the fact that his tragedies did not meet with sufficient interest and understanding. See, for example, Jeremy Lewis, *Tobias Smollett* (London: Pimlico, 2003), chapt. 3 "The Perils of a Playwright", 51–83. An earlier version of the following section was published as "'A Diffused Picture': William Hogarth and Tobias Smollett's Theory of the Novel, in *Studies in English Literature and Culture: Festschrift in Honour of Professor Grażyna Bystydzieńska*, ed. Aleksandra Kędzierska, Anna Kędra-Kardela, Magdalena Pypeć (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2017), 145–154.
48 I attempt to explain them away in my "Travellers, Connoisseurs and Britons: Art Commentaries and National Discourse in the Travel Writings of Daniel Defoe and Tobias Smollett", forthcoming in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*.
49 For a persuasive argument against, see Ian Campbell Ross, "When Smelfungus met Yorick: Sterne and Smollett in the South of France, 1763", in Tobias Smollett, *Scotland's First Novelist: New Essays In Memory of Paul-Gabriel Boucé*, ed. O M Brack, Jr (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 74–93.
50 Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy and Continuation of the Bramine's Journal*, ed. Melvyn New and W. G. Day (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 37.
51 Robert Etheridge Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948), 166.
52 Richard J. Jones, *Tobias Smollett in the Enlightenment: Travels through France, Italy, and Scotland* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011), 48–53.
53 William L. Gibson, *Art and Money in the Writings of Tobias Smollett* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 111–121.
54 Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, ed. James G. Basker, Nicole A. Seary and Paul-Gabriel Boucé (Athens and London: The University of *Georgia* Press, 2012), 4.

55 Jerry C. Beasley, Introduction to *Ferdinand Count Fathom* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), xxvii.
56 Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*, ed. Jerry C. Beasley (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 4.
57 Tobias Smollett, Review of *The Peregrinations of Jeremiah Grant, Esq*, *Critical Review* 15 (1763): 13–21.
58 Maximillian E. Novak, "Picturing the Thing Itself, or Not: Defoe, Painting, Prose Fiction, and the Arts of Describing", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9, no. 1 (1996): 3.
59 Jerry C. Beasley, *Tobias Smollett*: *Novelist* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1998), 19.
60 Tobias Smollett, *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, ed. Robert Folkenflik and Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick (Athens and London: The University of *Georgia Press*, 2002), 91. Another example can be found in *Humphry Clinker* where we read about "the incomparable Hogarth". Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. Thomas R. Preston (Athens and London: The University of *Georgia Press*, 1990), 141.
61 W. M. Thackeray, *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853), 187–227.
62 In the definitive Georgia University Press editions of Smollett, Hogarth is invariably invoked as the immediate context for the novels.
63 See, Robert Etheridge Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, 162–195; Giulia Giuffré, *Tobias Smollett, William Hogarth and the Art of Caricature* (PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 1979); Beasley, *Tobias Smollett*: *Novelist*, 23–24.
64 Robert Etheridge Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, 162–186.
65 Beasley, Introduction to *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, xxviii.
66 Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth. Volume 3: Art and Politics, 1750–1764* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1993), 57.
67 Paulson, *Hogarth. Volume 3*, 57–58.
68 See Paulson, *Hogarth. Volume 3*, 59.
69 William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Ronald Paulson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 13–14. Further references to the treatise are parenthetical and are to this edition.
70 Smollett, *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 254.
71 Beasley, Notes to *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 429 n. 3.
72 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Roger Woolhouse (London: Penguin, 1997), 287.
73 Alexander Pope, "Windsor-Forest", ed. Jack Lynch, https://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/Texts/windsor.html.
74 Beasley, *Tobias Smollett: Novelist*, 128.
75 Beasley, *Tobias Smollett: Novelist*, 141.
76 Beasley, *Tobias Smollett: Novelist*, 141.
77 Voogd, *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth*, 100–108.
78 Beasley, *Tobias Smollett: Novelist*, 143.
79 Beasley, *Tobias Smollett: Novelist*, 141.
80 For a discussion of these see Robert Etheridge Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, 162–172 and Beasley, *Tobias Smollett: Novelist*, 141–142.
81 Robert Etheridge Moore, *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*, 173.
82 Smollett, *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 10–21.
83 Smollett, *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 182.
84 Smollett, *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 183–184.
85 Smollett, *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 186–187.

86 Smollett, *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 189–190.
87 Smollett, *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 191–195.
88 Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, ed. John P. Zomchick and George S. Rousseau (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2014), 115–116.
89 The label "novel" with reference to *Tristram Shandy* has never been unanimously approved of in Sterne criticism. Strong opposing arguments were first put forward by Melvyn New in *Laurence Sterne as Satirist: A Reading of Tristram Shandy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1969). My perspective in what follows, given the aims I pursue, will be representative of the other side of the debate. I subscribe to Thomas Keymer's opinion that Sterne in *Tristram Shandy* was by all means "alert and responsive to problems that Richardson and Fielding were themselves intelligently exploring". Thomas Keymer, *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 25.
90 As Keymer puts it, "far from representing some radically original scrutiny of novelistic convention, self-referential gestures of this kind had become just another part of the convention". Keymer, *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel*, 58.
91 Studies on Sterne and the visual include, among others: R. F. Brissenden, "Sterne and Painting", in *Of Books and Humankind: Essays and Poems Presented to Bonamy Dobrée*, ed. John Butt, J. M. Cameron, D. W. Jefferson and Robin Skelton (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 93–108; William V. Holtz, *Image and Immortality: A Study of* Tristram Shandy (Providence: Brown University Press, 1970); Peter de Voogd, "*Tristram Shandy* as Aesthetic Object", *Word & Image* 4, no. 1 (1988): 283–392; Peter de Voogd, "Sterne and Visual Culture", in *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, ed. Thomas Keymer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 142–159; W. B. Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
92 Some of these issues have been recently addressed, though rather in passing, in Leann Davis Alspaugh, "'Howgarth's Witty Chissel': Hogarth's Frontispieces for *Tristram Shandy*", *The Shandean* 24 (2013): 9–30, esp. 21–23.
93 See Arthur H. Cash, *Laurence Sterne: The Early and Middle Years* (London: Methuen, 1975), 211 and *Laurence Sterne: The Later Years* (London: Methuen, 1986), 275.
94 To Elizabeth Sterne, December 28, 1761. Laurence Sterne, *The Letters, Part 1: 1739–1764; Part 2: 1765–1768*, ed. Melvyn New and Peter de Voogd (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 216.
95 To Laurence Sulivan, February 17, 1768. Sterne, *The Letters*, 650.
96 Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination*, 20–23.
97 Despite a number of speculations about their meeting(s) in Sterne and Hogarth criticism – see, for example, Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (London: Faber, 1997), 624 – the prevailing opinion today is that, given the fact that there is no evidence documenting the alleged meeting, and that both Sterne and Hogarth were otherwise quite diligent in reporting meetings with notable personages in their correspondence, it is safer to assume that the painter and the writer did not meet after all (see Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination*, xvi; 38).
98 To John Berenger, March 8, 1760. Sterne, *The Letters*, 130–131.
99 Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. Melvyn New and Joan New. 3 vols. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1978–84), 141.
100 Holz, *Image and Immortality*, 26.

101 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 121. M.–C. Newbould considers Sterne's "three stroke technique" as a "metonymic process" shedding light on Sterne's and Hogarth's equivocal take on the art of caricature. M.–C. Newbould, "'A New Order of Beings and Things': Caricature in Sterne's Fictional Worlds", in *Hilarion's Asse: Laurence Sterne and Humour*, ed. Peter de Voogd and Anne Bandry-Scubbi (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), 40.

102 In his critical edition of Hogarth's treatise, Ronald Paulson argues for the rich afterlife of the line of beauty in various arts (from painting to landscape design). He also devotes a couple of paragraphs to *Tristram Shandy*, focusing on the aesthetic of the "love of pursuit". Paulson, Introduction to *The Analysis of Beauty*, l–li.

103 "Reader, I think proper, before we proceed any farther together, to acquaint thee, that I intend to digress, through this whole History, as often as I see Occasion: Of which I am myself a better Judge than any pitiful Critic whatever; and here I must desire all those Critics to mind their own Business, and not to intermeddle with Affairs, or Works, which no ways concern them […]". Fielding, *Tom Jones*, 37.

104 As Paulson puts it, the line of beauty was for Hogarth "a synecdoche for his theory and its crucial terms of variety, intricacy, and pleasure. It was his theory reduced to a hieroglyph". Paulson, *Hogarth. Volume 3*, 122.

105 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 571–572.

106 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 743.

107 Newbould, "A New Order of Beings and Things", 46.

108 Christopher Fanning, "On Sterne's Page: Spatial Layout, Spatial Form, and Social Spaces in *Tristram Shandy*", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10 (1998): 430.

109 Mario Praz in *Mnemosyne* interprets Sterne's criticism of the straight line as testimony to the literary application of rococo aesthetic, writing that his digressiveness and fluidity were parallel to rococo ornaments. Mario Praz, *Mnemosyne: The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts* (Princeton and London: Princeton University Press, 1970), 146–148. More recently, elaborating on the Sterne-rococo parallel, Ogée has offered a counter-argument, demonstrating that the "deep structure" analogy between Sterne and rococo painting can be discerned from the effect of erotic stasis. See Frédéric Ogée, "Sterne and Fragonard: 'The Escapades of Death'", in *Icons – Texts – Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*, ed. Peter Wagner (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1996), 136–148 and "The Erratic and the Erotic: The Aesthetics of *A Sentimental Journey*", *The Shandean* 24 (2013): 104–116. Pat Rogers considers Sterne's aesthetic of "lines" to be neither rococo nor Hogarthian: "Its [i.e. *Tristram Shandy's*] shifts are rapid and disconcerting, rather than graceful in intent; and they are large shifts in tone and content, whereas the whole point about rococo curves is their shallowness. Hogarth's line of beauty traces a soft and symmetrical S; whereas the line of Shandy is more like a series of jagged Zs. It owes less to current rococo trends than to the zigzaggery of architecture and military engineering." Pat Rogers, "Ziggerzagger Shandy: Sterne and the Aesthetics of the Crooked Line", *English* 42 (1993): 98.

110 For an insightful discussion of an overlap between the aesthetic of motion and personal identity in Hogarth and Sterne, see Frédéric Ogée, "'That Infinite Variety of Human Forms': Modern Identity and Portraiture in Enlightenment England", in *Life Forms in the Thinking of the Long Eighteeenth Century*, ed. Keith Michael Baker and Jenna M. Gibbs (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2016), 95–109.

111 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 41.
112 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 268.
113 See Peter de Voogd, "The Black Page", in *Things and Images in 18th and 19th Century British Literature*, ed. Grażyna Bystydzieńska (Warszawa: Ośrodek Studiów Brytyjskich, 2016): 148; Christopher Fanning, "Sterne and Print Culture", in *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*, ed. Thomas Keymer, 133. The production of the marbled pages was described in Diana Patterson, "Tristram's Marblings and Marblers", *The Shandean* 3 (1991): 70–97.
114 I am not claiming that Sterne would have treated the marbling as a Hogarthian element. Most likely that was not the case. What I am saying is that Hogarth's aesthetic is a presence behind Sterne's own individualised aesthetic, perhaps best rendered in the marbling. To read on the probable artistic context for the marbling, in particular Alexander Cozen's "blot" technique, see Peter de Voogd, "Laurence Sterne, the Marbled Page, and the 'Use of Accidents'", *Word & Image* 1 (1985): 279–287.
115 To Catherine Fourmantel,? April 5, 1760. Sterne, *Letters*, 140.
116 To David Garrick, January 27, 1760. Sterne, *Letters*, 112.
117 Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination*, esp. 15–20.
118 Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, 16.
119 There is a study of Sterne and the aesthetic of *non finito*; see Marcia Allentuck, "In Defense of an Unfinished *Tristram Shandy*: Laurence *Sterne* and the *Non Finito*", in *The Winged Skull: Papers from the Laurence Sterne Bicentenary Conference*, ed. Arthur H. Cash (London: Methuen, *1972),* 145–55. Alspaugh mentions both the "strokes" and "non finito", but fails to comment on the link between the actual visuality of strokes and the aesthetic of incompleteness. Alspaugh, "Howgarth's Witty Chissel", 28. For a different interpretation of Sterne's idea of strokes and outlines, see Newbould, "A New Order of Beings and Things", 43–44.
120 This would have been one of the reasons for Sterne's choice of Hogarth. In his *Autobiographical Notes*, Hogarth commented on his mnemonic technique of capturing the essence of a character in only three strokes. See Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth. Volume 1: The 'Modern Moral Subject' Art and Politics, 1697–1732* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1991), 46–47.

# 3 The Animated Portrait in *The Castle of Otranto* and the Post-Walpolean Gothic

No study of the relationship between the different art forms in the eighteenth century can do without a discussion of the contribution of Horace Walpole – the writer, antiquarian and grand arbiter of taste in the period.[1] His life achievement – the Gothic restructuring and renovation of the Strawberry Hill estate – is a powerfully vivid manifestation of a successful arrangement of architecture, design, painting and sculpture in a joint artistic project. Walpole's *opus magnum* resulted from his life-long devotion to the arts, which would have originated in his artistic education (carried out by his mother) and his father's impressive collection of paintings, and then developed during his travels through Italy in 1739–1741. When on his Grand Tour, Walpole also indulged his passions of an antiquary. In a letter to Henry Conway on 23 April 1740, he writes:

> How I like the inanimate part of Rome you will soon perceive at my arrival in England; I am far gone in medals, lamps, idols, prints, etc. and all the small commodities to the purchase of which I can attain; I would buy the Coliseum if I could.[2]

Elsewhere in his correspondence, he lists his Italian "baubles", including ancient artefacts, such as tables, mosaics, urns, vases or medals, and baroque paintings by Paolo Pannini, Carlo Maratti and Pietro da Cortona, among others.[3] Such interests culminated in the renovation of Strawberry Hill, itself a kind of collection, and by extension, gave way to the writing of *The Castle of Otranto*.

A painter and drawer himself,[4] Walpole continuously revealed an interest and expertise in the arts in his writings. There is plenty of art commentary throughout the correspondence and memoirs, and there are also autonomously published texts devoted to the arts exclusively. The first was *Aedes Walpolianae* (1743), which was a catalogue of his father's famous collection at Haughton Hall. Then, having already spent over a decade restructuring the Strawberry Hill house, Walpole started editing and rewriting George Vertue's notes on English painters, which he published as *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762–1780).

Finally, in response to the growing "tourist" interest in his house, he wrote *A Description of Mr. Walpole's Villa at Strawberry Hill* (1774), commenting, for the most part, on the highlights of the collection inside the house.

The writing and publication of *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story* happened somehow in the meantime, and as such is inseparable from Walpole's other projects. The book's status in literary history is rather ambiguous. Even if Horace Walpole was not the first writer to introduce the Gothic in the novel form – scholars of the Gothic have recognised a notable precursor in the figure of Tobias Smollett[5] – he can certainly be credited as the first novelist to self-consciously use the word "gothic" with a generic agenda – a metafictional gesture in the second edition (1765, the first being published anonymously in 1764), which was repeated a decade later by Clara Reeve in *The Old English Baron* (1777–1778). Referring to the decades-long debate in Gothic criticism, even if the Gothic as a mode had existed before, the Gothic as a genre was born with the second edition of *The Castle of Otranto*. Needless to say, any identification of origin of this kind must be taken cautiously. James Watt in *Contesting the Gothic* puts forward a strong argument for discontinuing the Gothic tradition and concludes claiming that Walpole's "Gothic" had much more in common with *Arabian Nights* and such oddities as William Beckford's *Vathek* than with the Gothic romance of the late eighteenth century.[6] On the level of genre and narrative, however, the continuity between such otherwise dissimilar authors as Walpole and, for example, Ann Radcliffe, can be seen clearly. To some extent, *Otranto* proved to be a generative model, featuring scenes and plot patterns employed by later Gothicists, including Italian setting, persecuted innocence, tyrannical fathers and Shakespearean supernatural. The ideological message of Walpole's story of ownership and inheritance, as analysed by E. J. Clery,[7] would also have appealed to Radcliffe and the like of her. Given the general objective this study undertakes – that is, to trace the self-conscious performance of the novel genre throughout the century – I believe it is legitimate to begin my story of the Gothic with a reading of *Otranto*.

My starting point will be again the preface, or in fact, the two prefaces from the first and second editions, respectively. Uncertain about the work's reception and very much in line with the "pretended authenticity" topos, Walpole decided not to admit to authoring the first edition of *Otranto* and published it under the guise of a mere translation from a medieval Italian original. After the novel's success, Walpole issued the second edition, which he not only signed with his initials but also tellingly subtitled as "A Gothic Story", which extended the subtitle "A story" of the first edition. The new version was prefaced with a commentary on the generic identity of the narrative, which Walpole typically defined in relation to other forms of writing.

First of all, Walpole famously distinguishes between the modern romance and the ancient romance, with the aim of putting his own project forward as the one that "blend[s] the two kinds of Romance". The blend, Walpole continues, reconciles realism with fancy (in terms of representation) and the high with the low (in terms of characters) and thus creates "a new species of romance" – a claim by no means exceptional in the light of other eighteenth-century authorial remarks. The author invokes Shakespeare as his noble predecessor, referring, among other issues, to the interplay of the sublime and the comic in *Hamlet*. Even if the preface lacks an open allusion to the art of painting, the context of the fine arts is introduced nevertheless: Walpole elucidates his idea of the said interplay by means of a comparison with sculpture. As he puts it, "These touches [i.e. the contrasts in Shakespeare] remind one of the *Grecian* sculptor, who to convey the idea of a Colossus within the dimensions of a seal, inserted a little boy measuring his thumb".[8] In a way, this idea was literally taken up in *Otranto* in the quaint use of Alfonso the Good's gigantic armoury.

Apart from the preface, the other self-reflexive paratextual element shedding light on the writing of *The Castle of Otranto* is a letter to his friend William Cole (9 March 1765), in which Walpole identifies the origin of the project in a nightmare that he suffered in his Strawberry Hill villa. As he writes, he found himself in "an ancient castle", where he saw "a gigantic hand in armour" on top of "a great staircase". The dream, Walpole admits, was only natural for "a head filled like mine with gothic story". In the letter Walpole also draws attention to a significant detail:

> Your partiality to me and Strawberry have I hope inclined you to excuse the wildness of the story. You will even have found some traits to put you in mind of this place. When you read of the picture quitting its panel, did not you recollect the portrait of Lord Falkland all in white in my gallery?[9]

The inspirational role of the painting (Figure 3.1) is also acknowledged in the 1784 edition of Walpole's *Description*, where he writes that "The idea of a picture walking out of its frame in the Castle of Otranto, was suggested by this portrait".[10] The letter and the other writings, including *Description*, gave way to contextualised readings of *Otranto* that compared the spatial project in the fiction with the actual estate and its holdings.[11] This being my starting point, I will concentrate in this chapter on Walpole's imaginative transposition of the actual portrait from the gallery of Strawberry Hill in order to show how it contributed to the formation of one of the most enduring of Gothic motifs – the animated portrait, "a standard furnishing of the [Gothic] castle"[12] and "an almost mandatory tool of terror".[13] I will devote special attention to the role of

*Figure 3.1* *Henry Cary, 1st Viscount Falkland*. Marcus Geeraerts the Younger. Ca. 1603. Oil on canvas. Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston.

such portraits in the Gothic, the meanings carried by them, and the formative role played by the one in Walpole's *Otranto*. Here, painting is not only implied through meta-pictorial commentaries or verbal sketches, but is an actual and material presence whose multi-dimensional implications define Walpole's Gothic project. It is a "thing", as Theodore Ziolkowski puts it, "with a tangible reality in the context of the literary work".[14]

In his book on animation, Spyros Papapetros recognises the potential of the motif to raise wider concerns about the extra-artistic context:

> While animation revives the ancient correspondences of analogical thinking between the microcosm of human artifacts and the macrocosm of universal affairs, it also reenergizes the world of polarities, the splitting of both natural and conceptual entities into oppositional pairs. Animated objects [...] not only represent but at times embody these polarities in their dynamically ambivalent behaviour.[15]

As this chapter will show, the animated portrait in the Gothic plays this very role: it negotiates the binaries of past and present, self and other, real and unreal, beyond the obvious entanglement with the issues of what belongs to animate and what to inanimate matter.

In his essay on the uncanny as "that class of the terrifying which leads back to something long known to us, once very familiar",[16] Sigmund Freud engages with Ernst Jentsch's 1906 "Zur Psychologie des Unheimlichen", both developing and debating many of the latter's ideas. One of those is the notion of animation, which Jentsch regards as a "factor in the origin of the uncanny", writing about the primal tendency in man to search for equivalents of "his own animate state" in the realm of the inanimate. He continues, saying that what provokes the feeling of the uncanny in particular is "a doubt as to the animate or inanimate state of things".[17] Freud refers to this observation, linking it with Jentsch's earlier discussion of automata dolls, arguing that in this case, the experience of the uncanny is not necessarily that of fear but that of an "infantile wish" for the inanimate object to come to life. Importantly, Freud points out that the juxtaposition of fear and desire here is not a "contradiction" but a "complication".[18] Elsewhere, he asserts that "it is in the highest degree uncanny when inanimate objects—a picture or a doll—come to life",[19] which arguably conceptualises the uncanniness of Gothic paraphernalia.

As a matter of fact, painting, and especially portraiture, is essentially uncanny, as it tends to purposely vacillate between the two realms – on the one hand, by implying the ghostly presence or immanence of the represented person; on the other hand, by means of such techniques as *trompe l'oeil* or an illusion of eye contact with the viewer.[20] In fact, Geeraerts's painting of Lord Falkland makes good use of these two techniques: if the penetrating look of the represented aristocrat draws attention, what can escape notice is the slightly forward position occupied by the left foot – it looks as if it is crossing the threshold of the frame. This use of *trompe l'oeil* corresponds to the painter's attempt to endow the image with a sense of movement by way of the falling glove in the centre.[21]

In this, the portrait in general, and Geeraerts's one in particular, affects the viewing subject by way of negotiating the subject-object binary

and depriving the viewer from a feeling of safety enjoyed in the position of a detached observer. The animated portrait explores this inherent potential of this genre of painting; as Papapetros points out, animation, like the Freudian uncanny in general, problematises

> an affinity with objects that is always contested. Objects and subjects appear as epigones of an *unfamiliar* kinship: they may now be closer than ever, yet their communication is stalled in the same typified roles of artifacts and users, images and spectators, or buildings and occupants.[22]

The Gothic elaborates on this potential of the image, and the motif goes back to *The Castle of Otranto*. The starting point is a traditional subject-object arrangement, but the paradigm of animation (be it actual or metaphorically implied – I will account for both types in what follows) dissolves the pattern – the object transcends its limitations, posing a threat to the subject's dominant position. In this, the animated object corresponds to the role of the Gothic space in general; that is, as David Punter and Glennis Byron put it, "nothing is what it seems; even commonly accepted definitions of the human and the non-human, the natural and the supernatural, drop away like rotting fortifications themselves". They follow up, adding that (and this is the crux of the animated portrait's role in negotiating the subject-object divide) the Gothic setting "represents desubjectification: within its walls one may be 'subjected' to a force that is utterly resistant to the individual's attempt to impose his or her order".[23]

The paradigm of animation is in general a principle behind Walpole's literary project, which – to use Walpole's own uncanny metaphor – "grew on [his] hands".[24] On a larger scale, Walpole brings to life his Gothic villa, and indeed the Castle of Otranto is depicted as a living entity, not only by the typical sounds it produces but also by the realisation of its self-destructive potential at the end of the narrative. Animation is also what underpins the eccentric fulfilment of the prophecy threatening the rule of the villainous Manfred: "*That the castle and lordship of Otranto should pass from the present family, whenever the real owner should be grown too large to inhabit it*" (17). When the curse is beginning to materialise at the outset of the narrative, and a gigantic helmet falls out of nowhere and smashes Manfred's only heir Conrad on the day of his arranged marriage to the innocent heroine Isabella, the episode not only complicates the two basic layers of the plot – the story of inheritance (featuring Manfred's attempts to secure his unlawful ownership of Otranto) and the story of persecuted innocence (with Manfred's quasi-incestuous desire for his son's failed spouse) – but also uncannily confuses things when the helmet is recognised as the magnified copy of the one topping the statue of Alfonso, now found missing. Such incredible occurrences

mark the subsequent stages of plot development as the separate elements of Alfonso's statue appear in gigantic dimensions (his foot and part of the leg, sabre and hand, respectively).

On the level of details, the animated object that carries analogical narrative, aesthetic and ideological implications of the novel as a whole is the fictional equivalent of Geeraerts's painting – the portrait of Manfred's grandfather Ricardo exhibited in the gallery of the castle, alongside another portrait representing Alfonso the Good. When the portrait of Ricardo is first introduced, a direct link is established between the canvas and the mysterious helmet in the yard (a link also reaffirmed later on). It happens when Manfred makes his scheme clear to Isabella and when the heroine protests against the desires of her tormentor:

> the moon, which was now up, and gleamed in at the opposite casement, presented to his sight the plumes of the fatal helmet, which rose to the height of the windows, waving backwards and forwards in a tempestuous manner, and accompanied with a hollow and rustling sound.
>
> (24)

Isabella interprets this as an intervention of heaven,[25] and Manfred follows up in the same, though villainous, vein with the archetypal act of defiance – "Heaven nor hell shall impede my designs" – and at this moment the portrait of his grandfather is animated: "the portrait of his grandfather, which hung over the bench where they had been sitting, uttered a deep sigh and heaved its breast" (25). Isabella escapes, and Manfred fails to react unable to "keep his eyes from the picture, which began to move". The ensuing scene deserves a longer quotation:

> still looking backwards on the portrait, […] he saw it quit its panel, and descend on the floor with a grave and melancholy air. Do I dream? […] or are the devils themselves in league against me? Speak, infernal spectre! Or, if thou art my grandsire, why dost thou too conspire against thy wretched descendant, who too dearly pays for— Ere he could finish the sentence the vision sighed again, and made a sign to Manfred to follow him. Lead on! cried Manfred, I will follow thee to the gulph of perdition. The spectre marched sedately, but dejected, to the end of the gallery, and turned into a chamber on the right hand. Manfred accompanied him at a little distance, full of anxiety and horror, but resolved. As he would have entered the chamber, the door was clapped-to with violence by an invisible hand. […] Since hell will not satisfy my curiosity, said Manfred, I will use the human means in my power for preserving my race; Isabella shall not escape me.
>
> (25)

This episode and the further mentions of this portrait and the one representing Alfonso, which I will take up in due course, draw attention to several issues central to Walpole's Gothic story. On the strictly literary level, the scene reveals Shakespearean provenance, which should not surprise, given Walpole's prefatory invocation of the bard as his "great model".[26] The scene also closes on what Walpole defines as the principal agenda behind the use of the supernatural – the reactions of the parties involved that help differentiate the attitudes of characters. While the innocent Isabella responds with a mere "Hark" (echoing Elizabethan drama) and leaves as quickly as possible, the villainous Manfred confronts the supernatural in a truly Faustian manner. On the narrative level, by virtue of being contrasted but also confusingly correlated with the gigantic parts of Alfonso's animated statue,[27] the portrait episode capitalises on Manfred's unlawful ownership of Otranto and the quasi-incestuous means he is ready to take in order to secure it, in which he openly challenges the supernatural order. The villain is unable to "keep his eyes from the picture", seeing in it a representation of his ambitions and lust for power; a double standing for the qualities Manfred inherited from his grandfather, the usurper. His leaving the panel, and thus the gallery, when the portrait is exhibited alongside the rightful owner is a gesture indicative of eventual failure – the portrait does not belong in the gallery just as Manfred does not belong in the line of Otranto's rightful owners.

The portrait as a double is a reworking of the mirror motif that has a long history and a rich afterlife. If the portrait is animated, the mirror analogy is even closer, as the mirror reflection is, after all, a kind of animated portrait. It is also worth adding that in the essay on "The Uncanny", Freud discussed doubling immediately after commenting on animation. He does not establish a clear link between these paradigms, other than treating them both as uncanny, but I would venture to assume that there is one, especially when the double is physically identical to the subject, a spitting but also living image.

*The Castle of Otranto* explores the potential of doubling by way of multiplication and cross-pairings: Manfred against the portrait of his grandfather, the two portraits against each other; Theodore against the portrait of Alfonso, who turns out to be his ancestor; the villainous Manfred against the truly heroic Theodore. These pairings capitalise on the central story of inheritance but are also informed ethically and psychologically. The two basic possibilities in terms of the subject's position towards his or her double is repetition/reduplication or contrast.[28] In the first case, the double is an almost identical alter ego and produces an uncanny effect by way of an extraordinary repetition; in *Otranto*, such is the case of Theodore and Alfonso, whose similarity is not limited to physicality but also inherent nobility. The paradigm of doubling as contrast informs the pairing of Manfred and Theodore as well as the

portraits of their respective ancestors. As a rule, doubles as contrasts in the Gothic serve the purpose of embodying the uncontrollable repressed – the subject's *shadow* on the loose. In Walpole's novel, this is not necessarily the case from the perspective of Manfred, who sees in Theodore, and by extension in the portrait of Alfonso, an embodiment of his own aspirations that are impossible to realise. Stained by his ancestor's criminal ambitions, he will never be a match for Theodore's rightfulness and nobility. Conversely, though this perspective is not explicitly established in the narrative, Manfred may be seen as Theodore's shadow, representing the uncontrolled passions and corruption that the heroic protagonist has managed to keep at a distance throughout the narrative. However, the ambiguous ending, featuring Theodore marrying Isabella solely on the grounds of her readiness to soothe his melancholy after the death of his true love, opens up the possibility of the other villainous and "Gothic" Theodore in the aftermath of the narrated events. The ghost of Manfred's ancestor may leave the gallery for now, but nevertheless he remains a shadowy presence throughout, not least because of the curious link established between the ghost and the animated statue of Alfonso, concluded in the two becoming one, in a sense, when Manfred's servants see parts of the statue in the chamber that the portrait ghost has entered before.

A further dimension to the motif of the portrait is added when the servant Bianca is taunting her lady and Manfred's daughter Matilda with matrimonial issues. She describes a potentially perfect suitor with reference to the portrait of Alfonso, "which you [i.e. Matilda] sit and gaze at hours together", to which Matilda replies: "Do not speak lightly of that picture […] I know the adoration with which I look at that picture is uncommon–but I am not in love with a coloured pannel" (38). Matilda's quasi-erotic veneration for the picture may well represent the Freudian wish for animation mentioned above; a desire realised when the heroine first sees the living copy of the portrait – Theodore. Matilda notices a striking resemblance between him and Alfonso as depicted in the portrait: "Heavens! […] do I dream? or is not that youth the exact resemblance of Alfonso's picture in the gallery?" (51). This not only initiates the love between Matilda and Theodore but also hints at the latter's claim to Otranto, which is made clear when the peasant is recognised as the descendant of Alfonso and the only rightful heir. In a way, then, the supernatural animation of the portrait of Manfred's ancestor is re-enacted when Theodore is seen in true light – when wearing full armour he is literally taken by Manfred to be the animated Alfonso the Good. Theodore's identifications throughout the narrative are reaffirmed in the catastrophic finale, when the gigantic statue of Alfonso proclaims: "Behold in Theodore the true heir of Alfonso" (103). The phrasing "behold in" purposely implies a perception of visual representation. The motif of the

animated portrait is thus doubled by means of two complementary episodes that, on a larger scale, correspond to the intertwined narratives of the usurper losing the property and the hitherto unknown descendant regaining it.

The portraits in *Otranto* have been given relatively close critical attention, and apparently no reading of the novel has done without at least a cursory glance at the issue. Walpole's novel is discussed as a starting point for Theodore Ziolkowski's survey of the uses of the "haunted portrait" in the Gothic, though his argument about the gradual rationalisation of the motif raises doubts.[29] The animated portrait was most extensively (and perhaps most influentially) discussed by Jerrold Hogle in a series of essays on what he terms "The Ghost of the Counterfeit".[30] Hogle argues that the fundamental trope in Gothic literature is the fake referent of the ghost; in other words, the ghost (as a literary sign) does not stand for any substance but rather its representation (i.e. another sign). This was the characteristic of the Gothic revival in general: such projects as Strawberry Hill were in fact inherently "fake", as they derived not so much from authentically Gothic buildings but from circulating graphic representations. In *The Castle of Otranto*, Hogle writes, the episodes that embody the essence of the Gothic as "counterfeit" are the animated statue of Alfonso and the picture of Manfred's grandfather. Writing about the latter, and trying to account for the story of inheritance at the same time, Hogle remarks that the ghost is "the counterfeit of a counterfeit [i.e. visual representation] of a counterfeiter [i.e. usurper]" to the effect that there is an absolute lack of substance behind representation.[31] For Hogle, the portrait is a starting point for a broadly contextualised discussion of the Gothic and the understanding of signs in Western culture. Even if my reading of *Otranto*'s portraits and their afterlife in Gothic literature pursues different objectives, I share Hogle's assumption that the animated portrait in *Otranto* is a micro-analogue to the Gothic project in general. In fact, if counterfeiting is taken as a discursive paradigm behind the Gothic genre, the portraits in *Otranto* assume a meta-pictorial dimension: the motif becomes a meta-commentary on Walpole's creative practices and a metonymy of the Gothic novel in general.

More recently, *Otranto*'s portraits have been analysed by Kamilla Elliott in her book-length study of portraiture in Gothic literature. Elliott's argument differs from Hogle's view that Walpole's novel elaborates on "the distance between subject and image".[32] Instead, she claims that from the point of view of the theories of immanence (implying the subject's inherent, quasi-ghostly presence in the representation), the bond between the subject and the image is tightened, with "sign and substance as inhering in each other".[33] Elliott's main concern is the category of resemblance and its role in picture identification, and it is through resemblance, she argues, that the sign and

substance are kept bound together. This results in a poetics of mirrors and multiplications:

> The heir resembles the portrait; the portrait resembles the ancestor; the heir resembles the ancestor; the portrait identifies the ghost; the ghost identifies the heir; the portrait identifies the heir; the heir identifies the portrait as a true resemblance of the ancestor; the ghost identifies the portrait as a true representation of aristocratic origin and essence.[34]

From my perspective, resemblance itself is not a central issue, but I do see a relationship between this category and that of animation. In *Otranto*, Theodore's resemblance to the portrait of Alfonso creates an illusion of animation, and both Matilda and Manfred, when they marvel at the similarity, respond with an implied reference to the supernatural: "Do I dream?" and "What, is not that Alfonso?", they ask, respectively.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I would like to discuss several uses of the animated portrait in the post-Walpolean Gothic, treating them as elaborations on the potential meanings of the motif first carried in Walpole's work.[35] I will show that in terms of genre and narrative, the animated portrait in *The Castle of Otranto* capitalises on several ideas and conventions central to the Gothic. My focus will be on the paradigms of animating the past, doubling and desire for animation. The studied material will exemplify both supernatural and metaphorical animation, which stem from the portraits of Ricardo and Alfonso, respectively.

First of all, the portrait coming to life is by extension representative of the principle of animating the past, and the ghostly immanence of the picture representing an ancestor corresponds to the general project of illustrating the haunting presence of the past on literary (Shakespeare), aesthetic (Gothic revival), familial (inheritance) and political (class and nobility) levels.[36] The effect is a state of not only ontological but also temporal confusions, in which there is no certitude as for what is inanimate or animate, past or present. Such is the poetics of Charles Robert Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820), which offers a memorable deployment of the animated portrait.[37]

The eponymous character is a Faustian figure who has entered into a pact with the devil in return for another 150 years of life. His story is gradually uncovered through several narratives making up the novel, but he is first introduced in the frame narrative, in Chapter 1, by means of a mysterious portrait functioning as a typical marker of lineage in the estate inherited by his descendant, the dying uncle of John Melmoth, who is thus about to come into the Melmoth seat. The presentation of the animated portrait is uncannily correlated with a meticulous description of the uncle dying, and the young John Melmoth finds himself in

the realm of the in between – when the living is dying and the inanimate becomes animated:

> John's eyes were in a moment, and as if by magic, rivetted on a portrait that hung on the wall, and appeared, even to his untaught eye, far superior to the tribe of family pictures that are left to moulder on the walls of a family mansion. It represented a man of middle age. There was nothing remarkable in the costume, or in the countenance, but *the eyes*, John felt, were such as one feels they wish they had never seen, and feels they can never forget.

Then, the uncle tells John more of the picture:

> John, they say I am dying of this and that […] but, John,' and his face looked hideously ghastly, 'I am dying of a fright. That man,' and he extended his meagre arm toward the closet, as if he was pointing to a living being; 'that man, I have good reason to know, is alive still […] You will see him again, he is alive.' Then, sinking back on his bolster, he fell into a kind of sleep or stupor, his eyes still open, and fixed on John.[38]

John now finds himself experiencing extreme emotions – horror provoked by the sight of the dying uncle ("the contracted nostril, the glazed eye, the dropping jaw, the whole horrible apparatus of the *facies Hippocratica*") and terror exuded by the mysterious and now animated picture ("he thought he saw the eyes of the portrait, on which his own was fixed, *move*" [emphasis in the original]). In the aftermath of the scene, the portrait's animation reaches its climax when John is visited by "a figure" – "the living original of the portrait". Like Manfred, John proceeds to follow the sceptre but is called back by his uncle's agony. The uncle's final words are a hysterical reaction to the attempt by one of his servants to change his shirt: "They are robbing me,–robbing me in my last moments,–robbing a dying man […] I shall die a beggar".[39] These words, uttered in the context of the appearance of the ancestral ghost, endow the episode with a metaphorical dimension of the story of inheritance and property. Confusingly, as Elliott points out, the ancestor "becomes his own usurper as well as the usurper of his heirs", rather than a wronged ghost taking vengeance. Elliott also offers a parallel reading of the portrait and the narrative in general (in which Melmoth's body continues to look the same for 150 years, thus imitating the portrait),[40] which implies that the episode of the animated portrait is, like in *Otranto*, a miniature analogue to the plot in general, an inherent meta-commentary. Finally, it is worth adding that the centrality of animation in *Melmoth* is also established by the very first epigraph in the novel – a quote from

Shakespeare's *Henry VI*: "Alive again? Then show me where he is; I'll give a thousand pounds to look upon him".[41]

In the post-Walpolean Gothic, animation was also employed without supernatural agency. And even if the portraits in such cases are not strictly speaking animated – that is, they do not move nor quit the panel – they allude to the motif by way of analogy, similar narrative and ideological functions or the observer's impressions and illusions, as well as emotional and at times physiological states.[42] The first notable example of this kind can be found in Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* (1777–1778). Subtitled "A Gothic Story", the novel is openly meta-fictional and construed as a reworking of *Otranto*: "This Story is the literary offspring of the Castle of Otranto, written upon the same plan, with a design to unite the most attractive and interesting circumstances of the ancient Romance and modern Novel [...]". Reeve recognises Walpole's novel to be in the end a rather successful blend of these two forms, but at the same time voices one fundamental reservation: "the [supernatural] machinery is so violent, that it destroys the effect it is intended to excite". She supports her claim with a list of excessively and ridiculously supernatural elements in the imitated model, among which are both the supersized elements of Alfonso's animated statue and "a picture that walks out of its frame".[43] By defining her project as a direct response to Walpole's and by listing selected episodes in his novel, Reeve enters into an intertextual game with the reader and conceptualises the reading process as a comparative endeavour.

Accordingly, the protagonist Edmund, like Theodore, is brought up as a peasant and gradually regains his social standing and rights to property. However, the supernatural agency of his ancestors is limited to mysterious sounds, as well as to Edmund's dream of their ghostly visit. When he decides to spend a night in an allegedly haunted part of the castle, they made themselves known through Walpolean, though modified, episodes: the noise produced by falling armour (which leads Edmund and his companions to discover the chamber containing the bloody armour of the former master of the house) and the portraits of the late lord and lady, "turned with their faces to the wall".[44] Animation *sensu largo* takes an indirect form, which corresponds both to the actual movement of Manfred's grandfather and the uncanny resemblance of Theodore to the venerated portrait of Alfonso. As for movement, the usurper's picture leaving the gallery in *Otranto* was a metaphor of his and Manfred's misplacement in the line of the owners of the property; in other words, the episode "animated" the story of inheritance, just like the gigantic helmet in the first place. In a similar manner, though quite conversely, the portraits in *The Old English Baron* metaphorically regain their function (as markers of lawful ownership) when the servant Joseph "t[akes] the courage to turn them". There is no supernatural agency in the portraits' "animation", but, nevertheless, they do exude an aura of

ghostly immanence – Joseph needs "courage" to perform the simple task of turning the pictures. Once the past rulers are thus reinstated, Edmund and his companions are struck by the extraordinary resemblance of the protagonist to the pictures. The hero's wonder at this is followed by a feeling of inspiration "with unusual courage", enabling him to explore the bloody chamber and thus initiate the quest for social ascension in a manner similar to that of Walpole's Theodore: "if [heaven] permits, I will know who was my father before I am a day older".[45]

Another layer of meaning that Walpole ascribed to the animated portrait in *Otranto* was the idea of doubling – an idea which is, of course, related to the above-mentioned issues of past and ancestry, as well as highlighting ethical and psychological implications of the motif. The most memorable example of the animated portrait as a double is the one in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Oscar Wilde (1890), which illustrates the paradoxical nature of doubling by way of contrast in Gothic literature. As Gry Faurholt puts it, referring to Lacanian psychoanalysis, "I must other as 'not-I' that which is myself".[46] That said, it has its notable precursors in the first-wave Gothic. An unusual example can be found in Peter Will's *The Victim of Magical Delusion* (1795), which was an adaptation of the German original by Cajetan Tschink (itself an imitation of Schiller's *The Ghost-seer*), in which there is a scene featuring a king who sees his own portrait crash on the ground by the alleged intervention of an "invisible hand". This, the narrator maintains, was meant as a "hint that a higher power had decreed the dethronement of the king".[47] The portrait's role as a memento of the fall of aristocratic rule is also indicated at the beginning of the novel, when the protagonist relates his stay in a typically Gothic castle decorated with literally "living" paintings – "worm-eaten half decayed pictures".[48] The already-discussed episode from *Melmoth the Wanderer* elaborates on the paradigm of doubling, too: John Melmoth is confronted with the moving images of his awe-inspiring ancestors – the mysterious animated portrait from the seventeenth century and the dying body of his uncle, rendered as a word-painting representing the *facies Hippocratica*. The name "Melmoth" is reduplicated, thus warning the young Melmoth about the consequences of uncontrollable desires and the fatalism inscribed in the name.

The one aspect of Walpole's portraits that seems to have enjoyed the richest afterlife is the indication of a desire for animation – a motif going back to mythology and one which Kamilla Elliott relates to iconophilia. Elliott already refers to this in the epigraph to her book, quoting Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783–1785). The book opens with the twins Matilda and Ellinor entertaining each other with stories inspired by the paintings that ornament one of the rooms in the house. At one point, they both cry: "Why do our hearts thus throb before inanimate canvas?", which incites the ensuing story of family origins and inheritance.[49] On

the whole, the uses of the motif are versatile, and let us recall that the venerated portrait of Alfonso the Good in *Otranto* is not, strictly speaking, animated, and the quasi-involvement of the supernatural is limited to Matilda's reaction on seeing Theodore. However, the uncanny feeling that there is more behind the inanimate canvas, even if the feeling does not materialise, is typically followed by an impression of animation: by way of mysterious sounds, illusion of movement or doubling by a living figure identical to the portrait.

Ann Radcliffe's fictional debut, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* from 1789, offers a skilful reinterpretation of the motif. Towards the end of the narrative, a love scene between the hero Alleyn and the heroine Mary is introduced by the latter's portrait:

> In a gallery on the North side of the castle, which was filled with pictures of the family, hung a portrait of Mary. She was drawn in the dress which she wore on the day of the festival, when she was led by the Earl into the hall, and presented as the partner of Alleyn. The likeness was striking, and expressive of all the winning grace of the original.[50]

The painting inspires Alleyn's "melancholy musing", and the visual sensations are complemented by "the notes of sweet music" and the words of poetry. "Entranced in the sweet sounds", the hero walks towards the source until he perceives Mary through a door frame. For some time, the hero, "absorbed in mute admiration", observes the heroine "hanging over her lute", while she, in turn, is unaware of his presence.[51] As the object of a one-sided gaze, Mary is metaphorically equated with the previously admired pictorial representation, and the door frame through which she is contemplated by Alleyn is by no means without significance. She not only metaphorically animates the previously venerated portrait but, in a sense, becomes an animated portrait herself. As for the description itself, which conventionally relies on the motifs of stasis and the observer's speechlessness, Radcliffe's word-painting becomes animated, too, through the heroine's voice and the sweet sounds.[52]

A successful deployment of the motif, this time in a supernatural variant, can be found in Matthew Gregory Lewis's infamous *The Monk* (1796). As a matter of fact, the connection between image and desire characterises the novel in general, and is aptly summarised by Jerrold Hogle:

> It is not just that the abbot Ambrosio falls in lust with the picture of the Virgin in his cell *and* that the picture turns out to be a portrait of Matilda [...]. Ambrosio shifts his lustful desires from Matilda to Antonia only when he is "pursued [...] to his Cell [...] by Antonia's image" after hearing a petition from her in the Capuchin chapel, and that shift becomes an actual pursuit only after Matilda

> has shown him another image: "the scene" of Antonia undressing in a magic "mirror of polished steel". Don Raymond, in his turn within the novel's subplot, pursues the Agnes he loves first through the screen-figure of her mother, who views him as her lover all too readily, and then behind the image of the Bleeding Nun visualized in a "drawing" at the Castle of Lindenberg, the figure which finally appears to him as the "animated Corse" itself when he thinks he is fleeing Lindenberg with Agnes in a Bleeding-Nun disguise.[53]

Hogle follows up with an extensive discussion of the "fakery" of *The Monk*, as part of his "Ghost of the Counterfeit" project defining the core of the Gothic's generic character. Nevertheless, the most memorable episode featuring an actual animated portrait takes place at the outset of the narrative, when the vain and hypocritical character of the universally idolised Ambrosio is revealed to the reader in the privacy of the monk's cell. The scene opens with an extensive internal monologue in which Ambrosio is both pondering his own greatness and imagining the sexual temptations he will be inevitably exposed to as the favourite preacher and confessor of the "fairest and noblest Dames of Madrid". His resolution not only violates his chastity vows but also blasphemously invokes the picture of Madonna in his cell:

> I must accustom my eyes to Objects of temptation, and expose myself to the seduction of luxury and desire. Should I meet in that world which I am constrained to enter some lovely Female, lovely … as you, Madona …!' As He said this, He fixed his eyes upon a picture of the Virgin, which was suspended opposite to him: This for two years had been the Object of his increasing wonder and adoration. He paused, and gazed upon it with delight.

The monk resumes his monologue with an iconophiliac litany of stock elements typical of heroine sketches in the eighteenth-century novel:

> 'What Beauty in that countenance!' He continued after a silence of some minutes; 'How graceful is the turn of that head! What sweetness, yet what majesty in her divine eyes! How softly her cheek reclines upon her hand! Can the Rose vie with the blush of that cheek? Can the Lily rival the whiteness of that hand? Oh! if such a Creature existed, and existed but for me! […]'.[54]

Ambrosio now represses these thoughts and attempts to regain composure, trying to convince himself that rather than female charms, he venerates the painter's skill and the represented divinity. Shortly after, however, the picture metaphorically comes to life when the monk is visited by Rosario, a young novice in the congregation, who is later

on in the novel revealed to be the mysterious woman Matilda, herself claiming to have ordered the portrait to be painted after herself and sent to Ambrosio as a token of her desire: "What was his amazement at beholding the exact resemblance of his admired Madona? The same exquisite proportion of features, the same profusion of golden hair, the same rosy lips, heavenly eyes, and majesty of countenance adorned Matilda!"[55]

Before this is uncovered, Ambrosio is tempted in a dream where the figures of Matilda and the Virgin from the canvas are, as it were, united in leading the monk to perdition:

> During his sleep his inflamed imagination had presented him with none but the most voluptuous objects. Matilda stood before him in his dreams, and his eyes again dwelt upon her naked breast. She repeated her protestations of eternal love, threw her arms round his neck, and loaded him with kisses: He returned them; He clasped her passionately to his bosom, and … the vision was dissolved. Sometimes his dreams presented the image of his favourite Madona, and He fancied that He was kneeling before her: As He offered up his vows to her, the eyes of the Figure seemed to beam on him with inexpressible sweetness. He pressed his lips to hers, and found them warm: The animated form started from the Canvas, embraced him affectionately, and his senses were unable to support delight so exquisite. Such were the scenes, on which his thoughts were employed while sleeping: His unsatisfied Desires placed before him the most lustful and provoking Images, and he rioted in joys till then unknown to him.[56]

Animation in *The Monk*, then, operates on several levels. First of all, the novel displays an inherent tension between the Walpolean supernatural and Reeve's and Radcliffe's rationalisation. Lewis seemingly embraces the latter mode, and the picture of Madonna is animated either metaphorically – through the appearance of Rosario/Matilda, the living double – or in a dream. On the other hand, as is revealed in the course of the narrative, Matilda's similarity to the picture of Madonna is an outcome of supernatural agency. In the resolution of the novel, when Satan is about to betray the monk, ignoring the previous arrangement, and let him fall from on high onto the rocks, Ambrosio learns about the extent of the demon's schemes taken up to lead him to perdition. Part of it was to be played by Matilda: "I observed your blind idolatry of the Madona's picture. I bad a subordinate but crafty spirit assume a similar form, and you eagerly yielded to [her]".[57] Matilda is thus defined as a "crafty spirit" embodying the pictorial representation. Kamilla Elliott insightfully points out that this devilish scheme reverses the miracle of incarnation: "It returns the deified, transcendent Madonna back to flesh

and makes the virgin mother a carnal whore".[58] On the narrative and generic level, the animated portrait in *The Monk* not only fully exploits the potential of the motif as projected by the two pictures in *Otranto* but also endows it with a further dimension. The canvas is not animated by an immanently present ghostly being – as a rule the subject of the representation – but by a separate entity summoned by way of identification. Satan's scheme turns the divine project of incarnation upside down – a demon incarnates a form imitating the divine figure of Madonna – and this reversal is illustrative of the general message conveyed by the narrative: the reversal of the monk's proclaimed *imitatio Christi* into *imitatio diaboli*.

Finally, given the fact that literary anthologies and collections play a significant role in the processes of popularisation and standardisation, one vital example of the motif of an uncanny desire for animation comes from the 1800 edition of *Gothic Stories*, published in the form of a six-penny pamphlet by S. Fisher. The closing, one page-long story "Mary, a Fragment" features an unhappy lover pondering the loss of his beloved one. Henry's memories are kindled by the portrait he is contemplating:

> He took up the portrait [...] and gazed intensely upon it, till the taper, suddenly burning brighter, discovered to him a phenomenon, he was no less terrified than surprised at. The eyes of the portrait moved; the features, from angelic smile, changed to a look of solemn sadness; a tear of sorrow stole down each cheek, and the bosom palpitated as with sighing.

The portrait becomes alive, though its ghostly immanence is curiously separated from it, or perhaps reduplicated, when one hour later the protagonist is visited by the hideous and already decomposing undead body of his beloved Mary, who comes to take him with her so that they could enjoy "all the extasies of love" in the charnel-house.[59] There is clearly nothing intentional in this, but this short derivative story written at the turn of the century shows that there is a link between the Walpolean paradigm of portrait animation, central to first-wave Gothic as I have sought to demonstrate, and the stories of the undead, themselves variants on the motif of animation and further manifestations of the uncanny uncertainty about the animate or inanimate state of things. "Mary, a Fragment" seems to indicate a kind of continuity between Ricardo leaving the panel in *Otranto*, the revived body in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and late Romantic and Victorian stories of vampires.

Walpole's idea to animate the portraits in *Otranto* was, then, not only a frequently imitated motif in the decades to come, but the micro-analogue to the Gothic project in general. This relatively minor episode

was endowed by Walpole with a number of complex implications, which were then creatively deployed, modified or developed by the writers in his wake. I would then argue that the animation principle may be taken as an argument for a kind of continuity within the first-wave Gothic, despite the apparent distance separating the novelistic projects of Horace Walpole and, for example, Ann Radcliffe. Painting does not inform these projects solely by way of meta-pictorial contexts and verbal sketches. Apart from being a discursive presence, the art of painting becomes an actual presence in the form of objects drawing the reader's attention to the narrative and ideological issues central to the Gothic novel as a whole.[60]

The animated portrait, like the Gothic in general, is also revealing of the wider scope of socio-cultural contexts, especially with respect to the issues of connoisseurship and material culture. As I have already pointed out, *The Castle of Otranto* emerged from Horace Walpole's antiquarian passions; his compulsive, as it were, collecting of material objects making up the Strawberry Hill project. This was well-grounded in the contexts of the Grand Tour and the developing culture of museums. The cultural practices of collection and display conceptualised the subject-object relationship in terms of mastery and dominance. As mentioned in the Introduction, in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, the dominant approach to painting was that of commodification, a marker of luxury and the subject's social identity. The quasi-parasite practices of mass print reproduction throughout the century added a further dimension to the reification and subordination of painting. By bestowing agency on an otherwise passive object, Walpole destabilises the seemingly secure patterns of the self's position in the world of objects, even if, paradoxically, the actual gallery at Strawberry Hill would not have produced an analogous effect. Walpole himself felt that the room was somehow unique in its magnificence: "My Gallery occupies me entirely, but grows rather too magnificent for my humility".[61] As Marion Harney puts it, "This room is the antithesis of the dusky dark and gloomy interiors of the earlier rooms in its impressive scale and luxurious almost baroque decorative scheme."[62] Admittedly, the brightly coloured portrait of Lord Falkland itself, despite the uncanny techniques mentioned before, does not seem the best choice for a haunted canvas either. The way the portrait and the gallery were "Gothicised" in *Otranto* capitalises on the transformative power of Gothic fiction to destabilise meanings.

In this, the motif is reliant on the poetics of dreams, which, as Stefanie Meier aptly suggests, "has the effect of simultaneously revealing and concealing its meaning".[63] Let me repeat here that, according to Walpole, the source for *Otranto*, and the animated portrait, lies in dreams. Apart from the one in the already-mentioned letter to William Cole, the other dream allegedly inspirational for Walpole's treatment of the portrait is

the one recounted in his manuscript "Book of Materials". In it, Walpole writes about a dream following his visit to Westminster Hall:

> I then went into another like gallery. At the end was a very odd picture; it seemed a young king in his robes to the knees, sleeping & leaning on one hand thus. [sketch] I immediately knew it to be Richard 2d. He waked, and came out of the frame, & was extremely kind to me, & pressed me to stay with him [...].[64]

Lynda Nead insightfully points out that Walpole's animated portrait would have contributed to the popularity of the so-called "haunted gallery" – a space of "cultural fantasy" that negotiated the strict dichotomies of stillness and motion, the animate and the inanimate. The haunted gallery was not only a far-reaching and popular fictional motif but also a concept affecting the practices of tourism and art appreciation – museum goers in the late eighteenth century would visit art galleries at night and would expect special magic effects produced by torchlight. Nead argues that the thrill of a possible picture animation was a response grounded in contemporary realities – when the gradual industrialisation endowed objects with motion: "Rather than making the states of motion and stillness absolute and distinct, industrialisation and machine production generated a discourse in which they were fluid and subject to thrilling visual uncertainties and transformations."[65]As I have demonstrated, the Gothic poetics of the in-between welcomed these fluid extremes, metonymically conceptualised by the animated portrait.

## Notes

1 An earlier version of this chapter was published as "Moving Pictures: The Animated Portrait in *The Castle of Otranto* and the Post-Walpolean Gothic". *Image [&] Narrative* 18, no. 3 (2017): 64–79.
2 Horace Walpole, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis et al., 48 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937–1983), vol. 37, 57.
3 Walpole, "Walpole's Purchases in Italy", in *Correspondence*, vol. 26, Appendix 1, 3–8.
4 See W. S. Lewis, *Horace Walpole* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1961).
5 Especially in the "morbid, quasi-necrophiliac episodes in chapters 62 and 63" of Ferdinand Count Fathom. See Elizabeth Durot-Boucé, "Fathoming the Gothic Novelists' Indebtedness to Smollett", in *Tobias Smollett, Scotland's First Novelist: New Critical Essays In Memory of Paul Gabriel Boucé*, ed. O M Brack, Jr (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 168–185.
6 See James Watt, *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict, 1764–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
7 E. J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 71–79.

8 Horace Walpole, preface to *The Castle of Otranto*, ed. Nick Groom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 9–14. Further references are parenthetical and are to this edition.
9 Walpole, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, 88.
10 Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole, Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Oxford, at Strawberry-Hill, near Twickenham, Middlesex* (Strawberry-Hill: Thomas Kirgate, 1784), 51
11 See Robert Wyndham Ketton-Cremer, *Horace Walpole: A Biography*, rev. ed. (Ithaka: Cornell University Press, 1960) and Marion Harney, *Placemaking for the Imagination: Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
12 Theodore Ziolkowski, *Disenchanted Images: A Literary Iconology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 15.
13 Frederick S. Frank, Notes to *The Castle of Otranto* and *The Mysterious Mother* (Peterborough: Broadview, 2003) 81 note 1.
14 Ziolkowski, *Disenchanted Images*, 8.
15 Spyros Papapetros, *On the Animation of the Inorganic: Art, Architecture, and the Extension of Life* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), x.
16 Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny'", trans. Alix Strachey (1919), http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/freud1.pdf, 2.
17 Ernst Jentsch, "On the Psychology of the Uncanny", trans. Roy Sellars (1906). www.art3idea.psu.edu/locus/Jentsch_uncanny.pdf, 12–13.
18 Freud, "The 'Uncanny'", 9. The complication of fear and desire, characteristic of the Freudian uncanny, lies at the core of the Gothic in general, and so does the entanglement of the animate and the inanimate. This can be observed on various layers of Gothic poetics, and especially in the uses of space. It is typically characterised by means of sounds and images associated with the living world, such as groans, howls heard in vacant halls and passages, or moss and ivy covering the ruinous surfaces of decaying edifices.
19 Freud, "The 'Uncanny'", 16.
20 Walter Scott in his "Prefatory Memoir to Walpole" regards it as a source of terror: "There are a few who have not felt at some period of their childhood a sort of terror from the manner in which the eye of an ancient portrait appears to fix that of the spectator from every point of view". Walter Scott, "Prefatory Memoir to Walpole", in *The Castle of Otranto* (London: Hurst, Robinson, 1811), xxix.
21 *Trompe l'oeil* characterised the other elements of the Strawberry Hill project, too. These included the decoration of the stairs, painted wallpapers or faux carving of ceilings.
22 Papapetros, *On the Animation of the Inorganic*, viii.
23 David Punter and Glennis Byron, *The Gothic* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), 260, 262.
24 To William Cole, March 9, 1765. Walpole, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, 88.
25 The plumes move again when Isabella's father, Frederick, arrives at the castle bringing a gigantic sabre: "the sable plumes of the enchanted helmet [...] were tempestuously agitated, and nodded thrice, as if bowed by some invisible wearer" (55); "the plumes of the enchanted helmet agitated in the same extraordinary manner as before" (60). This is when Manfred is openly addressed as "the usurper of Otranto" (56).
26 It does so not only in staging a mysterious appearance of the ghost of an ancestor who – as we are gradually given to understand – haunts the living in order to draw attention to the wrongs of the past, but also by means of crypto-quotations. For example, "Lead on! [...] I will follow thee to the gulph of

perdition" is clearly reminiscent of Hamlet's reaction on seeing the ghost of his father – "Go on, I'll follow thee" (I. Iv. 63) – as well as of other similar scenes in Shakespeare's works. See Groom, Notes to *The Castle of Otranto* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), note 25.

27 When Manfred's servants enter the chamber they find a gigantic foot and part of a leg of Alfonso rather than the ghost of Manfred's grandfather that has quitted the panel.

28 Gry Faurholt, "Self as Other: The Doppelgänger", *Double Dialogues* 10 (2009). www.doubledialogues.com/article/self-as-other-thedoppelganger/.

29 Ziolkowski, *Disenchanted Images*, 78–148.

30 Jerrold E. Hogle, "The Ghost of the Counterfeit in the Genesis of the Gothic", in *Gothick Origins and Innovations*, ed. Allan Lloyd Smith and William Hughes (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994), 23–33; "The Ghost of the Counterfeit—and the Closet—in *The Monk*", *Romanticism on the Net* 8 (1997), www.erudit.org/en/journals/ron/1997-n8-n8/005770ar/; "The Gothic Ghost of the Counterfeit and the Progress of Abjection", in *A New Companion to the Gothic*, ed. David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 496–509.

31 Hogle, "The Ghost of the Counterfeit in the Genesis of the Gothic", 28.

32 Hogle, "The Ghost of the Counterfeit in the Genesis of the Gothic", 31.

33 Kamilla Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction: The Rise of Picture Identification, 1764–1835* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 109.

34 Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction*, 110.

35 My aim is to trace its afterlife in the first-wave Gothic (1764–1820). Ziolkowski's metaphor for the rich afterlife of the "haunted portrait" has its charm but lacks precision: "For although it [Ricardo's portrait] disappears from the Castle of Otranto, never to reappear there, it stalks directly into the literature of the nineteenth century, where in a variety of guises the haunted portrait plays a significant role". Ziolkowski, *Disenchanted Images*, 79.

36 From the perspective of psychological anthropology, there is another dimension to the animated portrait (which I do not pursue here) – its connection with the primitive religion of animism or animistic mentality. As Louis Rose argues, there are echoes of animism in the reception of images: "The animistic mentality survived as well within modern audiences, who responded to idealized images or illusions as if they possessed actual existence". Louis Rose, *The Survival of Images: Art Historians, Psychoanalysts, and the Ancients* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 107.

37 *Melmoth the Wanderer* is, strictly speaking, beyond the timeframe of this book. I include a brief discussion of the novel following an established critical tradition of including the book in the first-wave Gothic (1764–1820).

38 Charles Robert Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, ed. Douglas Grant, introd. Chris Baldick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 13–14.

39 Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, 15–16.

40 Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction*, 143–145.

41 Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, 7.

42 Ziolkowski in *Disenchanted Images* argues for a gradual "disenchantment" of the animated portrait – that is, its rationalisation (comparable to Radcliffe's pattern of "explained supernatural"). For one thing, there exist examples undermining this trajectory; for another thing, such a perspective simplifies the notion of supernatural to magical occurrences.

43 Clara Reeve, *The Old English Baron*, ed. James Trainer, introd. James Watt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2–3. It is worth adding that Reeve's preface too contains meta-pictorial commentaries. The story is labelled a

"picture of Gothic times and manners", whereas the intertextual agenda is bears affinities with painting: "In the course of my observations upon this singular book [i.e. *The Castle of Otranto*], it seemed to me that it was possible to compose a work upon the same plan, wherein these defects might be avoided; and the *keeping*, as in *painting*, might be preserved." Reeve, *The Old English Baron*, 2, 4.

44 Reeve, *The Old English Baron*, 45.
45 Reeve, *The Old English Baron*, 45–46.
46 Faurholt, "Self as Other: The Doppelgänger".
47 Peter Will, *The Victim of Magical Delusion*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Brett Smith, 1795), vol. 2, 242.
48 Will, *The Victim of Magical Delusion*, vol. 1, 5.
49 Sophia Lee, *The Recess*, 3 vols. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804), vol. 1, 8.
50 Ann Radcliffe, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, ed. Alison Milbank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 92.
51 Radcliffe, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, 94.
52 I elaborate on this scene and the use of the arts in Radcliffe's novels in the chapter "Ann Radcliffe and the Sister Arts Ideal", in *The Enchantress of Words, Sounds and Images: Anniversary Essays on Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823)*, ed. Jakub Lipski and Jacek Mydla (Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2015), 3–20.
53 Hogle, "The Ghost of the Counterfeit—and the Closet—in *The Monk*", 1.
54 Matthew Gregory Lewis, *The Monk*, ed. Nick Groom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 32.
55 Lewis, *The Monk*, 63.
56 Lewis, *The Monk*, 53.
57 Lewis, *The Monk*, 337.
58 Elliott, *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction*, 233.
59 *Gothic Stories* (London: S. Fisher, 1800), 48.
60 For an overview of the animated portrait beyond the eighteenth century, covering examples outside the English language context, see Ziolkowski, *Disenchanted Images*, 86–148.
61 To Horace Mann, June 20, 1763. Walpole, *Correspondence*, vol. 22, 152.
62 Harney, *Place-making for the Imagination*, 199.
63 Stefanie Meier, *Animation and Mechanization in the Novels of Charles Dickens* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1982), 16.
64 Quoted in Luisa Calè, "Horace Walpole's Dream: Remembering the Dispersed Collection", *Critical Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (2013): 48. Freud, too, sees a correspondence between dreams and animism: "How did primitive men arrive at the peculiar dualistic views on which the animistic system is based? It is supposed that they did so by observing the phenomena of sleep (including dreams) and of death which so much resembles it, and by attempting to explain those states [...]". Seen in this light, the animated portrait becomes part of the Gothic agenda to negotiate the definitiveness of death. Sigmund Freud, "Animism, Magic and the Omnipotence of Thoughts", in *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics*, trans. James Strachey (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 89.
65 Lynda Nead, *The Haunted Gallery: Painting, Photography, Film c. 1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 50.

# 4 The "Complete Beauty" and Its Shadows

## Picturing the Body in Frances Burney's *Evelina*

Frances Burney's literary output will never cease to impress. Having written her first texts already in adolescence and published the final piece (*Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, 1832) at the age of 80, she left a monumental record of almost a century, documenting, just like Horace Walpole had done before, not only her life but also the times. On the one hand, given the overwhelming corpus of text, made up by correspondence, journals, plays and novels, it is rather paradoxical that the author would persistently adhere to the modesty trope. "To Nobody, then, will I write my Journal! since to Nobody can I be wholly unreserved […]", wrote fifteen-year-old Burney, beginning her first private journal in 1768.[1] This trope would remain with her for years, making an imprint on Burney's novels, too, even if the author herself would finally become a renowned figure not only in the realm of literature but also at court. The main objective this chapter will pursue is to point out the pictorial implications of this trope.

On the other hand, the apologetic tone of her early writing appears to have been negotiated with self-esteem as well as literary and cultural competence. A daughter of the renowned musicologist Dr. Charles Burney, she was not only exposed to the practice of the arts, both at home and in the town, but was also part of her father's intellectual circle including, among others, Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke and, most importantly from my perspective, Sir Joshua Reynolds.[2] Apparently, Frances Burney would have been too well read and too competent to hide silently behind the mask of female modesty. Thus, *Evelina*, her novelistic debut from 1778, combines two seemingly contradictory approaches – the apologetic tone of an anonymous writer with the self-awareness of a learned and skilled novelist. The prefatory content displaying this curious combination includes the following: a poem addressed to the author's father, humbly concluded with the lines: "I e'er thy eyes these feeble lines survey, / Let not their folly their intent destroy; / Accept the tribute—but forget the lay";[3] a letter "To the Authors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews" meant as an ironic apology (5–7); and a self-conscious and highly intertextual preface, in which the authoress boldly argues in defence of the novel genre that "no man need blush at starting from the same post

[as Rousseau, Johnson, Marivaux, Fielding, Richardson and Smollett]" (9). In fact, the above observation is followed with a remark very much illustrative of my point here: "The following letters are presented to the public [...] with a very singular mixture of timidity and confidence" (9).

In the preface, having defined the tradition from which she emerges, Burney proceeds to comment on the project she herself undertakes. She begins with a pictorial metaphor: "To draw characters from nature, though not from life, and to mark the manner of the times, is the attempted plan of the following letters" (9). In *The Wanderer* (1814), in turn, she openly defines the novel as "a picture of supposed, but natural and probable human existence".[4] At first glance, this kind of assumption simply relates Burney's project to the different schools of eighteenth-century realism, such as Tobias Smollett's, in which the proposed text depends for its generic identity on faithful imitation in which probability takes precedence over copying real-life situations, characters and events. When scrutinised more closely, however, or from a different perspective, the promise to "draw from nature, though not from life" reveals significant aesthetic implications, and, in fact, opposes, for example, Smollett's seemingly analogical definition of the novel as "a large diffused picture, comprehending the characters of life".[5] Burney establishes a contrast between "nature" and "life", which she explains by adding that the idea is to "avoid what is common, without adopting what is unnatural", thus distancing herself not only from the vulgarity of, for example, the picaresque, but also from "the fantastic regions of Romance" (10).

By the time *Evelina* was published in 1778, the aesthetic difference between "nature" and "life" in novel writing had been famously conceptualised in Samuel Johnson's essay for *The Rambler* (no. 4, 31 March 1750). Johnson's starting point is the novel's (or "the comedy of romance", as he puts it) realism as opposed to the fancifulness of the heroic romance. In highlighting this quality, the critic uses a meta-pictorial comment: "They [i.e. novelists] are engaged in portraits of which every one knows the original [i.e. reality]". Then, however, Johnson focuses on the didactic purposes of fiction and introduces the said binary:

> It is justly considered as the greatest excellency of art to imitate nature; but it is necessary to distinguish those parts of nature which are most proper for imitation: greater care is still required in representing life, which is so often discoloured by passion or deformed by wickedness. If the world be promiscuously described, I cannot see of what use it can be to read the account, or why it may not be as safe to turn the eye immediately upon mankind, as upon a mirror which shows all that presents itself without discrimination.
>
> It is therefore not a sufficient vindication of a character that it is drawn as it appears, for many characters ought never to be drawn; [...][6]

In other words, in order to depict "nature", the writer of fiction does not need, or should not, copy "life" and should not show it, as it were, in a mirror; imitation ought to be subject to selection. Johnson departs from a traditionally classicist standpoint and thus foreshadows the main tenets of Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses*, delivered at the Royal Academy from 1769 to 1786, which, I would argue, constitute the immediate context for Burney's declaration. In Discourse III, Reynolds defines the great style of painting, arguing that it "does not consist in mere imitation" but "in being able to get above all singular forms, local customs, particularities, and details of every kind".[7] A skilled painter

> corrects Nature by herself, her imperfect state by her more perfect. His eye being enabled to distinguish the accidental deficiencies, excrescences, and deformities of things, from their general figures, he makes out an abstract idea of their forms more perfect than any one original; [...] This idea of the perfect state of Nature, which the Artist calls the Ideal beauty, is the great leading principle by which works of genius are conducted.[8]

The idea, then, is to come up with universal and ideal forms, having little to do with the particularity of everyday life. Reynolds also points out that in order to discern the ideal forms from nature, painters should avail themselves of the work of their great predecessors, most notably the Italian Old Masters, whose genius had predisposed them to succeed in these endeavours. In effect, paradoxically enough, the author of *Discourses* recommends imitating the Old Masters as a well-tried method of reaching the ideal form in nature. Indeed, in the previous lecture (Discourse II, 1769), Reynolds states that "Invention, strictly speaking, is little more than a new combination of those images which have been previously gathered and deposited in the memory: nothing can come of nothing".[9]

Burney seems to have addressed this issue, too, this time distancing herself from Reynolds's argument:

> In all the Arts, the value of copies can only be proportioned to the scarceness of originals: among sculptors and painters, a fine statue, or a beautiful picture, of some great master, may deservedly employ the imitative talents of younger and inferior artists, that their appropriation to one spot, may not wholly prevent the more general expansion of their excellence; but, among authors, the reverse is the case, since the noblest productions of literature, are almost equally attainable with the meanest. In books, therefore, imitation cannot be shunned too sedulously; for the very perfection of a model which is frequently seen, serves but more forcibly to mark the inferiority of a copy.
>
> (10)

This bold statement can be related to the eighteenth-century tradition of highlighting the novelty of the novel project: let us recall Fielding's theory of "a new species of writing" or Horace Walpole's "a new species of romance". And in a manner similar to these two, Burney preceded her claim for novelty with references to specific names – Rousseau, Johnson, Marivaux, Fielding, Richardson and Smollett – in order to sanction her innovation with some of the generally approved starting points.

In this, she is even more elaborate in the prefatory content to her final work – *The Wanderer; or, Female Difficulties* – opening with a signed letter "To Doctor Burney". Just like Fielding before her, Burney compares her novel with the epic tradition of Homer, Virgil and Milton, in an attempt to vindicate its status. What is more, here again, though this time quite explicitly, the author establishes a parallel between her work and that of Sir Joshua Reynolds. She does so by means of an anecdote, recalling that two of her father's friends – Dr. Johnson and Edmund Burke – agreed with each other only on two occasions: in their appreciation of Burney's debut *Evelina* and the art of Reynolds.[10] Burney's novelistic output, then, is framed by two references to Reynolds, and my aim here will be to use this context in order to shed new light on *Evelina*'s generic constitution.

*Evelina* exemplifies what critics would later label the female *Bildungsroman*. It can be differentiated from the "male" variant on the grounds of the heroine's restricted position in society, and in consequence, as Susan Fraiman argues, there is a shift from spatial and social mobility to an emphasis on social relationships,[11] thus moving the novel of education closer to the comedy of manners. The subtitle of Burney's debut – *The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World* – is illustrative of this phenomenon. In contrast, for example, to *The History of Tom Jones*, *Evelina* does not relate the heroine's life, but only her becoming part of society.

In other words, coming back to Burney's notion of "nobody", the female *Bildungsroman* accounts for a "nobody" becoming a "body", in both social and material sense. The narrative relates the shaping of it and the negotiations between the self and social expectations. The visual dimension of this process is a fundamental one, as it can easily be discerned from the German word itself. As Hans Gadamer in *Truth and Method* points out, the word *Bildung*, standing for "form", "education" or "development", is a derivative of *Bild*, meaning "picture". Gadamer identifies the ambiguity of *Bildung* in its relation to both *Nachbild* (that is, "copy", "image") or *Vorbild* ("model").[12] This idea corresponds to the argument of David Oakleaf, who addresses the category of social identity in *Evelina*. Oakleaf points to the way Burney engages herself with the eighteenth-century debate over inner and outer self, showing that, given the vagueness of the notion of essential self, what truly mattered were the tangible and verifiable indexes of social standing.[13]

Evelina's identity, then, depends on her being able to *represent* who she is; to *embody* a social body, part of which is a pre-determined model of femininity, an image of a beautiful woman.

The dominant ideal of the time was conceptualised, among others, by Edmund Burke, whose gendered view on the aesthetic category of the beautiful revolved around the qualities of smoothness and softness, best to be admired in a woman's neck and breasts. Despite the fact that these qualities openly address the sense of touch, Burke's argument depends on visual qualities, too. It is, in fact, an object lesson in what feminist critics would later label as the "male gaze"; that is, the politics of objectifying women as works of art to be looked at and admired. Burke writes that a beautiful neck and breasts form a "deceitful maze, through which the unsteady eye slides giddily, without knowing where to fix, or whither it is carried".[14] Burke's view on beauty corresponds to the way classical sculpture was perceived in the eighteenth century, when the truth about dynamic ancient chromatics and expression had not yet been discovered. As a result, a number of novelistic characters depicted as beautiful were compared to renowned statues, most often to Venus de Medici and Apollo Belvedere. For example, in Fielding's Sophia Western "the highest Beauties of the famous *Venus de Medici* were outdone. Here was a Whiteness which no Lillies, Ivory, nor Alabaster could match".[15] There is an indication of this in the first conversation between Evelina and her nagging suitor Sir Clement Willoughby, when the latter compares the heroine to a "monument" only to add shortly after in a pathetic iambic pentameter: "Softness itself is painted in your eyes" (43).

There are traces of Burkean aesthetics throughout *Evelina*, as Melissa Pino persuasively demonstrates,[16] but one glaring, though most likely deliberate, absence is a fully fledged character sketch depicting the heroine as a Venus-like beauty. In the eighteenth-century novel, it was a convention not to be missed, and the ingenious parodies of it in *Tristram Shandy*, where the reader is asked to paint Widow Wadman on his or her own, or at the beginning of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, where Catherine Morland is depicted as lacking in all the typically heroic graces, only prove its prevalence.[17] Evelina's leading position in the epistolary narrative can only partially account for the omission: first, there are letters by others, too, which could include an extensive description, and second, *The Wanderer*, written in the third person, follows a similar politics of absence. One would certainly expect more, when Lady Howard shares with Mr. Villars – Evelina's protector – her first impression of the girl: "She is a little angel! […] Her face and person answer my most refined ideas of complete beauty" (22). What follows is a sketch of Evelina's personality and manners, but tellingly enough, there is hardly any mention of the looks, except for a cursory remark on her "perfect face". There is nothing for the reader on which to base his or her projection of Evelina but for the vague "ideas of complete beauty".

The category of completeness appears in Mikhail Bakhtin's discussion of the classical body (as opposed to the grotesque body of the carnival). This body, Bakhtin writes, is "a strictly completed, finished product", possessing its individual identity and clearly separated from other bodies.[18] For the Soviet thinker, this ideal stemmed from the Renaissance rediscovery of classical models and contributed to the formation of the beauty canon. Lady Howard's remark is not supported by any visual description, and thus Evelina's beauty belongs to the Platonic realm of ideas, or, as Reynolds would argue, to the realm of ideal forms, best captured by the Old Masters. This indication of an ideal form stands at odds with what the heroine herself has to say about her person. Just like young Burney in her diary, Evelina seems to have little claim to an individual self contained in a complete and distinct body. On one occasion, she thus resigns to what others take her for: "Since I, as Mr. Lovel says, am *Nobody*, I seated myself quietly at a window […]" (288).

The *Bildungsroman* pattern demands that the heroine become a complete and distinct entity, a somebody. And so she does towards the end of the narrative, when she is finally recognised and accepted by her father Sir John Belmont. In a very emotional scene of father-daughter reconciliation, Evelina's appearance comes to the fore, the daughter being a close resemblance of her late mother Caroline Evelyn, and thus Belmont's pang of conscience. Her reinstatement as Evelina Belmont is one major step to becoming a "somebody", the final one being the subsequent marriage to Lord Orville. And even though the heroine's looks are taken as the decisive factor establishing her social status, they remain largely in the abstract. In the letter written by her late mother, delivered to Belmont by Evelina herself, the father is asked to consider the following:

> Should'st thou, in the features of this deserted innocent, trace the resemblance of the wretched Caroline, – should its face bear the marks of its birth, and revive in thy memory the image of its mother, wilt thou not, Belmont, wilt thou not therefore renounce it?
>
> (339)

Needless to say, there is no information on Caroline Evelyn's appearance anywhere in the book. On reading the letter, the reformed and penitent Sir John Belmont cries: "Come hither, Evelina: Gracious Heaven! […] never was likeness more striking!—the eye,—the face,—the form,—Oh my child, my child! […] I see, I see that thou art all kindness, softness, and tenderness […]" (385). One can trace Burkean qualities here, but other than that, there is again nothing to help visualise Evelina's beauty. The passage is implicitly modelled on anatomical catalogues, as discussed in Chapter 2, but the enumerated body parts are deprived of concretising qualifiers.

In the end, as the *Bildungsroman* is concluded, Evelina is recognised as Caroline Evelyn and John Belmont's daughter, she knows her way in London high life and, finally, becomes a lady through her marriage to the handsome, benevolent and affluent Lord Orville. She is no longer a "Nobody", with her social and family status confirmed. In Bakhtinian terms, she may be recognised as a classical body, distinct and completed with her process of socialisation and search for identity concluded. Consistent in her rather paradoxical politics of absence, Burney does not offer any pictorial hints as to what the classical body of Evelina is like.

One of Bakhtin's other preoccupations in *Rabelais and His World* is the grotesque body, which is subject to constant metamorphoses and is never finished and complete; it is the contrast to the classical body. The grotesque body is part of what the critic labels grotesque realism, characteristic of the world of carnival. In her study of Burney's *Bildungsroman*, Mascha Gemmeke argues that the genre is characterised by the paradigm of doubling: the pattern of a socially approved development is highlighted by the shadowy presence of the carnivalesque – the chaotic but dynamic realm of topsy-turvydom and metamorphosing bodies. This, as Gemmeke points out, serves as a form of warning, showing to the protagonist what the world beyond proprieties and desired norms is like.[19] Admittedly, however, the category of the grotesque body may also lie at the core of the fictional formation. One good example here would be Smollett's *Roderick Random*, whose protagonist, a "nobody" at first, undergoes a series of ups and downs and changes of status in order to become a gentleman in the end. Roderick's world is the world of carnival, and he can enjoy social recognition in the world of proprieties and conventions only after prolonged trials and adventures.

For the classical body of Evelina, the grotesque body of the *Bildungsroman* seems not an entirely repressed entity. Her evolution on the narrative level is very much like Roderick's: a "nobody" at first, she becomes a lady, having regained her true social self. On the other hand, in contrast to Roderick, she remains largely the same on the personal level throughout the process of her "entrance into the World". She is unspoilt by high life and knows how to control herself despite the enduring temptations of London entertainments. In a way, however, she seems to have internalised the possibility of a stained innocence; her double of a woman ruined by the city, like Hogarth's Moll Hackabout in *A Harlot's Progress* or Defoe's Roxana. In the middle of the narrative, when she returns home from the first stage of her education in the city, Evelina represents her reunion with Mr. Villars in a way reminiscent of the iconography of the Prodigal Son:

> […] through the window, I beheld the dearest, the most venerable of men, with uplifted hands, returning, as I doubt not, thanks for my safe arrival […] I opened the chaise-door myself, I flew,—for my feet

> did not seem to touch the ground,—into the parlour; he had risen to meet me, but the moment I appeared, he sunk into his chair, uttering with a deep sigh, though his face *beamed* with delight, 'My God, I thank thee!'
>
> I sprung forward, and with a pleasure that bordered upon agony, I embraced his knees, I kissed his hands, I wept over them, but could not speak: while he, now raising his eyes in thankfulness towards heaven, now bowing down his reverend head, and folding me in his arms, could scarce articulate the blessings with which his kind and benevolent heart overflowed.
>
> (255)

Evelina first endows Mr. Villars with attributes of sainthood: through a window – a typical framing device in pictorial passages – she perceives him "with uplifted hands", only to emphasise shortly after that his face "*beamed* with delight". In what follows, she is very precise as far as their gestures are concerned and depicts them in postures recalling baroque classics. In representing these she is again faithful to pictorial conventions, emphasising the figures' speechlessness: Evelina "could not speak" while Mr. Villars "could scarce articulate the blessings" he had received. The passage implies much more than sheer happiness on a reunion. Evelina's pleasure is mixed with agony, and what she does – embracing the knees, kissing and weeping over hands, and most probably kneeling in order to do so – is indicative of the penitent attitude that she assumes. She is projecting her double – a young woman stained by the metropolis – returning to the haven she abandoned and the benevolent protector she betrayed and whose forgiveness she must seek. Needless to say, this is not who Evelina really is, but the shadowy other belonging to the carnivalesque *Bildungsroman* – a story of metamorphoses and ups and downs, transforming a flexible "nobody" into a stable entity.

If the above passage depicts the Bakhtinian grotesque body on a moral level, two other carnivalesque moments represent its materiality. The scenes depict typical characters of the town – a ridiculously affected lady of fashion (Mme. Duval) and a fop (Mr. Lovel). Volumes 2 and 3, respectively, feature memorable scenes in which the masquerading bodies of the two are mutilated and thus unmasked. The episodes serve no narrative function and do not in any way contribute to the story of Evelina's education. Nevertheless, they are vivid illustrations of punishment administered to those stained by the corruption of the metropolis. In both cases, "justice" is done by Captain Mirvan, a retired navy officer with a Smollettian predilection for practical jokes, who takes the greatest delight in chastising affectation and pompousness.

In volume 2, the Captain and his accomplice Sir Clement Willoughby masquerade as thieves and ambush a carriage carrying Evelina and Mme. Duval. While Sir Clement uses this opportunity to make advances

towards the heroine, the Captain violently "t[ears] poor Madame Duval out of the carriage, in spite of her cries, threats, and resistence" (147) and throws her into a ditch. Evelina's reaction to what she sees and hears is meticulously related. First she helps "the poor lady" climb out of the ditch, and then leads her back to the carriage. This is where she has "her figure exposed to the servants, who all of them, in imitation of their master, hold her in derision" (149–150) and offers the following sketch:

> The ditch, happily, was almost dry, or she must have suffered still more seriously; yet, so forlorn, so miserable a figure, I never before saw. Her head-dress had fallen off, her linen was torn; her negligee had not a pin left in it; her petticoats she was obliged to hold on; and her shoes were perpetually slipping off. She was covered with dirt, weeds, and filth, and her face was really horrible, for the pomatum and powder from her head, and the dust from the road, were quite pasted on her skin by her tears, which with her *rouge*, made so frightful a mixture, that she hardly looked human.
>
> (150)

The passage typically establishes the viewers of the scene – Evelina and the gazing servants – and proceeds from top to bottom, following a standard convention for commenting on portraits or sculptures. The use of details and the enumerative manner are reminiscent of Smollett, just as the scene itself brings to mind the pranks in *Peregrine Pickle*. It is also in Smollett that we may find similar uses of grotesque horror, reinforcing the visual effect of the sketch.

Volume 3 closes with an even more violent and rather surprising episode:

> A confused noise among the servants now drew all eyes towards the door, the impatient Captain hastened to open it, and then, […] to the utter astonishment of every body but himself, he hauled into the room a monkey! full dressed, and extravagantly *à-la-mode*!
>
> (399)

The Captain shows the monkey off as a double of the fop Mr. Lovel, so that the others see him in his "proper colours" (400). He exclaims: "Did you ever see any thing more like? Odds my life, if it was n't for the tail, you would n't know one from t'other" (400). The fop gives vent to his irritation by hitting the monkey, and the animal attacks him in return. The result of the scramble is as follows: "Mr. Lovel was now a dreadful object; his face was besmeared with tears, the blood from his ear ran trickling down his cloaths, and he sunk upon the floor […]" (401). Even if this scene does not feature such an extensive sketch as the previous one, Evelina uses the same pictorial techniques: a figure to be observed

is brought into the viewer's eyes (the monkey mirroring Mr. Lovel), the chastised character is objectified (here quite explicitly being labelled "a dreadful object"), whereas the description itself uses the language of grotesque horror.

It is not accidental, I would argue, that in visually representing Evelina's doubles, Burney resorts to the Gothic, be it in a parodic or exaggerated manner. The presence of the Gothic in Burney has been identified by a number of critics, even if they tend to disagree about the novelist's take on the genre. Opinions vary, from Lillian and Edward Bloom's idea that she merely wished to satisfy the "popular craving" given the popularity of Radcliffe and others, to Janice Thaddeus's and Mary Ann Doody's acknowledgment of Burney as a representative of the female Gothic, depicting women's oppression in patriarchal society.[20] These opinions do not exclude one another, all of them offering insight into Burney's Gothic. In accounting for the above use of it, however, I would also refer to the recent study by Eleanor Crouch, who argues that the author of *Evelina* "uses the gothic to throw into relief misguided values, and that it is against these Burney has her heroes and heroines strive".[21] In *Evelina*, Crouch locates the Gothic in the story of Mr. Macartney, who wrongly believes to have murdered his father and fallen in love with his sister. She does not consider the above sketches, but they indeed well exemplify her argument. The mutilated bodies of Mme. Duval and Mr. Lovel may be taken as representations of the chastised and subordinated, if not repressed, carnivalesque double, against the background of which the moral and educational development of the heroine takes place. They are the signs of warning that Evelina, assured of her prudent conduct, projects to support her ethos.

The pictorial language used to represent these figures contrasts the poetics of absence characterising the portraits of Evelina, both at the beginning of the novel and at the end of it. What is more, it apparently contradicts the promise articulated in the preface, in which the author undertakes to "draw from nature, though not from life" – an idea supported by the allusion to the ideal forms theory of Sir Joshua Reynolds. On the contrary, at least as far as Burney's pictorialism is concerned, she seems to have been much more interested in drawing from life. The complete beauty of the heroine, even as she finally transforms from a nobody to a somebody, remains in the abstract, while her carnivalesque doubles are vividly represented. Burney's inconsistencies, as reflected through visual language, relate *Evelina* to the complex generic network of the eighteenth century. Even if she declares in the preface her autonomy of such forerunners as Fielding and Smollett, she, in the end, brings her narrative closer to these authors than she would have dared to admit. The Prodigal Son scene and the implied message there are reminiscent of Fieldingesque stories of home leaving and return, while the portraits of Evelina's carnivalesque

doubles echo the sketches of Smollettian victims of practical jokes. On the level of genre, Burney's word-paintings relate her narrative to the social novel and the male tradition of the *Bildungsroman*, representing change through social and personal mobility, as well as the picaresque, depending for its identity on realist representation of everyday life, including Defoevian "Low-priz'd colors". In effect, Burney's work becomes a heterogeneous text, where the female *Bildungsroman*, documenting Evelina's reinstatement as part of polite society, is counterbalanced by the visually attractive poetics of what Watt labels "formal realism". In aesthetic terms, Burney's *Evelina* is characterised by an interplay of Reynolds's "ideal forms", standing for what Burney defines in the preface as "nature", and tangible representations of reality – the renounced "life". A similar binary appears in Watt's study, where he explains the rise of the novel by a shift from the ideal to the real, or the universal to the particular. *Evelina* reconciles these extremes.

This heterogeneous constitution was accurately rendered by the first illustrated edition of the book from 1779. Like in the case of *Roxana*, there is no way of proving that Burney would have had anything to say regarding the illustrations, but nevertheless, the text itself, as an autonomous entity, does impinge on the publisher and illustrator's choices and manner of representation; as Philip Stewart argues, the text does not determine the way it is illustrated, but "there are ways in which it can flag the attention of a potential illustrator."[22] Needless to say, it is possible for the illustrations to engage with the text by way of exposing, and thus emphasising, scenes that are not necessarily central to the narrative. Playing the role of a framing device, illustrations may suggest alternative readings and negotiate the alleged "authorial message".

Writing about the first illustrations to *Evelina*, Teri Doerksen observes their tendency to emphasise the shadowy grotesque – in her words, the "memorable eruptions of Fieldingesque low humorous physicality".[23] Though Burney's carnivalesque is much more reminiscent of Smollett, rather than Fielding, the argument does address the core of the issue. On the whole, the edition features three illustrations, frontispieces to the three respective volumes of the novel: the first depicts Evelina, while the other two represent the two scenes of carnivalesque violence. As Doerksen rightly observes, the *Bildungsroman* pattern is completely ignored: "None of the illustrations reflects the attention to female conduct and social behaviour that is a principle focus of the novel".[24]

The first illustration (Figure 4.1) compensates for the largely disembodied appearance of the heroine. It depicts Evelina in a Grecian dress, assuming an asymmetric posture, half kneeling, as if posing for a sculptor, leaning against a monument with a plaque. The monument is most likely the tomb of her mother, but one which displays the inscription "BELMONT", that is, the name her mother was officially denied, and the name she is aspiring to (as signalled by the raised hand). The image renders her as deprived of social selfhood, an abandoned orphan, which


*Figure 4.1* Frontispiece to Volume 1 of the fourth edition of *Evelina* by Frances Burney. 1779. Etching and engraving. John Hamilton Mortimer. McMaster University Library.

corresponds to the narrative of "entrance" to the world of London in the first volume. The illustration follows the precepts of classicist painting – it is largely ahistorical in depicting an abstract notion of beauty, rather than merely copying reality. Evelina is indeed a "complete beauty" here, a literally classical body. Thus represented, she yields to the Burkean gendered ideal of beauty – her reclining posture and contemplative expression highlight her submissiveness, while the uncovered arms and neck display whiteness and smoothness worthy of a romance heroine. In a way, the frontispiece plays the role of a character sketch, otherwise not to be found in the narrative, implying the same meta-pictorial remarks as the one of Fielding's Sophia or Fanny (whiteness, Venus-like figure). As a matter of fact, the depicted scene is not to be found in the narrative, either.

The other two illustrations, then, are the only ones representing the narrative itself. The frontispiece to the second volume (Figure 4.2) depicts Madame Duval in the ditch, with Evelina offering a helping hand, while the illustration opening the third volume shows the fop Mr. Lovel attacked by the monkey, with Evelina smiling in the background (Figure 4.3). Both these scenes are mere episodes offering comic relief; nevertheless, they were chosen as paratextual lenses through which to read the narrative.

Curiously enough, though the heroine is not properly described in the novel, she appears in all the three illustrations, albeit in different capacities. More importantly, she hardly looks the same in the respective images – in fact, they show three different Evelinas. In the second picture, Evelina is juxtaposed with the grotesque body of Madame Duval, and the scene is based on the paradigm of doubling. Madame's dishevelled hair is contrasted by Evelina's perfect wig; the dresses they are

*Figure 4.2* Frontispiece to Volume 2 of the fourth edition of *Evelina* by Frances Burney. 1779. Etching and engraving. John Hamilton Mortimer. McMaster University Library.

*Figure 4.3* Frontispiece to Volume 3 of the fourth edition of *Evelina* by Frances Burney. 1779. Etching and engraving. John Hamilton Mortimer. McMaster University Library.

wearing are practically the same, though Madame's is soiled with mud and rather disorganised, especially in comparison with the neatness of Evelina's; finally, both figures support themselves on their uncovered left feet – the bare foot of Madame Duval, and the slender, properly shoed foot of Evelina. The frontispiece features Evelina as the lady of fashion – a social role she shies away from throughout the narrative.

The third frontispiece puts the heroine in the background, exposing the chastisement of Mr. Lovel in the foreground. Again, the Evelina of the scene has little in common with the Grecian "complete beauty" in the first frontispiece, nor does she, or her reaction to Mr. Lovel's plight, correspond to what the reader finds in the narrative. There is no mention of smiling on her part, but an indication of a stable ethos and disapproval

of the violent entertainment: "I was really sorry for the poor man, who, though an egregious fop, had committed no offence that merited such chastisement" (401). Admittedly, the reaction in the illustration seems much more probable – Evelina distances herself from the "dreadful object" and is observing the scene with a mixture of fright and enjoyment.

The 1779 illustrations, especially the second and the third, engage with Burney's text in a dialogic manner; by exposing the peripheral, they trigger an interpretative tension with a subversive agenda. I would argue, however, that in doing so, they *illustrate* a dialectic that is already there in the novel: the tension between the ideal and the particular, the abstract and the embodied, the classical and the grotesque. As if in response to the unrealised "completeness" of the heroine, they feature three different Evelinas, thus capitalising on the implied drama of selfhood. In this, the illustrations correspond to the pictorial strategies in the novel and the dialogic tension produced by their incongruence with the aesthetic model announced in the preface.

## Notes

1 Entry for March 27, 1768. Frances Burney, *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. Lars E. Troide and Steward J. Cooke, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988–), vol. 1, 1–2.

2 Frances Burney and Charles Burney's contacts with Sir Joshua Reynolds are frequently commented upon throughout Frances Burney's writings. In *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, there are a number of character sketches devoted to Dr. Burney's acquaintances, including Reynolds, who is praised for his manners and art: "Sir Joshua Reynolds was singularly simple, though never inelegant in his language; and his classical style of painting could not be more pleasing, however more sublimely it might elevate and surprise, than his manners and conversation". Frances Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, 3 vols. (London: Edward Moxon, 1832), vol. 2, 279. Elsewhere in the same work Reynolds is labelled "that English Raphael". Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 2, 219. The subject of the arts reappears in her diaries, too. For example, in the entry for March 26, 1787, she reports having "had a good deal of *virtû talk*" with the renowned art collector and antiquarian Charles Greville. Steward Cooke points to the OED definition of "virtû": "A love of, or taste for, works of art or curious; a knowledge of, or interest in the fine arts; the fine arts as a subject of study or interest". Frances Burney, *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney*, ed. Steward Cooke, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011–), vol. 2, 126, note 336.

3 Frances Burney, *Evelina*, ed. Edward A. Bloom, intr. and notes Vivien Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3. Further references to the novel will be parenthetical and are to this edition.

4 Frances Burney, *The Wanderer*, ed. Margaret Anne Doody, Robert L. Mack and Peter Sabor (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 7. Her *Camilla* (1796), in turn, was subtitled "A Picture of Youth".

5 Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*, ed. Jerry C. Beasley (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press), 4.

6 Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, no. 4 (March 31, 1750), in *Samuel Johnson: Selected Poetry and Prose*, ed. Frank Brady and W. K. Wimsatt (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977), 157.

7 Joshua Reynolds, *The Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (London: James Carpenter, 1842), 37, 40.
8 Reynolds, *Discourses*, 41.
9 Reynolds, *Discourses*, 20.
10 Burney, *The Wanderer*, 5. She returns to this in her final work, when she quotes a letter from Hester Thrale to her father. In it, there is mention of the impact *Evelina* exerted on the two: "Sir Joshua Reynolds had been fed while reading the little work, from refusing to quit it at table!", while "Edmund Burke had sat up a whole night to finish it!!!". Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, vol. 2, 148.
11 Susan Fraiman, *Unbecoming Women: British Women Writers and the Novel of Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 12.
12 See Mascha Gemmeke, *Frances Burney and the Female Bildungsroman: An Interpretation of* The Wanderer: Or, Female Difficulties (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004), 31.
13 David Oakleaf, "The Name of the Father: Social Identity and the Ambition of *Evelina*", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 3, no. 4 (1991): 341–58.
14 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 105.
15 Henry Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones*, ed. Martin C. Battestin and Fredson Bowers (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), 157.
16 See Melissa Pino, "Burney's *Evelina* and Aesthetics in Action", *Modern Philology* 108, no. 2 (2010): 263–303. This might have been one of the reasons for Burke's open admiration for the novel. Later on, Burney's revealed authorship was, in a sense, her passport to the intellectual circle including the philosopher. As Natasha Duquette demonstrates, Burney and Burke would become good friends in the 1780s. Natasha Duquette, "The Friendship between Edmund Burke and *Frances Burney*", *Joshua Reynolds Newsletter*, 28 (2013): 347–350.
17 Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. *Melvyn New* and *Joan New*, 3 vols. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1978–1984), 566. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, *Lady Susan*, *The Watsons* and *Sanditon*, ed. James Kinsley and John Davie, intr. and notes Claudia L. Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5–9.
18 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1984), 29.
19 Gemmeke, *Frances Burney and the Female Bildungsroman,* 13–23.
20 See Lillian Bloom and Edward Bloom, "The Retreat from Wonder", *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 12, no. 3 (1979): 215–235; Margaret Anne Doody, *Frances Burney: The Life in the Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 147–148; Janice Farrar Thaddeus, *Frances Burney: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 161, 177.
21 Eleanor Crouch, "A Castle, A Commissary and a Corpse: Overcoming the Gothic Threat in the Novels of Frances Burney", in *Women and Gothic*, ed. Maria Purves (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 121–122.
22 Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image & Text in the French Eighteenth Century* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992), 2.
23 Teri Doerksen, "Framing the Narrative: Illustration and Pictorial Prose in Burney and Radcliffe", in *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*, ed. Christina Ionescu (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), 469.
24 Doerksen, "Framing the Narrative: Illustration and Pictorial Prose in Burney and Radcliffe", 469.

# 5 Sentimental Iconography from Laurence Sterne to Ann Radcliffe

## The Case of Guido Reni

Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768) and Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1796–1797) seem to have little in common.[1] Had Sterne's travelling persona – Mr. Yorick – eventually reached the Apennine Peninsula, rather than abruptly concluding his account in a Savoy inn, it would be easier to draw parallels. Nevertheless, the two meeting points that one can discern are the authors' contribution to the sentimental tradition and reliance on the visual imagination. This chapter will focus on the common denominator of these two facets of their fictions – that is, their explicit references to the Italian painter Guido Reni (1575–1642). A case study of the use of Guido's "heads" in sentimental fiction from Sterne to Radcliffe will be illustrative in general of the way sentimental iconography was formed – by way of standardised and disseminated pictorial passages, autonomous beyond their original contexts. In accounting for the reasons behind Guido's popularity, I will also refer to the so-called "physiognomical revival" and the gradually sentimentalised approach to continental Catholicism.

Laurence Sterne and Ann Radcliffe are the two eighteenth-century novelists who appear to have most frequently invited their readers for pictorial explorations, albeit for different reasons. As I pointed out in Chapter 2, Sterne displayed an innovative approach to textuality and the materiality of print, acknowledging their visual dimensions. Radcliffe's contribution amounted to her role in popularising ekphrastic passages in novel writing, especially in terms of vivid and extensive landscape descriptions.[2] Like Sterne's, Radcliffe's personal engagement with the arts is shrouded in obscurity (just as her biography in general). If the contents of the obituary written by her husband William are to be trusted, one of her "chief delights" was contemplation of landscapes.[3] Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd, in turn, represents Radcliffe in his "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mrs Radcliffe" as a person of "exquisite taste" making the most of what the cultural institutions of London offered.[4] More information is provided by Rictor Norton in the only scholarly biography of Radcliffe to date. Norton devotes much space to accounting for what might have been a formative experience in young Radcliffe's

artistic education – her frequent visits and prolonged stays with her uncle Thomas Bentley, the famous manufacturer and associate of Josiah Wedgewood. Even if Radcliffe's writings reveal little interest in Bentley and Wedgewood's classical taste, her fascination with the Gothic and the picturesque might be attributed to her uncle's comprehensive studies in these fields during the creation of a dinner service for Catherine the Great (1773–1774). As Norton explains, preparatory works included acquiring "virtually all available published landscapes, as well as commissioning artists to make original sketches", as a result of which Radcliffe "would have been surrounded by countless images of castles, abbeys, ruined towers and sublime and picturesque scenery".[5] These are the kind of images dominating the poetics of *The Italian* and the other novels by Radcliffe. Nevertheless, the point of convergence between Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* and *The Italian* lies elsewhere – in the metapictorial character sketch making use of the name of Guido Reni, the only artist explicitly invoked in the two narratives despite their apparent pictorialism.

In Sterne's text, the reference is made in the first of the scenes devoted to the Franciscan monk in Calais. Mr. Yorick reports being approached by the monk asking for alms and having resolved "not to give him a single sous", the traveller proceeds to offer a meticulous sketch of his figure:

> The monk, as I judged from the break in his tonsure, a few scatter'd white hairs upon his temples, being all that remained of it, might be about seventy—but from his eyes, and that sort of fire which was in them, which seemed more temper'd by courtesy than years, could be no more than sixty—Truth might lie between—He was certainly sixty-five; and the general air of his countenance, notwithstanding something seem'd to have been planting wrinkles in it before their time, agreed to the account.
>
> It was one of those heads, which Guido has often painted—mild, pale—penetrating, free from all common-place ideas of fat contented ignorance looking downwards upon the earth—it look'd forwards; but look'd, as if it look'd at something beyond this world. […]
>
> The rest of his outline may be given in a few strokes; […] for 'twas neither elegant or otherwise, but as character and expression made it so: it was thin, spare form, something above the common size, if it lost not the distinction by a bend forwards in the figure—but it was the attitude of Intreaty; and as it now stands presented to my imagination, it gain'd more than it lost by it.[6]

The visual qualities of the sketch itself are easy to notice and range from the use of gesture to painterly vocabulary.[7] The passage is also

illustrative of the characteristic of Sterne's pictorialism that I addressed in Chapter 2: the visual sketch assumes the sufficiency of only "a few strokes" to render the "outlines" of the figure. Mr. Yorick maintains that he is describing the figure as present in his imagination, and his hesitation as to the interpretation of facial characteristics in the first paragraph is meant to give this impression. The final paragraph, in turn, freezes the monk in the posture recalled by the traveller, thus depriving the account of a temporal dimension. The passage also establishes sight as the dominant sense, not only by Yorick's remark on "having his [i.e. the monk's] figure this moment before my eyes", but also by the emphasis on the monk's eyes and look. This is also the context for the reference to Guido Reni, or, to be more precise, the "heads" for which he was acclaimed (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

*Figure 5.1* Detail from *Saint Jerome Kneeling on a Rock in Front of a Cross and an Open Book Facing Right*. After Guido Reni. Ca. 1600–1640. Etching. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

*Figure 5.2* *The Head of a Woman Looking Up*. Guido Reni. 1625–1626. Red and black chalk on paper. Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1992. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The painter's appearance in *The Italian* is analogical. A reference to his "heads" helps characterise the nun Olivia:

> At those moments [i.e. when singing] her blue eyes were raised towards Heaven, with such meek, yet fervent love, such sublime enthusiasm as the heads of Guido sometimes display, and which renewed, with Ellena, all the enchanting effects of the voice she had just heard.[8]

The impression Olivia makes on the heroine Ellena Rosalba parallels the latter's own introduction to her would-be lover Vivaldi. She first makes

herself known through her divine voice, indicating "all the sensibility of character",[9] which only kindles the lover's, as well as the reader's, imagination. The ensuing sketch begins in a manner similar to the one quoted above:

> the glow of devotion was still upon her countenance as she raised her eyes, and with a rapt earnestness fixed them on the heavens. She still held the lute, but no longer awakened it, and seemed lost to every surrounding object. Her fine hair was negligently bound up in a silk net, and some tresses that had escaped it, played on her neck, and round her beautiful countenance, which now was not even partially concealed by a veil.[10]

The corresponding portraits of Olivia and Ellena perform a vital narrative function, indicating their family bond: Olivia eventually appears to be Ellena's long-lost mother. Nevertheless, by way of repetition and standardisation, they define the Radcliffean iconography of sainthood and femininity and point to Guido as the primary source. Indeed, the faces of Ellena and Olivia, especially given their predilection for the arts, might be taken as modern transfigurations of St. Cecilia, the archetypal female artist, painted by – among others – Guido Reni.

There is an apparent similarity between Sterne's and Radcliffe's use of Guido's "heads" – both novelists combine peacefulness ("mild", "meek") with enthusiasm ("penetrating", "fervent", "rapt earnestness") and create an aura of sublime sanctity by mentioning the eyes looking upward or beyond reality. This correspondence suggests that invoking Guido in character sketches had become a well-known trope in sentimental fiction by the time Radcliffe put pen to paper. This is not to say that there is a direct continuity between Sterne and Radcliffe, but their employment of the very same motif in an analogous context is suggestive of a certain degree of formulaicity.

Before tracing the Italian painter's presence in sentimental fiction between Sterne and Radcliffe, I believe it worthwhile to account for the possible reasons behind using Guido in this manner. I would argue that two late eighteenth-century phenomena can explain this use: the "physiognomical revival" and a gradually more tolerant attitude to Roman Catholicism.

Guido Reni is continuously mentioned in early eighteenth-century treatises and poems on the arts, catalogues of aristocratic collections and in travel literature. At the same time, he appears to have been largely absent from the early novel – one notable, though later, exception being John Cleland's *Fanny Hill* (1748), in which the painter's name is invoked in a context "not fit to be mentioned" here. The varying tastes of the 1740s–1760s, eventually leading to the cult of feeling, brought about major social, intellectual and aesthetic changes, one of which was

a re-discovery of physiognomy, the ancient art of reading human faces. If the decades mentioned were characterised by a contradictory dialogue between the physiognomical tradition and the belief that appearances mislead and deceive (*fronti nulla fides*) – as reflected in Henry Fielding's fiction[11] – the ensuing age of sensibility, in Roy Porter's words, "ushered in a physiognomical revival".[12] It was commonly held that one's benevolence or villainy is imprinted on the countenance; an assumption that corresponded to one of the central preoccupations of sentimental literature: the belief that the body and its reactions are a gateway to the soul. Paul Goring has aptly coined the phrase "sentimental somatic eloquence" to characterise the role of the body in the cult of feeling, adding that sentimental novels constituted "exhaustive dramatisations of contemporary thinking about the body's capacity to express character". Goring continues by noting that sentimental characters, whose identity is imprinted on their bodies, are typically juxtaposed with "hypocrites and tricksters", who conceal their true disposition "beneath a deluding mask of sociability".[13]

The heightened interest in the human face would naturally have turned the writers' attention to Guido Reni and his "heads", which had already become his well-recognised and acclaimed trademark. The early treatises on painting translated into English from the French are unanimous in their appreciation of this facet of Guido's art. For example, Charles-Alphonse du Fresnoy notes that "His heads yield no manner of precedence to those of Raphael".[14] This view was elaborated upon by Roger de Piles, who had first translated the original Latin text of du Fresnoy into French. In *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters*, published in English in 1706, de Piles writes:

> As for his *Heads*, they yield no manner of precedence to those of *Raphael*, either for Correctness of *Design*, or Delicacy of *Expression* [...]. His Merit consisted in that moving Beauty, which, in my opinion, did not proceed so much from a regularity of Features, as from a lovely Air which he gave the Mouth, that had something in it between a smile and seriousness, and in the Graces of the Mouth, with a certain Modesty which he put in the Eyes.[15]

Following the popularity of du Fresnoy and de Piles, this view spread into English aesthetic thought. Jonathan Richardson, in the second revised edition of *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1725), invokes the same Raphael-Guido comparison, this time openly to Reni's advantage.[16] Daniel Webb, in turn, in *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting*, gives Guido's "heads" a more distanced treatment, arguing for "rather technical than ideal" merits.[17]

When the novel was inclining towards the sentimental, similar uses of Guido started to appear in the realm of fiction. John Shebbeare's 1754

*The Marriage Act* features several references to Guido Reni's "heads", the novelist generally being very keen on intertextual and meta-pictorial allusions in characterisation. The most extensive sketch of this kind is devoted to the heroine Eliza:

> Her Physiognomy being inform'd with a Sweetness which does not captivate, but seduce the Hearts of those who behold it; creating that Sensation thro' the Eyes which Harmony does thro' the Ears, and converting the whole Soul into one uniform Complacency and Approbation.
>
> Her Complexion was rather pale than sorid, tho' not at all unhealthy; and a little Parisian Rouge would have made it the finest in the World. Her Neck and Head were joined inimitably beautiful; and her whole Person was such as Guido would have chosen for a Madona, having a native Innocence in her Looks and Air, which would become the Virgin-Mother looking down on the Saviour of the World.[18]

In the fictitious *Memoirs of the Chevalier Pierpoint* (1763), in turn, the sketch by de Piles is inserted in its entirety with only a few stylistic modifications,[19] which only proves the endurance of the tradition of French art criticism throughout the century.

The implied message in any reference to Guido was an appreciation of Catholic baroque art. If the early mentions of the painter, be they in factual or fictional literature, seem to have appropriated Catholic art, depriving it of its religious message;[20] the uses of Guido Reni in *A Sentimental Journey* and *The Italian* acknowledge the Catholic context – after all, the painter's "heads" are invoked in order to characterise a monk and a nun, respectively. On the one hand, both Sterne and Radcliffe answered to the requirements of the time and the genres they adopted and expressed typical anti-Catholic sentiments. Indeed, where else to find anti-papist propaganda if not in Anglican sermons (such as Sterne's) and Gothic novels (such as Radcliffe's)? On the other hand, both authors dialogised religious discourse in their writing and at times demonstrated a more tolerant view on Roman Catholicism. This is especially true of *A Sentimental Journey*, where Sterne seems to "abandon [...] automatic responses to religious difference", as Martha Bowden has it,[21] and *The Italian*, in which stock anti-Catholic motifs, such as the villainous monk or the prisons of the Inquisition, are counterbalanced by the utopian convent of Our Lady of Pity (joined by the nun Olivia) and the surprisingly just and sensible finale of the Inquisition section.[22] Maria Purves, in her revision of the English attitude towards Catholicism in the late eighteenth century, shows that ever since the 1778 Catholic Relief Bill, the common anti-papist attitudes coexisted with a more tolerant approach (even if the Gordon Riots of 1780 proved the strength of radical

anti-Catholicism). This tendency was gathering momentum in the 1790s, when Britain sympathetically welcomed the French émigré clergy seeking shelter from the persecuting revolutionaries at home.[23] Purves further argues that pro-Catholic sympathies spread into the realm of fiction – in particular the sentimental Gothic of the 1790s, which borrowed from earlier French texts "a sentimental representation of monks and nuns, convents and monasteries, and the rites and practices of Catholicism" and introduced such themes alongside typical anti-Roman content.[24] *The Italian*, given the episodes already mentioned, would be a case in point here, as it counterbalances the stereotypical figure of a villainous monk (Schedoni) with the benevolent nuns from the convent of Our Lady of Pity. Purves also points out that traces of "Roman(ticized) Catholicism" can be found throughout the eighteenth-century in writings of various genres, including essays in *The Spectator* (J. Addison), narrative poetry (A. Pope) and travel writing (J. Shaw).[25] Importantly for my purposes here, in explaining the phenomenon of sentimentalised Catholicism, Purves refers to the popularity of Guido Reni, whose *The Penitent Magdalen*, among other works, became "a sentimental icon [...] appropriated by the cult of sensibility" (Figure 5.3).[26]


*Figure 5.3* *Sancta Maria Magdalena*. After Guido Reni. 1686–1703. Mezzotint. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund.

In evaluating the impact of Sterne's use of Guido, and generally the writer's contribution to the popularity of pro-Catholic motifs and the "physiognomical revival" in late eighteenth-century Britain, one should not, however, lose sight of the Sternean context itself. The first reference to the painter can be found in *Tristram Shandy*. In chapter 12, volume 3, Tristram targets his satire at contemporary critics and offers the following parody of their idiom:

> —And did you step in, to take a look at the grand picture, in your way back?——'Tis a melancholy daub! my Lord; not one principle of the *pyramid* in any one group!——and what a price!——for there is nothing of the colouring of *Titian*,——the expression of *Rubens*,—the grace of *Raphael*,——the purity of *Dominichino*,—the *corregiescity* of *Corregio*,—the learning of *Poussin*,—the airs of *Guido*,—the taste of the *Carrachi*'s,—or the grand contour of *Angelo*.————Grant me patience, just heaven!——Of all the cants which are canted in this canting world,——though the cant of hypocrites may be the worst,—the cant of criticism is the most tormenting![27]

Guido is included here among other names in a manner very much reminiscent of contemporary writing about the arts. As R. F. Brissenden points out, the passage is modelled on Sir Joshua Reynolds's ridicule of "the cant of Criticism" published in the *Idler* 76 (1761).[28] The tradition of such enumerative listings and juxtapositions had been well established by the 1760s. For example, Alexander Pope, in his "Epistle to Mr. Jervas", first published in the 1716 edition of Dryden's translation of du Fresnoy's *De arte graphica*, writes: "Each heav'nly piece unwearies we compare, / Match Raphael's grace with thy lov'd Guido's air, / Carracci's strength, Correggio's softer line, / Paulo's free stroke, and Titian's warmth divine".[29] Such listings gave way to the coinage of fixed phrases rendering the artists' most memorable facets; Guido Reni's "air", "heads" and occasionally "grace" come from this tradition.[30]

The use of Guido in *Tristram Shandy* is ironic, and in fact, one may gain a similar impression while encountering the painter's name in *A Sentimental Journey*. The sketch is rather chaotic, clearly devoid of excessive sentimentality and generally having little in common with the pathos of the earlier sketch by Shebbeare. The reference to Guido might well have been made on the spur of the moment, by way of association resulting from Yorick's concentration on the monk's physiognomy. Nevertheless, in assessing its impact on late eighteenth-century sentimental fiction, what really matters is the scene's afterlife rather than origin.

The well-recognised peculiarity of Sterne's writing is its self-parodying potential; in other words, its ability to combine sensibility with a mockery

of sentimentalism. As a result, what contributed to the cult of feeling was not necessarily Sterne's original output itself but rather the way it was received and (mis)interpreted by the sentimentally-predisposed readers in both Britain and Continental Europe. The monk of Calais is a case in point: Sterne's episode is to some extent anti-sentimental,[31] full of ambiguities, as well as being tinged with good-natured irony – yet for the ensuing three decades or so it was taken to represent the core of sentimental pathos. The formative role, by way of "dissemination, standardization and preservation"[32] – given their cheap and available format – was performed by sentimental anthologies published from the 1780s onwards under the title "*Beauties of…*", with Sterne becoming a "confirmed classic" of the genre by the early 1800s.[33] The strategy employed by the editors of these collections was, in M–C. Newbould's words, to "homogenize authorial difference".[34] In the case of Sterne, this procedure was tantamount to eliminating his bawdiness and irony for the sake of homogeneous sentimentalism. As Daniel Cook puts it, "In place of the obscene *Tristram Shandy* and *Sentimental Journey*, we have a fully sanitized, alphabetized handbook of Sterne's sentiments on such topics as beauty, charity, and forgiveness".[35] Tellingly enough, the first edition of *The Beauties of Sterne* (1782) is subtitled *Selected for the Heart of Sensibility*, whereas the epigraph chosen for this one, as well as many of the subsequent editions, is Sterne's apostrophe to "Dear Sensibility" from *A Sentimental Journey*. As one would expect, the monk episode is included in virtually any edition of *The Beauties*, and so is the reference to Guido Reni. The same is true of other anthologies of this kind, such as *Extracts from the Tristram Shandy, and Sentimental Journey, of Lawr. Sterne* (1796) or *Gleanings from the works of Laurence Sterne* (1796).

It is worth adding that there was a tendency to sentimentalise Sterne even before the publication of these anthologies. Ewan Clark's *Miscellaneous poems* from 1779 is a good example, as it includes poems rewriting notable passages from *Tristram Shandy*, *A Sentimental Journey* and Sterne's correspondence. The poem "The Monk" is devoted to Yorick's encounter with Lorenzo, and the Franciscan's appearance takes a major part of it:

> 'Twas such a head as Guido oft conceiv'd;
> Such features oft upon his canvass liv'd:
> Pale, penetrating, and with mildness fraught,
> Free from each grov'ling, gross, and downward thought;
> It forwards look'd: but look'd as if to gain
> Scenes far remov'd beyond this world's domain.[36]

Thus standardised and disseminated, the reference to Guido from *A Sentimental Journey* would have had an impact on Sterne's numerous

imitators. In *Continuation of Yorick's Sentimental Journey* (1788), written by an anonymous "Admirer of the imortal [sic] Sterne", Mr. Yorick continues his journey in Italy, where at one point he encounters a Catholic pilgrim saying her beads. The scene is modelled on two episodes from Sterne's text: the giving of alms to monk Lorenzo in Calais and the feeling of the grisette's pulse in Paris:

> [...] my involuntary hand dropped a *louis* on the table.——Laying her left hand on mine and taking the madona in her right, she looked at it a few seconds, then raising her eyes to Heaven, she dropped them with a smile of modest gratitude on the hand she held.——*Ave Maria!*——It was enough,—the look was sufficient to interest every saint in heaven in my favour. [...]
>
> We were both on our knees before I perceived my hand was still locked in that of the fair pilgrim.——What wouldest thou have said, *Eugenius*, to have seen me prostrate with her?———But what care I who sees me?——Thou hast filled my soul, chaste saint, brim-full of meekness and devotion!—
>
> Dressed in a robe of purest white, the sky-blue sash depending from her waist, she knelt;———had I possessed *Guido*'s pencil, I would have drawn thee as thou wert, and Innocence should have owned the portrait to be her's![37]

As is perhaps the case in any imitation, the copy hyperbolises the imitated stylistics. Being more pathetic than anything Sterne had actually written, the passage adopts some typically Sternean pictorial strategies: meticulous arrangement of gestures and poses, time suspension, painterly vocabulary, as well as an imagined audience within the fictional scene (Eugenius). Guido Reni is invoked as the one who would have been most capable of visually rendering the described scene, given the pilgrim's expression, look and dress (Guido having also been praised for his draperies).

By the time Ann Radcliffe wrote *The Italian*, similar uses of Guido had appeared in sentimental fiction outside of the Sternean context. However different they were, the context for referring to the Italian painter remained basically the same: his name was invoked in order to render exceptional countenances, whose beauty stemmed from the discussed combination of mildness and enthusiasm. In Sophia Briscoe's *Miss Melmoth, or the New Clarissa* (1771), there is an extensive romance-like sketch of Sir George Darnley, recycling some well-known tropes present, for example, in the lengthy character descriptions of Fielding or Smollett. The passage then concludes with a mention of his "infinitely graceful" look and a remark that seeing him was like "contemplating a Guido".[38] The anonymous *Explanation; or, Agreeable Surprise* (1773) brings an analogous, though even more pathetically sentimental, sketch of a handsome

stranger. It begins with a rather typical exclamation: "Oh, for the pencil of a Guido, to draw a form so charming! Words can convey no idea of it, every description must fall short". Then, the reader is informed about "innumerable graces" about him, as well as his extraordinary voice and eyes.[39] Elizabeth Hervey's 1788 *Melissa and Marcia; or, the Sisters* moves significantly closer to Radcliffe's use of Guido. The heroine Marcia is "one of the lovliest of women" and the expression of her dark eyes "resembled that of Guido's St. Cecilia".[40] Guido Reni is also mentioned in rather non-standard contexts. For example, in the prostitute narrative *The Genuine Memoirs of Miss Faulkner* (1770), the painter's name is used to characterise the irresistible beauty of the eponymous heroine,[41] while in anonymous *Coxheath-Camp* (1779), it is deployed to render the countenance of a dying woman.[42] In the scandalous *The Ill Effects of a Rash Vow* (1789), in turn, one female character is continuously referred to as "Guido's gigantic beauty".[43]

The time gap between Sterne's and Radcliffe's uses of Guido was thus bridged by a number of texts, but what might have been the immediate source of Radcliffe's use of Guido Reni in *The Italian* was John Moore's *Zeluco* (1789). Radcliffe's debt to Moore's vision of Italy has been already given a lot of critical attention,[44] so I will only add that his novel features a mention of Guido very much reminiscent of the one in *The Italian*. Moore characterises the heroine Laura, an innocent Neapolitan tormented by the villainous Zeluco, as having "one of the finest countenances [to be seen] in nature or on canvass", displaying "a great resemblance to a certain admired Madona of Guido's".[45] *Zeluco* may lack Radcliffe's charm, but Moore's reference to the Italian painter's "heads" in the context of a Gothic story of "a damsel in distress" would have left an imprint on the imagination of his avid reader. *Zeluco* also proves that mentions of Guido would have become stock motifs by the time. The quoted observation is followed by a short dialogue:

> Mr. Squander observed, That he thought she was very like a picture which he had seen at Bologna, but whether it was painted by Guido or by Rheni he could not recollect.—Mr. N—said, smiling, That it was probably done by both, as they often painted conjunctly.[46]

I would argue that the story of Guido's "heads" is in general representative of the way post-Sternean sentimental iconography was formed. In the realm of literature, it was a potentially pictorial system developed by recurrent images drawn with words. Thus understood, iconography was a generative treasure trove for sentimental writers, who, following in Sterne's footsteps, produced texts that are to a large extent episodic and fragmented. When linear narrative was exchanged for a collection of tableaux and vignettes, each of these earned a peculiar autonomy that allowed them to exist outside of the original context. The discussed

sentimental collections emerged from this tendency, and their availability and popularity disseminated and standardised the anthologised passages, thus contributing to the formation of a literary iconography, not least because they tended to be illustrated. The sketch of father Lorenzo, in a manner similar, for example, to such tableaux as the Dead Ass, the Pulse or Maria, became an enduringly powerful word-painting, whose influence would have stretched beyond the fashion for Sternean imitations and adaptations. This form of literary appropriation is, in a way, reminiscent of the way Catholic sacred art, including Guido Reni's "heads", was in the eighteenth century decontextualised and aestheticised at the cost of its religious message.

No small part in the standardisation and dissemination of Sternean iconography was played by the art of painting, with the scenes mentioned above represented a number of times in the form of autonomous canvases or book illustrations. Gerard, who offers a comprehensive study of the phenomenon, shows that the accompanying artwork "echoes and enhances" the message that was above all ethical.[47] This visual message, Gerard points out, corresponded to the pictorial agenda of the narrative – an indication that the verbal fails to express the true merits of a benevolent sentimental encounter.

Arguably, the most powerful sentimental icon was Maria, whom Gerard labelled "icon of the heart" or "sentimental emblem", and who was one of the first Sternean subjects to enjoy a perfectly autonomous afterlife. The "burgeoning cultural phenomenon of Maria" began with a 1774 painting by George Carter, which was followed by fourteen paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy before 1792, the best known of which was the 1777 canvas by Angelica Kauffmann, a Swiss-born painter who repeatedly returned to Sternean themes.[48] Maria paintings spawned numerous imitations, including Wedgewood ware, prints, musical pieces and apocryphal stories such as *The Letters of Maria* (1790) or *Sterne's Maria; A Pathetic Story* (ca. 1800).

The visual afterlife of Lorenzo, though not as vivid as Maria's, was also impressive. The formative role was played by Kauffmann's roundel "The Monk of Calais" (1775–1780), which was meant as a pair to "Mad Maria" (a second take on the subject by Kauffmann). Kauffmann's choice of the snuffbox exchange – that is, the second meeting with the Monk – was testimony to the sentimentalised reception of the encounter, highlighting the emblematic moment of friendship, rather than the first scene of misunderstanding. Allegedly, already in 1769 the snuffbox became a metonym of friendship, and it was possible to obtain examples with the name "Lorenzo" on the outside and "Yorick" on the inside.[49] The exchange, like the giving of alms, was also reprinted and disseminated in the *Beauties*. As for the illustrations of *A Sentimental Journey*, the monk episode (the first meeting at the Remise door) was the first to be visually represented – it was the only illustration in the

1780 Dublin edition, whereas in the 1780 London edition (chronologically the second illustrated one), the snuffbox exchange was accompanied by Yorick's encounter with Maria – just like in Kauffmann's pair of roundels.

Radcliffe's use of Guido's "heads" should not be taken as testimony to her indebtedness to Sterne. There is little that we know about Radcliffe's readings, but what evidence there is – for the most part found in the epigraphs to her chapters as well as quotations throughout her works – renders their literary relationship as rather improbable.[50] This, however, can help make an even stronger point – sentimental icons functioned outside of their original contexts, enjoying a life, and an afterlife, of their own. This can be best seen in a drawing by Philip James de Loutherbourg (1740–1812) from 1799, which offers a reconciliation of Sterne's and Radcliffe's poetics (Figure 5.4).

*Figure 5.4* *The Snuff Box – Calais*. Philip James de Loutherbourg. 1799. Etching and engraving. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

De Loutherbourg's roundel clearly alludes to Kauffman's painting, but endows the drawing with a different atmosphere by negotiating several aspects by way of emphasis and de-emphasis. First of all, the group of figures on a craggy stage, as it were, do not occupy a central position – they are slightly moved to the side, their size decreased, thus exposing much more of the background. Behind them, there is the ruined remise, gradually consumed by nature. The ominous tree branch – a motif typical of de Loutherbourg – intrudes into the scene in a way illustrating the power of nature. Further back, the drawing shows a picturesque rural landscape ornamented with trees and wooden huts.[51]

De Loutherbourg was an avid student of Salvator Rosa, from whom he adopted an aesthetic blend of the sublime and the picturesque, as well as such stock motifs as the *banditti*, rocky sceneries and tempestuous backgrounds, popularising them in England in the 1780s and 1790s. Rosa would also have been one of Ann Radcliffe's favourite painters, to which she testifies explicitly, by invoking "Salvator" in one of her descriptions in the early phase of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, and generally, by adopting his vision of Southern Europe. For some reason, a follower of Rosa – the "savage Rosa" as James Thompson labels him in *The Castle of Indolence*[52] – at the peak of his popularity turns to things Sternean, endowing them with a tinge of Radcliffean Gothicism.

This, of course, does not prove de Loutherbourg's mediation in the Sterne-Radcliffe literary communication. What is does prove, however, is that there was a continuity in the sentimental tradition of the second half of the eighteenth century, despite that fact that the tradition was constituted by such diverse projects as Sterne's and Radcliffe's. The story of Guido's "heads" is illustrative of the pattern of continuity. Radcliffe might not have thought of Sterne's Lorenzo, but her invocation of Guido for the sake of characterisation stemmed from the sentimental architext formed by her forerunners, including the homogenised and anthologised Sterne, disseminated in the form of autonomous sentimental vignettes.

## Notes

1 An earlier version of this chapter was published as "Guido's 'Heads' and Sentimental Fiction from Sterne to Radcliffe", in *Things and Images in 18th and 19th Century British Literature*, ed. Grażyna Bystydzieńska (Warszawa: Ośrodek Studiów Brytyjskich, 2016), 181–196.

2 Studies on Radcliffe and the visual include: Elizabeth Bohls, *Aesthetics and Ideology in the Writings of Ann Radcliffe* (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1989); Alice Labourg, *Peinture et Écriture: L'imaginaire Pictural Dans les Romans Gothiques d'Ann Radcliffe* (PhD diss., University of Aix-en-Provence, 2013).

3 See Rictor Norton, *Mistress of Udolpho: The Life of Ann Radcliffe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 29.

4 Thomas Noon Talfourd, "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mrs Radcliffe", in Ann Radcliffe, *Gaston de Blondeville; or, the Court of Henry III*, 4 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), vol. 1, 99.

5 Norton, *Mistress of Udolpho*, 34.
6 Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* and *Continuation of the Bramine's Journal*, ed. Melvyn New and W. G. Day (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 7–8.
7 W. B. Gerard juxtaposes the sketch with another celebrated example – Tristram's description of Corporal Trim reading the sermon – and argues that they both represent Sterne's use of the following pictorial techniques: "incomplete physical descriptions, iconic references to the practice or theory of painting, and narrative reflexivity to create compelling portraits of character". W. B. Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 6.
8 Ann Radcliffe, *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents*, ed. Frederick Garber, intr. and notes E. J. Clery (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 86.
9 Radcliffe, *The Italian*, 5.
10 Radcliffe, *The Italian*, 11.
11 See Graeme Tytler, "Letters of Recommendation and False Vizors: Physiognomy in the Novels of Henry Fielding", *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 2, no. 2 (1990): 93–111.
12 Roy Porter, "Making Faces: Physiognomy and Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England", *Etudes Anglaises* 38, no. 4 (1985): 393.
13 Paul Goring, *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 142–143.
14 Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy, *De arte graphica. The Art of Painting. Translated into English, together with an Original Preface containing A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry by Mr. Dryden* (London: W. Rogers, 1695), 223.
15 Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters* (London: J. Nutt, 1706), 231.
16 Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London: A. C., 1725), 260.
17 Daniel Webb, *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760), 14.
18 John Shebbeare, *The Marriage Act*, 2 vols. (London: J. Hodges, 1754), vol. 1, 65–66.
19 *Memoirs of the Chevalier Pierpoint*, 3 vols. (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1763), 27–33.
20 As Clare Haynes writes, there was a tendency among the English enthusiasts of Catholic sacred art to separate the beautiful form from the inappropriate "papist" content. For example, she writes, Horace Walpole would defend a Guido he collected in Haughton Gallery, writing that the artist's "pencil almost authenticates the belief of them [i.e. the superstitious Italians]". Clare Haynes, *Pictures and Poppery: Art and Religion in England, 1660–1760* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 86.
21 Martha F. Bowden, *Yorick's Congregation: The Church of England in the Time of Laurence Sterne* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 30.
22 See James Watt, "Ann Radcliffe and Politics", in *Ann Radcliffe, Romanticism and the Gothic*, ed. Dale Townshend and Angela Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 78.
23 Maria Purves, *The Gothic and Catholicism: Religion, Cultural Exchange and the Popular Novel, 1785–1829* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), 26.
24 Purves, *The Gothic and Catholicism*, 56.
25 Purves, *The Gothic and Catholicism*, 56–58.
26 Purves, *The Gothic and Catholicism*, 60.

27 Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. Melvyn New and Joan New, 3 vols. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1978–1984), 214. Karina Williamson persuasively demonstrated that *Tristram Shandy* also contains a crypto-quotation from Guido's *Liberality and Modesty*. Karina Williamson, "*Tristram Shandy*: An Allusion to Guido Reni", *Notes and Queries* 35 (1988): 188.
28 R. F. Brissenden, "Sterne and Painting", in *Of Books and Humankind: Essays and Poems Presented to Bonamy Dobrée*, ed. John Butt, J. M. Cameron, D. W. Jefferson and Robin Skelton (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 102–103.
29 Alexander Pope, "Epistle to Mr. Jervas", in *The Complete Poetical Works by Alexander Pope*, ed. Henry Walcott (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903). Bartleby.com, www.bartleby.com/203/37.html.
30 A kind of quasi-listing can also be found in Sterne's mock dedication in *Tristram Shandy*, which I commented upon in Chapter 2.
31 M–C. Newbould, "A 'New Order of Beings and Things': Caricature in Sterne's Fictional Worlds", in *Hilarion's Asse: Laurence Sterne and Humour*, ed. Anne Bandry-Scubbi and Peter de Voogd (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013), 50–51.
32 I am following the taxonomy of Elizabeth Eisenstein originally used to account for the role of print in early modern Europe, assuming its relevance for the rapidly developing print culture in the eighteenth century. See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
33 M–C. Newbould. "Wit and Humour for the Heart of Sensibility: The Beauties of Fielding and Sterne", in *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, ed. Daniel Cook and Nicholas Seager (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 134.
34 Newbould. "Wit and Humour for the Heart of Sensibility: The Beauties of Fielding and Sterne", 136.
35 Daniel Cook. "Authors Unformed: Reading 'Beauties' in the Eighteenth Century", *Philological Quarterly* 89, no. 2–3 (2010): 290.
36 Ewan Clark, *Miscellaneous Poems* (Whitehaven: J. Ware, 1779), 114.
37 *Continuation of Yorick's Sentimental Journey* (London: The Literary Press, 1788), 54–55.
38 Sophia Briscoe, *Miss Melmoth; or, the New Clarissa*, 3 vols. (London: T. Lowndes, 1771), vol. 1, 10.
39 *The Explanation; or, Agreeable Surprise*, 2 vols. (London: F. and J. Noble, 1773), vol. 2, 61.
40 Elizabeth Hervey, *Melissa and Mercia; or the Sisters*, 2 vols. (London: W. Lane, 1788), vol. 1, 247.
41 Miss Faulkner, *The Genuine Memoirs of Miss Faulkner* (London: William Bingley, 1770), 15.
42 *Coxheath-Camp*, 2 vols. (London: Fielding and Walker, 1779), vol. 1, 40.
43 *The Ill Effects of a Rash Vow*, 2 vols. (London: William Lane, 1789).
44 See, for example, Pam Perkins, "John Moore, Ann Radcliffe and the Gothic Vision of Italy", *Gothic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2006): 35–51.
45 John Moore, *Zeluco* (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1789), 406.
46 Moore, *Zeluco*, 406.
47 Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination*, 99.
48 Gerard, *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination*, esp. 139–144.

49 See Alan B. Howes, *Laurence Sterne: The Critical Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 429–430; W. G. Day, "Sternean Material Culture: Lorenzo's Snuff-Box and His Graves", in *The Reception of Laurence Sterne in Europe*, ed. Peter de Voogd and John Neubauer (London and New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2007), 247–258.

50 That said, Radcliffe may well have been familiar with Sterne's texts given his popularity in the 1780s, a formative decade for Radcliffe's writing. She might at least have known the iconic Maria, who appeared on Wedgewood products from the 1780s onwards.

51 De Loutherbourg's other Sternean roundel "The Dead Ass – Nampont", also collected in the British Museum, displays similar strategies.

52 James Thompson, "The Castle of Indolence", *Spenser and the Tradition: English Poetry, 1579–1830*, complied by David Hill Radcliffe, http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?textsid=34286.

# Conclusion

By way of conclusion, and in an attempt to capitalise on the role of painting in the performance of the novel genre, I would like to briefly acknowledge the final work of Ann Radcliffe – the posthumously published *Gaston de Blondeville* (1826). By and large, it is a rather non-standard work in the context of Radcliffe's previous fiction and the examples discussed in the previous chapters. The novelty introduced by Radcliffe is that the sister art of painting is no longer a mere context or part of the architext for her project; conversely, it determines the novel form as such. That is, as the work pretends to be a translation of a medieval manuscript, each chapter begins with a detailed description of a drawing supposedly ornamenting the original text. The pictures represent key scenes in successive chapters and are animated in the narratives that follow. Meticulous and purely descriptive sketches accounting for the original pictures are thus juxtaposed with vivid narrative passages, which suspend the progress of the plot and enthral the reader with an abundance of forms and colours.[1] *Gaston de Blondeville*, I would argue, provides a final insight into Radcliffe's understanding of the novel genre in the context of the visual arts. If her starting point is the image, the ultimate effect is amplified by the temporal and auditory dimensions, which do not exist in painting. This is what is achieved elsewhere in her works, through picture-like sketches of heroines or the fictionalised imagery of Salvator Rosa and other Old Masters. The effect is a form of narrative art that exploits the potential of language to represent the visual; a series of living images mediated through verbal means. Her first biographer Talfourd labelled her "the inventor of a new style of romance",[2] and whatever he had in mind, the sister art of painting is clearly an indispensable part of this project; this time no longer by way of discursive engagement, but by way of an implied presence.[3]

*Painting the Novel* has shown that Radcliffe's inter-artistic project was preceded by a long tradition of multifaceted entanglement of the sister arts of painting and the novel. The book has demonstrated that novelistic discourse throughout the eighteenth century was a dynamically transtextual phenomenon, one in which the products of the sister

art of painting were incorporated into the narratives in a meta-pictorial manner, thus constituting comments on the writing process and the novel genre in general.

In Chapters 1 and 4 I concentrated on the technique of framing, in which the prefatory meta-pictorial remarks, pictorial passages within the narratives and frontispieces (even if not designed by the authors) engage with one another, both in a complementary and contradictory manner, thus shedding light on the authors' conceptions of the novel genre. In Daniel Defoe's *Roxana*, the meta-pictorial metaphor in the preface, even if a standard rhetorical device, was illustrative of Defoe's dependence on the aesthetic of particularity and low realism, which was related to the novelist's engagement with late medieval and early modern Dutch painting. Throughout the narrative, this aesthetic is counterbalanced by the mode foreshadowed by the *turquerie*-like frontispiece depicting the protagonist in her lavish Turkish dress. The prefatory frame imprints itself on the descriptive passages in the novel, which are indicative not only of Defoe's indebtedness to the Dutch tradition but also to contemporary fashions in portraiture. As such, the pictorial context elucidates the aesthetic tensions characteristic of the novel of social ascension – the interplay of the high and the low as well as the realist and the allegorical.

In Chapter 4, the interplay of the various forms of prefatory material and the pictorial passages within the narrative problematised the generic heterogeneity in Frances Burney's *Evelina*. I identified an aesthetic tension between the arguably idealist precept to "draw from nature though not from life", echoing Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses*, and the actual uses of pictorialism in the narrative – as a rule, dependent on the carnivalesque and the grotesque. I argued that this was best visible in the depiction of the body – in the juxtaposition of the heroine's abstract beauty, which is not concretised at any point in the narrative, and the vividly represented grotesque bodies of her mutilated doubles. Finally, I showed that Burney's inconsistency was accurately rendered in the first three illustrations (from the fourth edition, 1779), two of which encourage the reader to perceive the novel in a way that goes against the theory proclaimed in the preface.

Chapter 2 was the most extensive one, as it concentrated on arguably the most productive entanglement of words and images in the mid-eighteenth century – the novelistic uses of William Hogarth. Having acknowledged the narrative qualities of Hogarth's work itself, the chapter assessed his contribution to literary characterisation and composition by studying the explicit invocations of the painter's name as well as references to his theory of art. In the first part, the meta-pictorial uses of the artist in Henry Fielding's fiction were confronted with the idealistic portraits of his early protagonists, the juxtaposition of which illustrated the limits of the practical application of the theory of fiction put forward

in the preface to *Joseph Andrews*. I argued that the romance-like dependence on character idealism is abandoned in *Amelia*, in which Hogarth is finally invoked in the context of a protagonist, marking Fielding's eventual move towards realism. The second section concentrated on one of the earliest and best known definitions of the novel – Tobias Smollett's pictorial labelling of the novel as a "diffused picture" with a "uniform plan". Having situated the definition in the context of the neoclassical aesthetic of variety and *concordia discors*, I argued for Smollett's engagement with Hogarth's treatise *The Analysis of Beauty*, especially with reference to the ideal of "composed variety" proclaimed therein. Finally, I read Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and argued for a Hogarthian provenance of the tension between the waving line and the straight line, which is central to Sterne's poetics; a tension that characterises not only the writer's narrative composition and pictorial passages but also his typographical design. I pointed out that in *Tristram Shandy*, meta-pictorial discourse is at times carried out with the use of purely visual means, which become visual meta-comments.

Chapters 3 and 5 were less-focused studies that offered contextualised surveys of two painterly motifs in the final decades of the eighteenth century – the animated portrait in the first-wave Gothic and Guido Reni's "heads" in sentimental fiction. Both these chapters showed that a case study of a seemingly minor inter-artistic element can raise wider concerns not only about the performance of genre but also about the cultural milieu. I argued that, in a way, the two motifs can be regarded as micro-analogues of literary Gothicism and sentimentalism in general, as they epitomise the aesthetic processes central to the respective novelistic traditions. In Chapter 3, I departed from the centuries-long critical tradition of comparing Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* with the writer's renovation of the Strawberry Hill palace. Instead of focusing on space, however, I elaborated on the literary transposition of a portrait originally exhibited in the Strawberry Hill gallery. I addressed the aesthetic and ideological implications of the motif of the animated portrait in *Otranto*, as well as tracing its rich afterlife in the Gothic fiction of the following decades. I argued that the uncanny animation of the inanimate capitalises not only on the typical Gothic plot patterns and implied meanings, thus endowing the diverse products of the first-wave Gothic with a sense of continuity, but also, by negotiating the subject-object divide, on the unstable position of the self in the world of objects. The final Chapter 5 concentrated on the uses and abuses of the so-called Guido's "heads", which were popularised by the sketch of Father Lorenzo in Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*. I argued that the case of Guido Reni was generally representative of the way in which sentimental iconography was formed and disseminated and that the afterlife of his "heads" helps recognise a continuity between such diverse aesthetic projects as Sterne's and Radcliffe's.

The chapters have addressed a relatively wide selection of material in order to show the various forms of the transtextual dependence of text on image. These included rhetorical devices invoking the art of painting (by way of painterly vocabulary), meta-pictorial naming (that is, referring to names of artists and titles of their works with a self-reflexive agenda), allusions to aesthetic theories and the textual and paratextual incorporation of pictures as objects. My conviction throughout has been that only a sufficiently broad perspective can help reconstruct at least some of the elements making up the broad canvas of the novel's engagement with the visual arts.

In her *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, Janine Barchas stems from the tradition of print culture scholarship and argues for an "expansion" of the eighteenth-century novelistic text. Focusing on the visual qualities of the printed page – frequently lost in modern editions – Barchas argues that a broad textual perspective on what the page originally offered provides more insight into the dynamics and mutability of the early novel as a genre.[4] The visual material, such as frontispieces, illustrations and non-standard punctuation, is thus "textualised" and seen as an inherent part of the literary work. I have shared this conviction throughout the book but have also proposed to expand further the novelistic text and acknowledge its transtextual dependence on the architext that was inclusive of the visual arts.

In tracing the various forms of pictorialism in eighteenth-century fiction, I have capitalised on meta-pictorial discourse as a barometer of the early novel's generic fluidity. Apparently, early novelists' multifaceted engagement with painting was reflective of what I have understood as the "performance of genre" – the self-conscious literary practices giving way to a number of novel forms, both dialogically engaged with one another and depending for their self-definitions on extra-textual sources. My aim has been to demonstrate the prominence of the art of painting in providing the novelists with material to be explored in their discursive practices. The motif of a painterly parallel, even if at times employed merely as a rhetorical trope, has helped to shed light not only on the genre itself but also on the wider socio-cultural context. It has provided an insight into a time arguably dominated by the practices of seeing, gradually democratised and transcending the conventional boundaries of the arts. The eighteenth-century novel was thus meant to be both read and seen, just because it was both written and *painted*. This implied reception was on the one hand encoded in the "expanded" text itself, often enriched with visual material and typically featuring pictorial passages; on the other hand, it was encouraged by the complex network of meta-pictorial comments situating the nascent and unstable genre within the visual architext.

I would not risk an essentialist statement regarding genre identity to conclude this book, but I believe that the subsequent chapters have

managed to demonstrate that if there was a common denominator underpinning the various forms taken by prose fiction throughout the eighteenth century, it was the visual policy assuming that the narrative – metaphorically speaking – is to be *seen*. In one of the earliest historical accounts of the novel – Clara Reeve's *The Progress of Romance* (1785) – the offered definition of the genre centres around the novel-romance binary and foreshadows Ian Watt's argument for the novel's contemporaneity and realism. In this, however, Reeve avails herself of a painterly metaphor, implying that the mimetic policy depends for its realisation on the reader's visual imagination: "The Novel is a picture of real life and manners, and of the times in which it is written. […] The Novel gives a familiar relation of such things, as pass every day before our eyes […]".[5] Tellingly enough, the parallel between life and fiction is guaranteed by the practice of seeing – just as real life passes "before our eyes", its fictional representation provides us with a faithful "picture" to see.

The rich afterlife of the painterly parallel, and generally the visual policy, in the novelistic discourse of the centuries to come capitalises on the role of the visual in prose narrative. Walter Scott, in his numerous commentaries on the novel, repetitiously employed the trope, most memorably in his discussions of Daniel Defoe (as mentioned in Chapter 1) and Jane Austen, both of whom were approached in terms of Dutch painting. Needless to say, Scott's own take on the novel genre displayed a deepened engagement with the visual, too.[6] Conversely, what the novelist had to say about painting, even if somewhat critical, reversed the parallel and argued for a reception of the visual in literary terms: "a painting should, to be excellent, have something to say to the mind of a man".[7] The Victorian novel was excessively pictorial, not least because of the rapid development of book illustration. The principal *painter* of the novel was Charles Dickens, who thus commented on his writing practice in a letter to his friend and biographer John Forster: "[When] I sit down to my book, some beneficent power shows it all to me, and tempts me to be interested, and I don't invent it – really do not – but see it, and write it down."[8] Dickens's technique of the sketch was arguably the most successful realisation of the above procedure; in a way, it followed the pictorial patterns of the autonomous sentimental vignette discussed in Chapter 5. Towards the end of the nineteenth-century Henry James, an openly self-conscious novelist and influential theorist of the genre, made the painterly parallel the crux of his theoretical standpoint. In "The Art of Fiction" from 1884 he writes:

> The only reason for the existence of a novel is that it *does* compete with life. When it ceases to compete as the canvas of the painter competes, it will have arrived at a very strange pass. […] the analogy between the art of the painter and the art of the novelist is, so far as I am able to see, complete. Their inspiration is the same, their

> process (allowing for the different quality of the vehicle) is the same, their success is the same. They may learn from each other, they may explain and sustain each other. Their cause is the same, and the honour of one is the honour of another.[9]

James's approach is more complex than Clara Reeve's outward, if not simplistic, mimesis, but nevertheless, there is an apparent continuity in centring the theoretical discourse around the practice of seeing. This idea was also taken up by other modernists. For example, Virginia Woolf, when pointing out the interrelationship between "painting and writing", observes:

> The novelist after all wants to make us see. Gardens, rivers, skies, clouds changing, the colour of a woman's dress, landscapes that bask beneath lovers, twisted woods that people walk in when they quarrel – novels are full of pictures like these.[10]

The modernist novel, in both theory and practice, seems to have particularly welcomed such parallels, which would have been part of the general tendency to approach the different arts in similar terms and to see them all as coming from the same spring of creative faculties. Later in "The Art of Fiction", James asserts:

> fiction is one of the *fine* arts, deserving in its turn of all the honours and emoluments that have hitherto been reserved for [...] music, poetry, painting, architecture. It is impossible to insist too much on so important a truth.[11]

The argument that I have pursued in this book – the idea that the inter-artistic parallel may have generic implications – was in a way foreshadowed by E.M. Forster in his *Aspects of the Novel* (1927). Proceeding to a discussion of "Pattern" and "Rhythm", Forster points to the taxonomical limits of literary theory and decides to avail himself of the terminology specific to painting and music, respectively. He does so while making a passing remark that, in fact, addresses the core of my readings of eighteenth-century fiction: "indeed the more the arts develop the more they depend on each other for definition".[12]

The above observation accurately renders the contemporary novel's dialogue with the art of cinema, the products of which realise the narrative's visual aspirations. By and large, if the visual architext for the early novel was predominantly the art of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century painters and the ideas of contemporaneous aesthetic thinkers, the immediate visual context for the novel in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is film. David Lodge's novelistic debut *The Picturegoers* (1960) defines the author's interest in moving pictures, an interest that is

visible in both theory and practice, finding its culmination in the cinematic techniques of *Changing Places* (1975) and Lodge's own critical commentary on his use of them. In his *The Modes of Modern Writing*, in turn, Lodge elaborates on such cinematic-literary techniques as montage (making extensive use of Sergei Eisenstein's theory), suspense, cutting, fading and scene design.[13]

The novel does not have to be *painted* any longer; it can be *filmed*, not least because of the fact that a film adaptation is often tantamount to realising the author's ambitions in terms of profit and mass popularity. The cinematic paradigm, strictly speaking, is applicable to post-1895 literature, but there have been critical attempts to account for the alleged handling of the cinematic in novelistic discourse before the emergence of moving pictures. Jane Austen, Charles Dickens and Thomas Hardy, to invoke three significant names, have all been praised for being ahead of their own time in their innovative, proto-filmic application of the visual.[14] Be that as it may, anachronistic or not, this tendency proves the point that the paradigm of seeing lies at the core of novel writing. David Lodge's use of cross-cuttings or filmic dialogue in *Changing Places* and Henry Fielding's references to William Hogarth in *Joseph Andrews*, I would like to argue, are reflective of the same, inherently visual dimension of the novel genre. As this book has shown, the reconciliation of the practices of reading and seeing, on the one hand, and verbal and visual representation, on the other, dates back to the formative decades for the "life" of the genre, and, arguably, it has remained an energising aesthetic tension ever since.

## Notes

1 For example, a rather simplistic account of the first drawing – representing the King and Queen's pompous arrival at Kenilworth interrupted by the protagonist Hugh Woodreeve's appearance – fades in comparison with the ensuing narrative of the procession; a symphony of sounds (produced by trumpets, pipes, horns, bugles as well as "stringed instruments with most sweet noise"), colours and lively countenances. Ann Radcliffe, *Gaston de Blondeville; or, The Court of Henry III*, ed. Frances Chiu (Chicago: Valancourt Books, 2006), 30.

2 Thomas Noon Talfourd, "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mrs Radcliffe", in Ann Radcliffe, *Gaston de Blondeville; or, the Court of Henry III*, 4 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), vol. 1, 105.

3 I am discussing this novel in the context of Radcliffe's other fiction and engagement with the sister arts debate in the chapter "Ann Radcliffe and the Sister Arts Ideal", in *The Enchantress of Words, Sounds and Images: Anniversary Essays on Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823)*, ed. Jakub Lipski and Jacek Mydla (Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2015), 3–20.

4 Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 14.

5 Clara Reeve, *The Progress of Romance through Times, Countries, and Manners* (New York: Garland, 1970), 111.

6 For an insightful reading of Scott's pictorialism and engagement with book illustration, see Richard J. Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), especially Chapter 1: "Writing with Pictures".
7 Walter Scott, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. David Douglas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), vol. 1, 119.
8 John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, 2 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1870), vol. 2, 340. Much ink has been spilt on Dickens's reliance on the visual and his interest in the art of painting. For a useful study of the role of the visual in Dickens's writing technique, see Donald H. Ericksen, "*Bleak House* and Victorian Art and Illustration: Charles Dickens's Visual Narrative Style", *The Journal of Narrative Technique* 13, no. 1 (1983): 31–46. For a comprehensive discussion of Dickens's interest in painting, see the series of essays by Leonée Ormond: "Dickens and Painting: The Old Masters", *Dickensian* 79 (1983): 131–151; "Dickens and Painting: Contemporary Art", *Dickensian* 80 (1984): 2–25; "Dickens and Italian Painting in *Pictures from Italy*", in *Dickens and Italy: "Little Dorrit" and "Pictures from Italy"*, ed. Michael Hollington and Francesca Orestano (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 38–48; "Dickens and Contemporary Art", in *Dickens and the Artists*, ed. Mark Bills (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 35–68. For a general study of the visual in the Victorian novel, see Rhoda L. Flaxman, *Victorian Word-Painting and Narrative: Toward the Blending of Genres* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1998).
9 Henry James, "The Art of Fiction", *Longman's Magazine* 4 (1884), https://public.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/artfiction.html. Much has been written on Henry James and the visual. For a study of the novelist's engagement with the picturesque, see Kendall Johnson, *Henry James and the Visual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For a study of the patterns of seeing in James's fiction, see Susan M. Griffin, *The Historical Eye: The Texture of the Visual in Late James* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991).
10 Virginia Woolf, *Walter Sickert: A Conversation* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1934), 22. Recent studies of Woolf and the visual include Claudia Olk, *Virginia Woolf and the Aesthetics of Vision* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014) and Maggie Humm, ed., *The Edinburgh Companion to Virginia Woolf and the Arts* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010). For a more comprehensive study of the modernist novel in the context of the fine arts, see Marianna Torgovnick, *The Visual Arts, Pictorialism, and the Novel: James, Lawrence, and Woolf* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
11 James, "The Art of Fiction". This passage was modelled on Walter Besant's remark in his essay of the same title – "The Art of Fiction", also published in 1884.
12 E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (Orlando: Harcourt, 1955), 149.
13 David Lodge, *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Literature* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).
14 For "cinematic" readings of Jane Austen, see David Monaghan, Ariane Hudelet, and John Wiltshire, *The Cinematic Jane Austen: Essays on the Filmic Sensibility of the Novels* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2009). Charles Dickens's works are considered "proto-cinematic" by Grahame Smith, who highlights Dickens's references to Victorian visual technology, such as the magic lantern. Grahame Smith, *Charles Dickens and the Dream of Cinema* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003). Smith had a notable precursor in Sergei Eisenstein, who treated the novelist as an inspiration for David Wark Griffith's innovative art of montage. Sergei Eisenstein,

"Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today", in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt, 1949), 195–255. The cinematic technique of Thomas Hardy has been discussed by Lodge, who labelled him "a cinematic novelist": "Hardy uses verbal description as a film director uses the lens of his camera, to select, highlight, distort, and enhance, creating a visualized world that is both recognizable and yet more vivid, intense, and dramatically charged than actuality". David Lodge, "Thomas Hardy and Cinematographic Form", *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 7, no. 3 (1974): 249.

# Bibliography

## Primary Sources


Addison, Joseph. "Pleasures of the Imagination". *Spectator*, no. 411 (1712). *The Spectator Project*. Rutgers University, 2011. www2.scc.rutgers.edu/spectator.

Austen, Jane. *Northanger Abbey, Lady Susan, The Watsons and Sanditon*. Edited by James Kinsley and John Davie. Introduction and notes by Claudia L. Johnson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Behn, Aphra. *Oroonoko and Other Writings*. Edited by Paul Salzman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Briscoe, Sophia. *Miss Melmoth; or, the New Clarissa*. 3 vols. London: T. Lowndes, 1771.

Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Edited by Adam Phillips. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Burney, Frances. *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*. 3 vols. London: Edward Moxon, 1832.

Burney, Frances. *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*. Edited by Lars E. Troide and Steward J. Cooke. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988–.

Burney, Frances. *The Wanderer*. Edited by Margaret Anne Doody, Robert L. Mack and Peter Sabor. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Burney, Frances. *Evelina*. Edited by Edward A. Bloom. Introduction and notes by Vivien Jones. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Burney, Frances. *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney*. Edited by Steward Cooke. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011–.

Clark, Ewan. *Miscellaneous Poems*. Whitehaven: J. Ware, 1779.

*Continuation of Yorick's Sentimental Journey*. London: The Literary Press, 1788.

*Coxheath-Camp*. 2 vols. London: Fielding and Walker, 1779.

Defoe, Daniel. *Robinson Crusoe*. Edited by Thomas Keymer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Defoe, Daniel. *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress*. Edited by John Mullan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Defoe, Daniel. *Moll Flanders*. Edited by Linda Bree. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Du Fresnoy, Charles-Alphonse. *De arte graphica. The Art of Painting. Translated into English, Together with an Original Preface Containing* A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry *by Mr. Dryden*. London: W. Rogers, 1695.

Du Fresnoy, Charles-Alphonse. *Compleat Art of Painting*. Translated by D[aniel] F[oe]. London: T. Warner, 1720.
De Piles, Roger. *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters*. London: J. Nutt, 1706.
Faulkner, Miss. *The Genuine Memoirs of Miss Faulkner*. London: William Bingley, 1770.
Fielding, Henry. *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews*. Edited by Martin C. Battestin. The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1967.
Fielding, Henry. *The History of Tom Jones*. Edited by Martin C. Battestin and Fredson Bowers. The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1975.
Fielding, Henry. *Amelia*. Edited by Martin C. Battestin. The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.
Fielding, Henry. *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, Shamela, and Occasional Writings*. Edited by Martin C. Battestin. The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008.
*Gothic Stories*. London: S. Fisher, 1800.
Harris, James. *Three Treatises. The First Concerning Art, the Second Concerning Music, Painting and Poetry, the Third Concerning Happiness*. London: John Nourse and Paul Vaillant, 1744.
Hervey, Elizabeth. *Melissa and Mercia; or the Sisters*. 2 vols. London: W. Lane, 1788.
Hogarth, William. *The Analysis of Beauty*. Edited by Ronald Paulson. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.
Hughes, John and Sir Richard Blackmore. "Parallel between Painting and Poetry". *The Lay Monk*, no. 31 (1713). *Spenser and the Tradition: English Poetry, 1579–1830*. Complied by David Hill Radcliffe. http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?action=GET&textsid=33875.
Ireland, John. *A Supplement to Hogarth Illustrated*. London: Published for the Author, 1804.
Jacob, Hildebrand. *Of the Sister Arts: An Essay*. London: William Lewis, 1734.
Johnson, Samuel. *The Rambler*, no. 4 (31 March 1750). In *Samuel Johnson: Selected Poetry and Prose*. Edited by Frank Brady and W. K. Wimsatt. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977.
Lee, Sophia. *The Recess*. 3 vols. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804.
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*. Translated by E. C. Beasley. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853.
Lewis, Matthew Gregory. *The Monk*. Edited by Nick Groom. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Edited by Roger Woolhouse. London: Penguin, 1997.
Maturin, Charles Robert. *Melmoth the Wanderer*. Edited by Douglas Grant. Introduction by Chris Baldick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
*Memoirs of the Chevalier Pierpoint*. 3 vols. London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1763.
Moore, John. *Zeluco*. London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1789.

Pope, Alexander. "Epistle to Mr. Jervas". In *The Complete Poetical Works by Alexander Pope*. Edited by Henry Walcott. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903. Bartleby.com. www.bartleby.com/203/37.html.

Pope, Alexander. "Windsor-Forest". Edited by Jack Lynch. https://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~jlynch/Texts/windsor.html.

Radcliffe, Ann. *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*. Edited by Alison Milbank. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Radcliffe, Ann. *Gaston de Blondeville; or, The Court of Henry III*. Edited by Frances Chiu. Chicago: Valancourt Books, 2006.

Radcliffe, Ann. *The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents*. Edited by Frederick Garber. Introduction and notes by E. J. Clery. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Reeve, Clara. *The Progress of Romance through Times, Countries, and Manners*. New York: Garland, 1970.

Reeve, Clara. *The Old English Baron*. Edited by James Trainer. Introduction by James Watt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Reynolds, Joshua. *The Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds*. London: James Carpenter, 1842.

Richardson, Jonathan. *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*. London: John Churchill, 1715.

Richardson, Jonathan. *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*. Second edition. London: A. C., 1725.

Scott, Walter. *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*. Edited by David Douglas. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Shebbeare, John. *The Marriage Act*. 2 vols. London: J. Hodges, 1754.

Smollett, Tobias. Review of *The Peregrinations of Jeremiah Grant, Esq*. *Critical Review* 15 (1763): 13–21.

Smollett, Tobias. *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*. Edited by Jerry C. Beasley. The Works of Tobias Smollett. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988.

Smollett, Tobias. *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*. Edited by Thomas R. Preston. The Works of Tobias Smollett. Athens and London: The University of *Georgia Press*, 1990.

Smollett, Tobias. *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*. Edited by Robert Folkenflik and Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick. The Works of Tobias Smollett. Athens and London: The University of *Georgia Press*, 2002.

Smollett, Tobias. *The Adventures of Roderick Random*. Edited by James G. Basker, Nicole A. Seary and Paul-Gabriel Boucé. The Works of Tobias Smollett. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Smollett, Tobias. *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*. Edited by John P. Zomchick and George S. Rousseau. The Works of Tobias Smollettt. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2014.

Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*. Edited by Melvyn New and Joan New. The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1978–1984.

Sterne, Laurence. *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* and *Continuation of the Bramine's Journal*. Edited by Melvyn New and W.G. Day. The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002.

Sterne, Laurence. *The Letters*. 2 vols. *Part 1: 1739–1764*; *Part 2: 1765–1768*. Edited by Melvyn New and Peter de Voogd. The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009.
*The Bible. The English Standard Version*. www.esvbible.org.
*The Explanation; or, Agreeable Surprise*. 2 vols. London: F. and J. Noble, 1773.
*The Ill Effects of a Rash Vow*. 2 vols. London: William Lane, 1789.
Thompson, James. "The Castle of Indolence". *Spenser and the Tradition: English Poetry, 1579–1830*. Complied by David Hill Radcliffe. http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?textsid=34286.
Walpole, Horace. *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole, Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Oxford, at Strawberry-Hill, near Twickenham, Middlesex*. Strawberry-Hill: Thomas Kirgate, 1784.
Walpole, Horace. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*. Edited by W. S. Lewis et al. 48 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937–1983.
Walpole, Horace. *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story*. Edited by Nick Groom. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
Webb, Daniel. *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting*. London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760.
Will, Peter. *The Victim of Magical Delusion*. 2 vols. Dublin: Brett Smith, 1795.

## Secondary Sources

Adams, Percy G. *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983.
Allen, Graham. *Intertextuality*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2000.
Allentuck, Marcia. "In Defense of an Unfinished *Tristram Shandy*: Laurence Sterne and the Non Finito". In *The Winged Skull: Papers from the Laurence Sterne Bicentenary Conference*. Edited by Arthur H. Cash. London: Methuen, 1972.
Alspaugh, Leann Davis. "'Howgarth's Witty Chissel': Hogarth's Frontispieces for *Tristram Shandy*". *The Shandean* 24 (2013): 9–30.
Alter, Robert. *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
Altick, Richard D. "Humorous Hogarth: His Literary Associations". *The Sewanee Review* 47, no. 2 (1939): 255–267.
Amory, Hugh. "What Murphy Knew: His Interpolations in Fielding's Works (1762), and Fielding's revision of Amelia". *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 77 (1983): 133–166.
Ardila, J. A. G., ed. *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influnce of Cervantes in Britain*. London: Legenda, 2009.
Backscheider, Paula R. *Daniel Defoe: Ambition & Innovation*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986.
Baine, Rodney M. "The Evidence from Defoe's Title Pages". *Studies in Bibliography* 25 (1972): 185–191.
Baine, Rodney M. "Roxana's Georgian Setting". *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 15, no. 3 (1975): 459–471.
Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Barchas, Janine. *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
Bartolomeo, Joseph F. *A New Species of Criticism: Eighteenth-Century Discourse on the Novel*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994.
Battestin, Martin C. *A Henry Fielding Companion*. Westport and London: Greenwood, 2000.
Bayer, Thomas M. and John R. Page. *The Development of the Art Market in England. Money as Muse, 1730–1900*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011.
Beasley, Jerry C. *Tobias Smollett: Novelist*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1998.
Bindman, David. *Hogarth and His Times*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997.
Blaim, Artur. *The Adventurous Parable: Defoe's Robinson Crusoe*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Gdańskie, 1994.
Blewett, David. "'Roxana' and the Masquerades". *The Modern Language Review* 65, no. 3 (1970): 499–502.
Blewett, David. *The Illustration of Robinson Crusoe, 1719–1920*. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1995.
Blewett, David, ed. "Reconsidering the Rise of the Novel". Double special issue. *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 12, no. 2–3 (1999–2000).
Bloom, Lillian and Edward Bloom. "Fanny Burney's Novels: The Retreat from Wonder". *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 12, no. 3 (1979): 215–235.
Bohls, Elizabeth. *Aesthetics and Ideology in the Writings of Ann Radcliffe*. PhD diss. Stanford University, 1989.
Bolla, Peter, de. *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.
Borsing, Christopher. *Daniel Defoe and the Representation of Personal Identity*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2017.
Bowden, Martha F. *Yorick's Congregation: The Church of England in the Time of Laurence Sterne*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.
Bray, Joe. *The Portrait in Fiction of the Romantic Period*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016.
Brissenden, R. F. "Sterne and Painting". In *Of Books and Humankind: Essays and Poems Presented to Bonamy Dobrée*. Edited by John Butt, J. M. Cameron, D. W. Jefferson, and Robin Skelton. London: Routledge, 1964.
Brown, Homer Obed. "The Institution of the English Novel: Defoe's Contribution". *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 29, no. 3 (1996): 299–318.
Brownell, Morris R. *Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
Calè, Luisa. "Horace Walpole's Dream: Remembering the Dispersed Collection". *Critical Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (2013): 42–53.
Cash, Arthur H. *Laurence Sterne: The Early and Middle Years*. London: Methuen, 1975.
Cash, Arthur H. *Laurence Sterne: The Later Years*. London: Methuen, 1986.
Castle, Terry. *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction*. London: Methuen, 1986.
Clery, E. J. *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Conway, Alison. *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the Eighteenth-Century Novel, 1709–1791*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Cook, Daniel. "Authors Unformed: Reading 'Beauties' in the Eighteenth Century". *Philological Quarterly* 89, no. 2–3 (2010): 283–309.

Cowley, Robert L. S. *Marriage-à-la-Mode: A Re-View of Hogarth's Narrative Art*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983.

Crouch, Eleanor. "A Castle, A Commissary and a Corpse: Overcoming the Gothic Threat in the Novels of Frances Burney". In *Women and Gothic*. Edited by Maria Purves. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014.

Davis, Lennard J. "Who Put the *The* in *the Novel*: Identity Politics and Disability in Novel Studies". *Novel* 31 (1998): 79–101.

Davison, Carol Margaret. *Gothic Literature, 1764–1824*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009.

Day, W. G. "Sternean Material Culture: Lorenzo's Snuff-Box and His Graves". In *The Reception of Laurence Sterne in Europe*. Edited by Peter de Voogd and John Neubauer. London and New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2007.

Doerksen, Teri. "Framing the Narrative: Illustration and Pictorial Prose in Burney and Radcliffe". In *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*. Edited by Christina Ionescu. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2011.

Doody, Margaret Anne. *Frances Burney: The Life in the Works*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Doody, Margaret Anne. *The True Story of the Novel*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

Downie, J. A. "The Making of the English Novel". *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9 (1997): 249–266.

Dubois, Pierre. *Music in the Georgian Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Duquette, Natasha. "The Friendship between Edmund Burke and Frances Burney". *Joshua Reynolds Newsletter* 28 (2013): 347–350.

Durot-Boucé, Elizabeth. "Fathoming the Gothic Novelists' Indebtedness to Smollett". In *Tobias Smollett, Scotland's First Novelist: New Critical Essays in Memory of Paul Gabriel Boucé*. Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Eisenstein, Sergei. "Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today". In *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*. Edited and translated by Jay Leyda. New York: Harcourt, 1949.

Elliott, Kamilla. *Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction: The Rise of Picture Identification, 1764–1835*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

Ericksen, Donald H. "*Bleak House* and Victorian Art and Illustration: Charles Dickens's Visual Narrative Style". *The Journal of Narrative Technique* 13, no. 1 (1983): 31–46.

Fanning, Christopher. "On Sterne's Page: Spatial Layout, Spatial Form, and Social Spaces in *Tristram Shandy*". *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 10 (1998): 429–450.

Fanning, Christopher. "Sterne and Print Culture". In *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*. Edited by Thomas Keymer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Faurholt, Gry. "Self as Other: The Doppelgänger". *Double Dialogues* 10 (2009). www.doubledialogues.com/article/self-as-other-the-doppelganger/.

Flaxman, Rhoda L. *Victorian Word-Painting and Narrative: Towards the Blending of Genres*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1998.

Forster, E. M. *Aspects of the Novel*. Orlando: Harcourt, 1955.

Forster, John. *The Life of Charles Dickens*. 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall, 1870.

Fraiman, Susan. *Unbecoming Women: British Women Writers and the Novel of Development*. York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Frank, Frederick S. Notes to *The Castle of Otranto* and *The Mysterious Mother*. By Horace Walpole. Peterborough: Broadview, 2003.

Freud, Sigmund. "The 'Uncanny'". Translated by Alix Strachey. 1919. http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/freud1.pdf, 2.

Freud, Sigmund. "Animism, Magic and the Omnipotence of Thoughts". In *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics*. Translated by James Strachey. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Frow, John. *Genre*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Frye, Northrop. *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Furbank, P. N. and W. R. Owens. *A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1998.

Gemmeke, Mascha. *Frances Burney and the Female Bildungsroman: An Interpretation of The Wanderer: Or, Female Difficulties*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004.

Genette, Gérard. *The Architexts: An Introduction*. Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Genette, Gérard. *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Gerard, W. B. *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Gibson, William L. *Art and Money in the Writings of Tobias Smollett*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007.

Giuffré, Giulia. *Tobias Smollett, William Hogarth and the Art of Caricature*. PhD diss. University of Oxford, 1979.

Goring, Paul. *The Rhetoric of Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Griffin, Susan M. *The Historical Eye: The Texture of the Visual in Late James*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991.

Hagstrum, Jean H. *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Hammond, Brean and Shaun Regan. *Making the Novel: Fiction and Society in Britain, 1660–1789*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Harney, Marion. *Place-making for the Imagination: Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

Haynes, Clare. *Pictures and Poppery: Art and Religion in England, 1660–1760*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Hill, Richard J. *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Hogle, Jerrold E. "The Ghost of the Counterfeit in the Genesis of the Gothic". In *Gothick Origins and Innovations*. Edited by Allan Lloyd Smith and William Hughes. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994.

Hogle, Jerrold E. "The Ghost of the Counterfeit—and the Closet—in *The Monk*". *Romanticism on the Net* 8 (1997). www.erudit.org/en/journals/ron/1997-n8-n8/005770ar/.

Hogle, Jerrold E. "The Gothic Ghost of the Counterfeit and the Progress of Abjection". In *A New Companion to the Gothic*. Edited by David Punter. Oxford: Blackwell, 2012.

Holtz, William V. *Image and Immortality: A Study of Tristram Shandy*. Providence: Brown University Press, 1970.

Howes, Alan B. *Laurence Sterne: The Critical Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.

Hughes, Clair. *Dressed in Fiction*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006.

Humm, Maggie, ed. *The Edinburgh Companion to Virginia Woolf and the Arts*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.

Ionescu, Christina and Renata Schellenberg, eds. *Word and Image in the Long Eighteenth Century: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008.

Ionescu, Christina, ed. *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2011.

Ivana, Dragoş. *Embattled Reason, Principled Sentiment and Political Radicalism: Quixotism in English Novels, 1742–1801*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014.

James, Henry. "The Art of Fiction". *Longman's Magazine* 4 (1884). https://public.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/artfiction.html.

Jentsch, Ernst. "On the Psychology of the Uncanny". Translated by Roy Sellars. 1906. www.art3idea.psu.edu/locus/Jentsch_uncanny.pdf.

Johnson, Kendall. *Henry James and the Visual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Jones, Richard J. *Tobias Smollett in the Enlightenment: Travels through France, Italy, and Scotland*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011.

Ketton-Cremer, Robert Wyndham. *Horace Walpole: A Biography*. Rev. ed. Ithaka: Cornell University Press, 1960.

Keymer, Thomas. *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Labourg, Alice. *Peinture et écriture: l'imaginaire pictural dans les romans gothiques d'Ann Radcliffe*. PhD diss. University of Aix-en-Provence, 2013.

Lee, Rensselaer W. "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Tradition of Painting". *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 197–269.

Lewis, Jeremy. *Tobias Smollett*. London: Pimlico, 2003.
Lewis, W. S. *Horace Walpole*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1961.
Lipking, Lawrence I. *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
Lipski, Jakub. *In Quest of the Self: Masquerade and Travel in the Eighteenth-Century Novel. Fielding, Smollett, Sterne*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014.
Lipski, Jakub. "Ann Radcliffe and the Sister Arts Ideal". In *The Enchantress of Words, Sounds and Images: Anniversary Essays on Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823)*. Edited by Jakub Lipski and Jacek Mydla. Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2015.
Lipski, Jakub. "'Painted in Its Low-Priz'd Colours': Daniel Defoe's *Roxana* and the Art of Painting". In *From Queen Ann to Queen Victoria: Readings in 18th and 19th Century British Literature and Culture. Vol. 5*. Edited by Grażyna Bystydzieńska and Emma Harris. Warszawa: Ośrodek Studiów Brytyjskich, 2016.
Lipski, Jakub. "Guido's 'Heads' and Sentimental Fiction from Sterne to Radcliffe". In *Things and Images in 18th and 19th Century British Literature*. Edited by Grażyna Bystydzieńska. Warszawa: Ośrodek Studiów Brytyjskich, 2016.
Lipski, Jakub. "'A Diffused Picture': William Hogarth and Tobias Smollett's Theory of the Novel". In *Studies in English Literature and Culture: Festschrift in Honour of Professor Grażyna Bystydzieńska*. Edited by Aleksandra Kędzierska, Anna Kędra-Kardela, and Magdalena Pypeć. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2017.
Lipski, Jakub. "Moving Pictures: The Animated Portrait in *The Castle of Otranto* and the Post-Walpolean Gothic". *Image [&] Narrative* 18, no. 3 (2017): 64–79.
Lipski, Jakub. "Travellers, Connoisseurs and Britons: Art Commentaries and National Discourse in the Travel Writings of Daniel Defoe and Tobias Smollett". *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, forthcoming.
Lodge, David. "Thomas Hardy and Cinematographic Form". *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 7, no. 3 (1974): 246–254.
Lodge, David. *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Literature*. London: Edward Arnold, 1977.
Louvel, Liliane. *Poetics of the Iconotext*. Edited by Karen Jacobs. Translated by Laurence Petit. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
Maioli, Roger. *Empiricism in the Early Theory of the Novel: Fielding to Austen*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
Malek, James S. *The Arts Compared: An Aspect of Eighteenth Century British Aesthetics*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1974.
McKeon, Michael. *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
McMinn, Joseph. *Jonathan Swift and the Arts*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010.
Meier, Stefanie. *Animation and Mechanization in the Novels of Charles Dickens*. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1982.
Meyers, Jeffrey. *Painting and the Novel*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975.

Miller, Henry Knight. *Henry Fielding's Tom Jones and the Romance Tradition*. British Columbia: University of Victoria, 1976.

Mitchell, W. J. T. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Monaghan, David, Ariane Hudelet, and John Wiltshire. *The Cinematic Jane Austen: Essays on the Filmic Sensibility of the Novels*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2009.

Moore, Robert Etheridge. *Hogarth's Literary Relationships*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948.

Moore, Steven. *The Novel: An Alternative History, 1600–1800*. New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Murphy, Kevin and Sally O'Driscoll, eds. *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013.

Nead, Lynda. *The Haunted Gallery: Painting, Photography, Film c. 1900*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.

New, Melvyn. *Laurence Sterne as Satirist: A Reading of Tristram Shandy*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1969.

Newbould, M–C. "A 'New Order of Beings and Things': Caricature in Sterne's Fictional Worlds". In *Hilarion's Asse: Laurence Sterne and Humour*. Edited by Anne Bandry-Scubbi and Peter de Voogd. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2013.

Newbould, M–C. "Wit and Humour for the Heart of Sensibility: The Beauties of Fielding and Sterne". In *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction*. Edited by Daniel Cook and Nicholas Seager. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Norton, Rictor. *Mistress of Udolpho: The Life of Ann Radcliffe*. London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999.

Novak, Maximillian E. "Picturing the Thing Itself, or Not: Defoe, Painting, Prose Fiction, and the Arts of Describing". *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9, no. 1 (1996): 1–20.

Novak, Maximillian E. *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Novak, Maximillian E. "The Cave and the Grotto: Realist Form and Robinson Crusoe's Imagined Interiors". *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 20, no. 3 (2008): 445–468.

Nowicki, Wojciech. *Awatary szaleństwa: O zjawisku donkichotyzmu w powieści angielskiej XVIII wieku* [Avatars of madness: Quixotism in the eighteenth-century English novel]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2008.

Oakleaf, David. "The Name of the Father: Social Identity and the Ambition of *Evelina*". *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 3, no. 4 (1991): 341–358.

Ogée, Frédéric. "Sterne and Fragonard: 'The Escapades of Death'". In *Icons – Texts – Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*. Edited by Peter Wagner. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1996.

Ogée, Frédéric. "'O, Hogarth, had I thy Pencil': Delineations of an Alleged Friendship". In *Henry Fielding (1707–1754): Novelist Playwright, Journalist, Magistrate. A Double Anniversary Tribute*. Edited by Claude Rawson. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008.

Ogée, Frédéric. "The Erratic and the Erotic: The Aesthetics of *A Sentimental Journey*". *The Shandean* 24 (2013): 104–116.

Ogée, Frédéric. "'That Infinite Variety of Human Forms': Modern Identity and Portraiture in Enlightenment England". In *Life Forms in the Thinking of the Long Eighteeenth Century*. Edited by Keith Michael Baker and Jenna M. Gibbs. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Olk, Claudia. *Virginia Woolf and the Aesthetics of Vision*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014.

Olsen, Flemming. *The Ut Pictura Poesis Tradition and English Neo-Classical Landscape Poetry*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013.

Ormond, Leonée. "Dickens and Painting: The Old Masters". *Dickensian* 79 (1983): 131–151.

Ormond, Leonée. "Dickens and Painting: Contemporary Art". *Dickensian* 80 (1984): 2–25.

Ormond, Leonée. "Dickens and Italian Painting in *Pictures from Italy*". In *Dickens and Italy: "Little Dorrit" and "Pictures from Italy"*. Edited by Michael Hollington and Francesca Orestano. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009.

Ormond, Leonée. "Dickens and Contemporary Art". In *Dickens and the Artists*. Edited by Mark Bills. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

Papapetros, Spyros. *On the Animation of the Inorganic: Art, Architecture, and the Extension of Life*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Park, Julie. *The Self and It: Novel Objects in Eighteenth-Century England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.

Patterson, Diana. "Tristram's Marblings and Marblers". *The Shandean* 3 (1991): 70–97.

Paulson, Ronald. *Hogarth. Volume 1: The 'Modern Moral Subject' Art and Politics, 1697–1732*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1991.

Paulson, Ronald. *Hogarth. Volume 3: Art and Politics, 1750–1764*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1993.

Pears, Iain. *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988.

Perkins, Pam. "John Moore, Ann Radcliffe and the Gothic Vision of Italy". *Gothic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2006): 35–51.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. *The Englishness of English Art*. London: Penguin, 1956.

Pino, Melissa. "Burney's *Evelina* and Aesthetics in Action". *Modern Philology* 108, no. 2 (2010): 263–303.

Porter, Roy. "Making Faces: Physiognomy and Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England". *Etudes Anglaises* 38, no. 4 (1985): 385–396.

Praz, Mario. *Mnemosyne: The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts*. Princeton and London: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Punter, David and Glennis Byron. *The Gothic*. Malden: Blackwell, 2004.

Purves, Maria. *The Gothic and Catholicism: Religion, Cultural Exchange and the Popular Novel, 1785–1829*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009.

Ribeiro, Aileen. *Dress and Morality*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003.

Rogers, Pat. "Crusoe's Home". *Essays in Criticism* 24 (1974): 375–390.

Rogers, Pat. "Ziggerzagger Shandy: Sterne and the Aesthetics of the Crooked Line". *English* 42 (1993): 97–107.

Rose, Louis. *The Survival of Images: Art Historians, Psychoanalysts, and the Ancients*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001.

Ross, Ian Campbell. "When Smelfungus met Yorick: Sterne and Smollett in the South of France, 1763". In *Tobias Smollett, Scotland's First Novelist: New Essays in Memory of Paul-Gabriel Boucé*. Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.

Sabor, Peter. "*Amelia*". In *The Cambridge Companion to Henry Fielding*. Edited by Claude Rawson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Schweizer, Niklaus. *The Ut Pictura Poesis Controversy in Eighteenth-Century England and Germany*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1972.

Scott, Walter. "Prefatory Memoir to Walpole". In *The Castle of Otranto*. By Horace Walpole. London: Hurst, Robinson, 1811.

Scott, Walter. *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott. Vol. IV. Biographical Memoirs*. Edinburgh: Printed for Cadell and Co, 1827.

Seager, Nicholas. *The Rise of the Novel: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Shesgreen, Sean. *Literary Portraits in the Novels of Henry Fielding*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972.

Skinner, John. *An Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Fiction: Raising the Novel*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

Smith, Chloe Wingston. *Women, Work, and Clothes in the Eighteenth-Century Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Smith, Grahame. *Charles Dickens and the Dream of Cinema*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

Smolderen, Thierry. *The Origins of Comics: From William Hogarth to Winsor McCay*. Translated by Bart Beaty and Nick Nguyen. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014.

Sönmez, Margaret J–M. *Defoe and the Dutch: Places, Things, People*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2015.

Spender, Dale. *Mothers of the Novel: 100 Good Women Writers before Jane Austen*. London and New York: Pandora, 1986.

Stewart, Philip. *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image & Text in the French Eighteenth Century*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992.

Talfourd, Thomas Noon. "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mrs Radcliffe". In *Gaston de Blondeville; or, the Court of Henry III*. By Ann Radcliffe. 4 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1826.

Thackeray, William Makepeace. *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853.

Thaddeus, Janice Farrar. *Frances Burney: A Literary Life*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.

Todt, W. *Lessing in England*. Heidelberg, 1912.

Torgovnick, Marianna. *The Visual Arts, Pictorialism, and the Novel: James, Lawrence, and Woolf*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Tytler, Graeme. "Letters of Recommendation and False Vizors: Physiognomy in the Novels of Henry Fielding". *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 2, no. 2 (1990): 93–111.

Uglow, Jenny. *Hogarth: A Life and a World*. London: Faber, 1997.

Voogd, Peter Jan, de. *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth: The Correspondences of the Arts*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981.

Voogd, Peter, de. "Laurence Sterne, the Marbled Page, and the 'Use of Accidents'". *Word & Image* 1 (1985): 279–287.

Voogd, Peter, de. "*Tristram Shandy* as Aesthetic Object". *Word & Image* 4, no. 1 (1988): 283–392.

Voogd, Peter, de. "Sterne and Visual Culture". In *The Cambridge Companion to Laurence Sterne*. Edited by Thomas Keymer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Voogd, Peter, de. "The Black Page". In *Things and Images in 18th and 19th Century British Literature*. Edited by Grażyna Bystydzieńska. Warszawa: Ośrodek Studiów Brytyjskich, 2016.

Wagner, Peter, ed. *Icons, Texts, Iconotexts: Essays on Ekphrasis and Intermediality*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996.

Watt, Ian. *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001. First published in 1957.

Watt, James. *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre and Cultural Conflict, 1764–1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Watt, James. "Ann Radcliffe and Politics". In *Ann Radcliffe, Romanticism and the Gothic*. Edited by Dale Townshend and Angela Wright. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Wellek, René and Austin Warren. *Theory of Literature*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949.

Wendorf, Richard, ed. *Articulate Images: The Sister Arts from Hogarth to Tennyson*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983.

Williamson, Karina. "*Tristram Shandy*: An Allusion to Guido Reni". *Notes and Queries* 35 (1988): 187–188.

Woolf, Virginia. *Walter Sickert: A Conversation*. London: The Hogarth Press, 1934.

Yeazell, Ruth Bernard. *Art of the Everyday: Dutch Painting and the Realist Novel*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Ziolkowski, Theodore. *Disenchanted Images: A Literary Iconology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.

# Index