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**ARTICLES**


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AXEL STÄHLER, Canterbury

**Embryonic Creatures and Wonders of Psychology (II):  
Samuel Richardson, Laurence Sterne  
and the Problems of Iconarratology**

This is the second in a series of articles concerned with the conceptualisation, albeit in a fairly roundabout way, of what I have called 'iconarratology'. The term refers to an integrative approach towards the analysis of 'narrative' iconotexts. In the earlier article, I discussed the phenomenon of the iconotext and the concept of iconarratology in the context of eighteenth-century book illustration practice with particular reference to the novels of Samuel Richardson and especially to various illustrated editions of *Clarissa* (1747-48) in their English and European contexts.<sup>1</sup> In this second part, I will attempt the further development and application of the theoretical framework suggested in the first part and, as a corrective, its tentative extension to Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1760-67) and *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy* (1768).

**Iconarratology and the Imagination**

Exasperated by his publisher's persistent demands to have his novel *Salammbô* (1862) illustrated, Gustave Flaubert complained in a letter to Jules Duplan: "Ce n'était guère la peine d'employer tant d'art à laisser tout dans le vague, pour qu'un pignouf vienne démolir mon rêve par sa précision inepte [It was not worth employing so much art to leave everything vague, (just) for an oaf to demolish my dream through his inept precision]" (1929, 24). Two days later the incensed writer explained more fully to his notary, Duplan's brother Ernest:

[L]a plus belle description littéraire est dévorée par le plus piètre dessin. Du moment qu'un type est fixé par le crayon, il perd ce caractère de généralité, cette concordance avec mille objets connus qui font dire au lecteur: "J'ai vu cela" ou "Cela doit être". Une femme dessinée ressemble à une femme, voilà tout. L'idée est dès lors fermée, complète, et toutes les phrases sont inutiles, tandis qu'une femme écrite fait rêver à mille femmes. Donc, ceci étant une question d'esthétique, je refuse formellement toute espèce d'illustration [The most beautiful literary description is devoured by the most miserable design. From the moment that a type is fixed by the crayon, it loses its general character, that concordance with a thousand known objects which makes the reader say: "I have seen this" or "This is as it should be". A woman drawn resembles a woman, that is all. The idea is consequently closed, complete, and any number of phrases is useless, while a woman written makes one dream of a thousand women. Thus, this being a question of aesthetics, I categorically refuse any kind of illustration]. (1929, 25-26)

<sup>1</sup> See (Stähler 2008a) and, for Richardson's 'iconotextual' use of the legend of Lucretia, (Stähler 2008b).

The cultural context of Flaubert's vehement and, as he insists, "inflexible" (27) rejection of any kind of illustration is, of course, very different from that of the novelistic production of a hundred years earlier. Yet the writer's perception of the 'predatory' character of illustrations and their delimiting effect on the reader's imaginative faculty points to a very real problem inherent in any notion of the iconotext. Indeed, the mutually delimiting effect of the sometimes perhaps uneasy marriage of word and image on both writer and illustrator had been remarked upon also in the middle of the eighteenth century by the French engraver and illustrator Robert Hecquet: "L'association de la gravure avec la littérature, pour toutes sortes d'ouvrages indistinctement, semblaient dégénérer en une sorte de manie qui pouvait devenir dangereuse à l'une et à l'autre [The association of engraving with literature, for all sorts of indistinct works, seems to degenerate into a sort of obsession which may become dangerous for the one and the other]" (quoted from Michel 1987, 84).

The problem, as perceived by both Flaubert and Hecquet, is not so much one of precedence but, much more significantly, one of the potential incompatibility or, more seriously, even of the potential enmity of different forms of artistic expression. This, evidently, seems to challenge the notion of the iconotext or imagetext as an integrative text constituted by the interplay of both verbal and visual elements. Besides, in his recent study of *Laurence Sterne and the Visual Imagination*, W.B. Gerard has rightly cautioned that the "critic's desire to find shared affinities between two media can compromise a study's usefulness" (2006, 48). However, as Gerard himself points out: "[The] practice of pictorial creation, in fact, is not too distant from that of a reader synthesizing the visual description in a written text with his or her ideas to create a complete mental image." In both instances, as Gerard explains, "evocative visual elements – whether actually perceived or verbally described – become the departure point for the individual realization of a picture" (48).

Needless to say, different social, cultural and historical production and reception contexts as well as individual access of both creator and recipient to specialised discourses, as for instance the literary and iconographic traditions, individually and collectively shape the iconotextual imagination and interpretive scope. Nevertheless, Flaubert's notion of the roving imagination and his vision of one reader "dreaming" of a thousand women seems a highly idealised conceptualisation of the reception process of the literary text. Rather, one would assume that a thousand readers may imagine a woman – though clearly never the same. Moreover, while particular visualisations as mediated through illustrations will obviously have an effect on the reader's individual mental image, although they may just as well provoke rejection, dismissal and the creation of a substitute image, the novelist's easy conviction of the 'closedness' of the visual image should also invite closer scrutiny. For the purely visual component of the illustration (if, indeed, it were possible to isolate this from the larger narrative framework within which it is placed), while naturally connected in a particular way to the sometimes narrowly circumscribed verbal text it is based on, is situated at the same time in an ever expanding system of reference. This extends to other illustrations of the same text and to the evolving tradition of book illustration as a whole no less than to particular iconographic traditions far beyond the scope of the mere 'visualisation' of a given narrative text which itself is obviously placed in a similar web of intertextual and, ultimately, intermedial interrelations.

Any illustration impacts profoundly on the perception of a text and, as I argued in the first part of this article, through the synthesis of both, invariably creates a new iconotext. Flaubert, as his categorical rejection of illustrations demonstrates, is highly alert to this hermeneutic challenge. But although his criticism recognises the reader as an agent of interpretive authority, albeit one highly susceptible to the manipulative power of the pre-formed image, it is obviously, and paradoxically, the writer's apprehension that ultimately he may have to relinquish his own authorial control over the text which fuels his ire.

One reason why iconotexts change their meaning is that conventions of "reading" and "seeing" also change. If anything, the diachronic sequence no less than the synchronic dissemination of iconotexts articulates, and is a product of, cultural difference. Thus, Flaubert's intense suspicion of the visual rendition may be a response, to some degree, to the nineteenth-century development in French book illustration and changing patterns of perception. In the eighteenth century, as Eric Rothstein argues with reference, for instance, to Laurent Garcin's enthusiastic praise in 1772 of Samuel Richardson as "le plus parfait de tous les Peintres [the most perfect of all painters]", a disposition to "see narrated events" and "to treat the visual as a synecdoche" was prevalent in both France and England (1976, 312). Indeed, Rothstein identifies the *non finito*, the idea of a deliberately unfinished work which challenges and motivates its audience to creative co-operation, as a central aesthetic principle in both the art and literature of the eighteenth century. Accordingly, he interprets the contemporary application of the Horatian formula of *ut pictura poesis* less in terms of technical affinities than of the concurrence of both arts as referring to "a wider reality mediated through signs" and forcing "the reader or viewer to create the world, in full" (319).

August Wilhelm Schlegel's insistence on the semiotic character of both art and poesis, quoted in the first part of this article and taken to argue in favour of the philosopher's early understanding of the iconotext (Stähler 2008a, 10), is obviously based on the same assumption and suggests, as confirmed by Rothstein, a particular propensity of the eighteenth century towards the iconotextual imagination.

#### "A Seduced, and a Seducing Slut": Fancy in Laurence Sterne

The *non finito* has long since been recognised as a structural and narrative device adopted by Laurence Sterne (Allentuck 1971; Harries 1982). Similarly, the writer's "literary pictorialism" has been extensively studied; most comprehensively perhaps by Gerard (2006), who identifies as the chief principle of Sterne's pictorial techniques, almost paradoxically, and in opposition to most earlier criticism, "a specifically non-pictorial mode of description that nonetheless contributes to the mental image of the character, one that depends on emotional rather than visual stimulus" (5).

The most spectacular instance of the *non finito* in *Tristram Shandy*, an exaggeration of the technique even *ad absurdum*, is, perhaps, the blank page inserted for the reader's convenience to supply for themselves the figure of the Widow Wadman who has captured Uncle Toby's amorous fancy:

To conceive this right,——call for pen and ink——here's paper ready to your hand.—  
—Sit down, Sir, paint her to your own mind——as like your mistress as you can——as

unlike your wife as your conscience will let you—'tis all one to me—please but your own fancy in it. (Sterne 1980, 330)

Of course, the blank is not quite as blank as Sterne would like to make us believe. Not only does the reference to the reader's hypothetical mistress, or his conscience, evoke an illicit carnality. The short but highly suggestive description of the widow previously provided by Tristram with its polyptotic insistence on her luscious corporeality and the reader's appetite for it (nicely playing on the various connotations of "fancy") has already supplied the necessary emotional and voyeuristic stimulus to "dream" of a woman or, as Flaubert would have it, of a thousand: "never did thy eyes behold, or thy concupiscence covet any thing in this world, more concupiscible than widow *Wadman*" (330).

While explicitly gendered, the appeal of the blank page remains erotic, rather than pornographic, because it does not invite the reification of women, nor the use of violence for their subjection or the involvement of gender with power.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, as Jean-Claude Dupas argues, the blank page in *Tristram Shandy* is an attempt to configure an erotic space, as a celebration of suspended desire, mixed with ludic procrastination (1992, 42), and it is significantly distinct, for instance, from the use of asterisks in Sterne's description of the final amorous encounter between Corporal Trim and Bridget which parallels Uncle Toby's on a literally more 'graphic' level:

It was somewhat unfortunate for Mrs. *Bridget*, that she had begun the attack with her manual exercise; for the Corporal instantly \* \* \* \* \* (Sterne 1980, 451-452)

Christopher Flint has noted Sterne's "exceedingly flexible and emotive" use of asterisks (2002, 664); more specifically, Elizabeth W. Harries, arguing for the writer's use of the *non finito*, has pointed out that his "dashes and asterisks constantly 'give rise' to our bawdy powers of invention" (1982, 38).

Though perhaps more suggestive in a purely carnal way than the blank page, the asterisks, too, are hardly pornographic. The imaginative process involved in the 'fleshing out' of the blank is explained by Yorick in Sterne's second novel: "when your eyes are fixed upon a dead blank – you purely draw from yourselves" (Sterne 1967, 39). In *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), the blank is represented by the surface of the remise door in front of which the amorous parson encounters a young lady, and is mirrored by her as yet hidden face: "I had not yet seen her face – 'twas not material; for the drawing was instantly set about, and long before we had got to the door of the Remise, *Fancy* had finished the whole head" (40). The suggestive power of this blank is no less erotic, if indeed much more sentimental, than the earlier encounter with the blank in *Tristram Shandy*. Yorick subsequently reflects further upon the specifically visual quality of the imaginative process it inspires. *Fancy*, he continues, "pleased herself as much with its fitting her goddess, as if she had dived into the TIBER for it— —but thou art a seduced, and a seducing slut; and albeit thou cheatest us seven times a day with thy pictures and images, yet with so many charms dost thou do it, and thou deckest out thy pictures in the shapes of so many angels of light, 'tis a shame to break with thee" (40). The ambiguity of the visual imagination which, after all, is a pur-

2 For this distinction between the erotic and the pornographic, see Harris (1996, 112).

veyor of illusions or even delusions, and at the same time their victim, does not lessen its appeal. And when Yorick finally sees the lady's face, his description does not provide much more detail. In fact, the face itself remains something of a blank; and, intriguingly, one untouched by 'art': "it was a face of about six and twenty – of a clear transparent brown, simply set off without rouge or powder – it was not critically handsome, but there was that in it, which in the frame of mind I was in, attached me much more to it – it was interesting" (41).

The scarcity of details culminating in the parson's expression of interest captures perfectly the mechanism of emotional stimulus described by Gerard as instrumental in filling the blank, although – once more to return to Flaubert – one may still dream of a thousand women here and no individual creation of the mental image would be the same as any other. Nevertheless, the earlier age had no qualms about committing the image to the page as, for instance, in Daniel Chodowiecki's illustration of a German translation of the novel of 1783 (fig. 10). The illustrator is at pains, however, to retain some of the indeterminacy of his literary pre-text by obscuring the lady's face through her hat and by including the 'blank' of the remise door.<sup>3</sup>

Seemingly less careful to comply with the ambiguities of Sterne's verbal text was the anonymous illustrator of an edition of *Tristram Shandy* under the obviously falsified imprint of "Amsterdam: printed for P. van Slaukenberg, 1771" which was probably published in London in 1785.<sup>4</sup> This edition was embellished with altogether fourteen openly pornographic mezzotints which, one might be tempted to say, do not leave much to the imagination.<sup>5</sup> But then, of course, they do.

The crude frontispiece of the 'Slaukenberg edition' is remarkable less as the vehicle of the pornographic humour it obviously intends (fig. 1). Inscribed with "TRISTRAM SHANDY",<sup>6</sup> it is interesting, rather, as the author portrait it purports to be. Janine Barchas has shown that "in conceptual terms, the portrait offers a personification of the accompanying text" (2003, 24); more specifically, author portraits "provide interpretive guides to a fiction" (27). Although evidently a satirical reinterpretation of the conventions, as an interpretive guide to the novel the portrait of the parson with a nose in the shape of a penis is not, in fact, too fanciful. Based obviously on Slawkenbergius' tale at the beginning of volume IV and conflated with Yorick and Tristram, the frontispiece indicates the novel's central concern with linguistic ambiguity by directly subverting the narrator's insistence on his literal use of words:

I define a nose, as follows,—intreating only beforehand, and beseeching my readers, [...] to guard against the temptations and suggestions of the devil, and suffer him by no art or wile to put any other ideas into their minds, than what I put into my definition.—  
—For by the word *Nose*, throughout all this long chapter of noses, and in every other

3 The following illustration in the series, showing Yorick and the lady to have turned towards the street, reveals her face. For eighteenth-century illustrations to *A Sentimental Journey*, see (Blondel 2002) and for a reproduction of this illustration her fig. 13.

4 See Gerard and Friant-Kessler (2005, 23). For the pornographic interest in *Tristram Shandy*, see Friant-Kessler (2004).

5 The series also includes an explicit representation of the Widow Wadman, see Gerard and Friant-Kessler (2005, 23).

6 The hand-written inscription – "Dii boni! nova forma nasi!" – is a misspelling of Slawkenbergius' text in volume IV of *Tristram Shandy*, see (*Shandy*, 176).

part of my work, where the word *Nose* occurs,—I declare, by that word I mean a Nose, and nothing more, or less. (*Shandy*, 159)

Of course, as Sigurd Burckhardt has rightly pointed out, the tautology of Tristram's insistence merely awakens our suspicion "by its protest of innocence" (1961, 74). The frontispiece to the 'Slaukenberg edition' and the iconotext it produces with the verbal text of the novel as a whole and the other illustrations of the series in turn provide a caution against a too 'metaphorical' interpretation – precisely because their visual 'literality' is overstated: in the case of the frontispiece through the tired anatomical joke, and in the case of the other illustrations through the repetitive reduction on the novel's carnal aspect which the verbal text itself challenges. The hermeneutic quandary in which readers of *Tristram Shandy* find themselves has been aptly described by Burckhardt:

Oh, we are clever fellows and men of the world; trust us to catch the author's wink and to return it. You won't find us thinking he means moral and science when he says "moral" and "science," or nose when he writes "nose," no matter how much he protests his serious intentions and the purity of his mind. So we read on, and as we stand with the expectant crowd before the gates of Strasburg, waiting for the return of the nose to an unmistakably bawdy denouement, our smile, spontaneous and genuine enough at first, turns sillier and sillier, until at last we discover (or do we?) that our gross carnality has led us by our noses. (1961, 71)

The 'Slaukenberg' illustrations only exacerbate the conundrum. Obviously, this is not to say that the edition was not supposed to cater for the tastes of a particular readership and that there is not also an entirely unambiguous pornographic interest manifest in its "curious cuts". But beyond their own reductive 'literality', and perhaps against the intentions of their originators, they contribute to the creation of an intermedial iconotext which conveys a heightened awareness of the indeterminacy of the novel.

An example of this is the illustration of the destruction of the Dutch draw-bridge in volume III (fig. 2). To quote Burckhardt one more time, in *Tristram Shandy* engines and devices "are second only to sex in supplying the metaphorical substance, and even sex appears a good deal of the time in the metaphor of the engines and mechanics of war" (1961, 76). The affair of the destroyed bridge is dealt with in the novel very briefly and the reader is left to imagine – as is Tristram's father – what exactly transpired. Of course, the verbal text of Walter's inquiry into the affair provides a number of clues, in the manner of the *non finito*, as to the visualisation of the events:

It was a mere misfortune, an' please your honour,—I was shewing Mrs. *Bridget* our fortifications, and in going too near the edge of the fossé, I unfortunately slip'd in.—Very well, *Trim!* my father would cry,—(smiling mysteriously, and giving a nod,—but without interrupting him)—and being link'd fast, an' please your honour, arm in arm with Mrs. *Bridget*, I dragg'd her after me, by means of which she fell backwards soss against the bridge,—and *Trim's* foot, (my uncle *Toby* would cry, taking the story out of his mouth) getting into the cuvette, he tumbled full against the bridge too.—It was a thousand to one, my uncle *Toby* would add, that the poor fellow did not break his leg.—Ay truly! my father would say,—a limb is soon broke, brother *Toby*, in such encounters.—And so, an' please your honour, the bridge, which your honour knows was a very slight one, was broke down betwixt us, and splintered all to pieces. (Sterne 1980, 153)

The illustration 'disambiguates' the verbal text but at the same time emphasises its ambiguity. And it still leaves room for the reader's imaginative visualisation of the further process which resulted in the bridge being "broke down, and some how or other crush'd all to pieces that very night" (152).

I have chosen as examples of newly created iconotexts of Laurence Sterne's novels some that are induced by erotic blanks and pornographic illustrations. I have done so, because the former, particularly, appear to stimulate the reader's fancy and because the latter, more perhaps than any others, seem to reduce the verbal text to a single reading and to resolve any ambiguity in favour of a one-sensical interpretation. But while this may be true on one level, it emerges that the iconotext as a whole resists any such reduction and that the iconotextual proliferation of meanings remains unbridled.

Obviously, the 'Slaukenberg edition' was published long after the author's death and, given Sterne's own successful efforts to win William Hogarth to provide "the loosest Sketch in nature" for *Tristram Shandy* (Sterne 1965, 99), it may seem doubtful whether the author would happily have surrendered his authorial control to the explicitly pornographic interpretation. Intriguingly, where Flaubert feared to lose his authorial control to the iconotext, Samuel Richardson initially tried to harness the 'two component', or intermedial, iconotext (of printed word and image) towards regaining his hold on the interpretation of his first novel, *Pamela* (1740-41), but in his later novels relinquished this attempt to return to the use of verbally based interpretation aids.<sup>7</sup>

#### "The Warmth of a Particular Scene": The Fire Scene in *Clarissa*

John Mullan has pointed out the irony inherent in the fact that Richardson's various "attempts to govern, for the sake of virtue, the interpretation of his narratives reveal exactly their capacity to generate ambiguities, to proliferate the most untoward of readings" (1988, 94). Conspicuous among these attempts is Richardson's decision to embellish the sixth<sup>8</sup> edition of *Pamela* of 1742 with illustrations. For the history of these illustrations suggests that they were indeed an early attempt at regaining authorial control over a text which, once it had been made accessible to the public, produced what has been called a "quarrelsome progeny" (Keymer and Sabor 2005, 2). Explained, for one, with marketing reasons as a response to pirated editions which had boasted illustrations (154), Richardson's authorial reassertion through the newly created iconotext is more notable for its exclusion of any so-called "warm scenes" (155). Their alleged impropriety – the more conspicuous for their at times lubricious transposition into pictorial mode of the irritating 'progeny'<sup>9</sup> – had provoked the stern reproach of the morally concerned.<sup>10</sup> The intermedial iconotext of the 'authorised' illustrated edition may thus be read as an 'expurgated' model interpretation. It is, though subtle, perhaps even among the less ambiguous of Richardson's attempts to control the interpretation of one of his novels. It channels the reader's fancy precisely by

7 See, for instance, Barchas (2002).

8 This was the third edition of volumes III and IV

9 For examples see, for instance, Keymer and Sabor (2005, 143-176).

10 For a documentation of the '*Pamela* controversy', see the six volumes of Keymer and Sabor (2001).

reducing the proliferation of mental visualisations and suggests a decidedly un-"warm" reading of the novel as a whole. This objective may also explain the unusually large number of illustrations which were ultimately substituted for the originally planned two frontispieces.<sup>11</sup>

With his second novel, *Clarissa*, Richardson once again incurred the censure of those who found his descriptions too explicit. And indeed, as Jocelyn Harris demonstrates, his epistolary novel shares some features with contemporary pornographic writing, as did the affective theory of art to which he obviously subscribed (1996, 113-114). In *Clarissa*, it was especially the so-called fire scene which prompted the moralists' concern. In this scene, Clarissa is surprised one night by Lovelace in her bedroom after a fire has broken out. The scene, as I have argued elsewhere, is actually based on the partial identification of Clarissa with Lucretia (Stähler 2008b, 61-67). It is, however, ambiguous in that it invites readers, in the words of Harris, "to look through Lovelace's eyes at the erotic body of Clarissa and read it as pornographic" (Harris 1996, 112). As an anonymous "Lover of Virtue" complained in *Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa and Pamela* in 1754: "That man must have a very philosophical constitution, indeed, who does not find himself moved by several descriptions, particularly that luscious one, which Bob Lovelace gives of Clarissa's person, when he makes the attempt on her virtue, after the adventure of the fire." Even worse, "the passions of the reader being now raised, his next business is to satisfy them" and, knowing "that one woman is as good as another", he will repair to the next *bagnio*, "fully bent to enjoy Clarissa in imagination". The scandalised Lover of Virtue finally concludes: "This is the natural catastrophe of a serious perusal of the fire-adventure; and I believe it has ended this way much oftener than in any good way" (46).

In his "Answer to the Letter of a Very Reverend and Worthy Gentleman, Objecting to the Warmth of a Particular Scene in the History of Clarissa", printed by Richardson for private circulation in June 1749, the writer had already engaged with objections of this sort. Mainly, he argued with the psychological realism of the scene, which as he claimed, was in character with both Lovelace, for his persistence, and Clarissa, for her resistance ("Answer", 133, 135). But he also emphasised the scene's psychological effect on the reader, as a warning and deterrent and as provoking resentment (135). Most importantly, however, in the context of my argument, Richardson ascribes to Lovelace's highly visual, 'iconotextual' rendering of the event in his letter to Belford (*Clarissa*, L225) the same restraining function he seems to have associated with the 'two component' iconotext created through the illustrations in *Pamela*. "And may it not be supposed", he suggests,

that had not the Attempt been particularly described, the *Licentious* would have been induced to *imagine*, and the *Virtuous* to *apprehend*, from the Consequences that followed it, and from the Lady's Resentment and Escape, that the Indignities offered to her were of an *higher* and *grosser* Nature, than now there is room to suppose they were? And thus *Lovelace* himself guards against the Imaginations of the *Licentious* in the Beginning of the Letter describing the Attempt. ("Answer", 136)

11 For the illustration history of *Pamela* see, for instance, Aikins (1989); Keymer and Sabor (2005, 143-176).

The reference, partially quoted by Richardson, is to Lovelace's letter itself, in which the rake assures Belford: "yet shalt thou have the whole before thee as it passed: and this not from a spirit wantoning in description upon so rich a subject; but with a design to put a bound to thy roving thoughts" (*Clarissa*, L225: 722).

Because his pamphlet remained unpublished and, more importantly, because Richardson refused, in the third edition of the novel, "to damp down this inflammatory scene", as Keymer puts it in his introduction to the "Answer" (Richardson 1998, 126), objections against *Clarissa* proliferated – unchannelled also by the interpretive aid of illustrations and the resulting new 'two component' iconotext. However, Richardson's reliance on the verbally mediated iconotext, eschewing the second 'component' of the graphic image, did not prevent later illustrated editions from including renderings of this particular scene. Intriguingly, with only one exception in which Clarissa's breasts are visibly bared (CLA-1784.1-F {p}),<sup>12</sup> the illustrators followed the author's lead in 'fleshing out' the second component of the iconotext rather coyly (cf. Stähler 2008b, 61-67). In fact, the adherence of Richardson's non-authorised illustrators to the demands of his verbally constituted iconotext, irrespective of their diversity, seems to confirm *Clarissa's* highly iconotextual character as well as its ability to "put a bound" to our "roving thoughts".

In the concluding section of this article, I will therefore focus on the iconotextual 'spread' of a particular scene which, though not openly "warm" but carrying strong associations of the Fall and the expulsion from paradise, raises not only in itself the spectre of carnality but, more specifically, sets the scene for the almost but not quite pornographic ordeals to follow and provides an interpretive guide to the novel as a whole.

### "Like the First Pair": The Expulsion from Paradise

Clarissa's involuntary flight from the garden of her father's house is a scene which has been transposed into pictorial mode and thus into different intermedial iconotexts in all of the illustrated editions I know of (M26-29).<sup>13</sup> The innocent young woman's elopement, orchestrated in every detail by Lovelace's machinations, constitutes the first major turning point in the plot of Richardson's novel.<sup>14</sup> Aikins, not surprisingly, perceives in this scene "a moment of exceptionally powerful visual effect in the narrative" (1989, 159).

Confined to her father's house because she has rejected the proposal of the affluent but loathsome Roger Solmes, Clarissa keeps up a secret correspondence with Robert Lovelace, the charming and highly intelligent but amoral libertine, so as to spare her family from the fury of the man's wrath. The Harlowes have vehemently rejected the advances of the young nobleman: on moral grounds but also, and more importantly, because of personal animosity, envy, and avarice. Faced with the threat of being forced to become the wife of the hateful Solmes, Clarissa at length agrees to commit herself into Lovelace's protection. Yet when she meets him secretly at the garden's postern

12 The code refers to my catalogue of illustrated eighteenth-century editions of *Clarissa*, see Stähler (2008a, table 1).

13 The code refers to my catalogue of motifs of illustrations of *Clarissa*, see Stähler (2008a, table 2).

14 The events are described in *Clarissa*, L94 (Clarissa to Anna Howe) and L99 (Lovelace to Belford).

gate, it is to revoke her decision. But Lovelace, who has anticipated her change of mind, is well prepared. With the help of a servant of the Harlowe's (Joseph Leman), he stages the supposed discovery of the rendezvous and takes advantage of Clarissa's confusion to rush her to a waiting carriage. Caught off her guard, Clarissa follows him and it is only now that her real misfortune begins, her 'illness to the death', as Lovelace takes her to a brothel and finally rapes her. Escaped from his persecution, she eventually dies of a broken heart but is convinced of her salvation.

In the French-language edition published in Dresden in 1751-52 the illustration of Clarissa's escape from the garden (M28), engraved by I. C. G. Fritzsch, shows at its centre, from the outside and at a sharp angle, the jutting corner of the greatly foreshortened high wall surrounding the garden (fig. 3; CLA-1751.1-F {j}). On the left is the postern where the deceitful Joseph Leman with much clamour threateningly wields a cudgel as if he had just discovered Clarissa's escape. On the right, in the far background and underneath the trees of a forest bordering the garden wall, the carriage is waiting with two armed horsemen in attendance. In this illustration, Clarissa is, in a manner of speaking, at the crossroads. Directly in front of the acute angle of the garden wall, Lovelace tries to precipitate her towards the coach while she, following his urgent beckoning only reluctantly, turns around towards the postern (cf. *Clarissa*, L94: 380).

In the frontispiece designed by Samuel Wale in 1768 for the second volume of the first illustrated English edition, the moment of decision (M28) is presented much less dramatically (fig. 4; CLA-1768.1-E {b}). Here, it is projected almost entirely onto the figures. On the left appears the closed gate in the wall, which extends only a little into the frame, parallel to the base line of the illustration and rather less high and forbidding than its predecessor. In the right background, as in the earlier illustration, the coach and riders can be discerned. Clarissa and Lovelace are situated almost in the centre of the composition. Lunging forward, he tries to pull her along, while she, leaning back, resists with all the feeble strength of her body. The indecision of the moment is hinted at by a forked tree, placed by Wale in the background between the struggling couple and the equipage in the distance – evidently another symbol for Clarissa's precarious position at the crossroads. The discovery of the rendezvous is not shown here and the urgency of the episode altogether defused. This may perhaps be explained with the programmatic function of the illustration, which was prefixed to the second volume of the novel as a frontispiece and, in the manner of a motto, concentrates on the immediate confrontation of Lovelace and Clarissa.

Executed by William Angus and James Walker after the designs of the prolific Thomas Stothard, the scene of Clarissa's flight from her father's garden is rendered in two distinct images in the series of illustrations commissioned by James Harrison for the 1784 edition of the novel in his *The Novelist's Magazine*. The first of the two plates (M28), engraved by Angus, resembles the earlier designs in that it shows the same moment in the sequence of events (fig. 5; CLA-1784.1-E {h}). As in Wale's composition, a part of the closed postern gate appears on the far left in the garden's enclosing wall. Here, however, the wall extends beyond the centre of the composition, its ashlar darker and more pronounced and restoring some of its forbidding character. The forked tree also reappears, but is used to much greater effect in Stothard's design: it is now placed in the centre of the composition, right behind Clarissa

herself, and is much more imposing. In front of the tree Clarissa and Lovelace are already moving in their flight towards the coach in the right background of the picture. Altogether comparable to Samuel Wale's design, if rather more dramatic, Clarissa here too strains against Lovelace; her hands tied in his strong grip, she looks back in despair towards the gate while inexorably being pulled forward, and away, by his superior force.

The following picture (M29), etched by Walker, shows how the deceitful servant Joseph Leman informs the horrified Harlowe family in the garden of their daughter's flight (fig. 6; CLA-1784.1-E {i}). With the cudgel in his left hand and excitedly pointing back through the open gate, he seems to have just returned from the unsuccessful chase. The composition carefully suggests an ineffective movement of the family following Joseph's gesture towards the gate, but petering out before it gains momentum with one female figure swooning in the foreground into the arms of another, the men recoiling in horror and anger and the foremost woman stopping at the gate, hesitating in view of the forbidden beyond and thus obstructing the central female figure whose body is precipitated towards the open gate along the line formed by her own outstretched arm together with Joseph's. Almost arranged in a mirror image of the previous illustration, the same wall runs in foreshortening from right to left; in the background it is bounded by a hay rick and, towards the front, by a shed in front of which wheatsheaves are placed on a scaffold – these can also be seen to droop over the wall from the other side in the previous illustration. The change in perspective achieved by this juxtaposition may be an attempt to take into account the novel's multi-perspective narrative technique, but was not used further by Stothard in this series of illustrations in any programmatic manner.

Daniel Dodd, commissioned by Alexander Hogg to illustrate the same scene for his edition of the novel in his *New Novelist's Magazine* (1794), once again transposed the sequence of events into two separate pictures. In the first of the two illustrations (M27) – with the caption: "LOVELACE in the Garden with CLARISSA urging / an Elopement, JOSEPH affecting an ALARM" – he captures the moment of the meeting being disturbed by Joseph Leman (fig. 7; CLA-1794.1-E {f}). The perspective is subtly changed in that the direction of the flight is not towards the background of the picture but diagonally somewhere towards the left of the viewer, outside the frame. Lovelace propelling Clarissa from behind allows the viewer to see her not looking back but forwards in horrified anticipation and raising her hands as if warding off a blow. The obvious theatricality of her stance is informed by dramatic conventions of the latter half of the eighteenth century and was a common feature of illustrations of the period (Martin 2005, 32).

In the second illustration (M28), Dodd represents the panicked flight through the woods (fig. 8; CLA-1794.1-E {g}). Clarissa, who is now looking back, is pulled along by Lovelace. The caption adds: "LOVELACE artfully Carries off CLARISSA / from her FATHER'S HOUSE". The representation of the events is complemented not only by the added verbal text (especially the negatively connoted "artfully"), which as such has no equivalent in Richardson's novel. In a vignette in the ornamental frame of this second illustration there is in addition a bird of prey swooping down on a dove. The event is thus commented on, beyond illustration and caption, by an immediately accessible emblematic ensemble and is thus morally and didactically instrumental-



ised.<sup>15</sup> Strangely, the two illustrations show Clarissa and Lovelace in different dress; in addition, Lovelace is shown in one of the pictures on Clarissa's left, in the other on her right. This baffling inconsistency severely disturbs the construction of the narrative illusion and may hardly be interpreted – as in Stothard – as a rendering of the novel's multiple perspectives. Possibly both illustrations represent different approaches to, and indeed different stages of engagement with, the scene; it may then be possible to read those illustrations comprising an ornamental frame and those without frame as two separate iconarratives.

Although chronologically very close, Daniel Chodowiecki's interpretation of the flight from the garden of 1796 (M26) conveys a mood that is entirely different from that of Dodd's print and, indeed, any of the others (fig. 9; CLA-1796.1-D {f}). He shows the outside front view of the closed postern gate which serves as the backdrop to the confrontation of Clarissa and Lovelace. Both face each other in profile, literally at arm's length. Between them, on the ground, lies the gate's key, which in the verbal text plays a certain role in that it guarantees that Clarissa, as she puts it, can let herself back in again "at pleasure" (*Clarissa*, L94: 377); but it is also a crucial element of Lovelace's intrigue (L94: 378-379). Both have their arms crossed (Lovelace is described like this in the text, L94: 377): Clarissa rests her left elbow on her right arm and pensively touches her lips with her fingers; Lovelace holds his drawn sword in the crook of his arm, almost like a walking stick. The representation avoids any external dramatics as in Dodd's prints and, more or less clearly, also in the other illustrations. But it is still charged with an unmistakable tension, which manifests itself in its little details. The naked blade signifies the potential of subliminal male violence (cf. *Clarissa*, L94: 377) – the drawn sword, carried under Lovelace's arm is prefigured in the verbal text, but only after the discovery through Joseph (*Clarissa*, L94: 380); it is represented also in most of the other illustrations, but not in the same deceptively casual way. Clarissa's shadow, cast between the two onto the gate, has already, as it were, made a step towards Lovelace. Finally, Lovelace's mouth is opened in the act of speaking: he is shown in the process of persuading Clarissa who, in turn, is pensively silent. There is a suggestion here of Lovelace's coercive verbal power which corresponds to the 'artful' added by Dodd to his picture; in addition, the emphasis on the exclusively verbal form of intrigue indicates that, even by merely listening to Lovelace, Clarissa is in danger of succumbing to the sweet words of her seducer. In this the intermedial iconotext diverges to some extent from Richardson's verbal text. In Clarissa's own account as well as in Lovelace's, the circumstances engineered by the rake and the confusion they engender in Clarissa are clearly identified as the reasons for her flight (*Clarissa*, L94 and L99). In fact, however, Lovelace is indeed a master of the word, as is variously emphasised in the different correspondences included in the novel, and in the context of the novel as a whole 'the word' appears to be his medium *par excellence*.

15 Emblematic vignettes were added also to other plates of this series of illustrations, for instance, in the illustration of the so-called fire-scene (M46), see (CLA-1794.1-E {l}). In his illustrations of 1784, Thomas Stothard made use of a similar emblematic element in his compositions, although the frames of his plates are mostly purely ornamental. A significant exception is (M31): on the first stage after Clarissa's flight from the paternal garden, Lovelace helps her to descend from the equipage and at the top of the ornamental frame appears a bird's cage, which graphically illustrates Clarissa's situation (CLA-1784.1-E {k}). For the emblematic quality of this motif, see Brown (1993, 133-134).

Chodowiecki's earlier version of the scene of 1785 (M28) presents completely different stylistic features and shows a much more dramatic composition (fig. 11; CLA-1785.1-F {f}). Here, in the right half of the picture, the garden wall, aligned with the composition's vanishing lines, appears in strong foreshortening; the postern gate is in the right margin; one of its wings, emphasising the immediacy of the events, is pushed open towards the viewer. In the left background we see the carriage with servants. Lovelace and Clarissa are represented from behind. Both hurry along the wall towards the equipage. Lovelace drives Clarissa, whose body is partially hidden by his own, before him and as a result of the exaggerated foreshortening and the depicted movement an apparently irresistible pressure seems to form to which Clarissa must yield.<sup>16</sup>

In 1783, pre-dating his earlier version of illustrations to *Clarissa* by two years, Chodowiecki had illustrated a German translation of Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*. His later rendering of Clarissa and Lovelace's meeting in front of the postern gate is strongly reminiscent of his treatment of "The Remise Door" in Calais and Yorick's first tender encounter with the unknown lady (fig. 10). It is, in fact, so similar that it seems not only obviously self-referential but, by referencing Sterne's and his own 'sentimental', and erotic, iconotext, it opens a completely new contrastive dimension to the intermedial reach of the newly created iconotext of *Clarissa*. Where Yorick and the lady are turned towards the remise door to allow its blank to stimulate the imagination (*Journey*, 39), Lovelace's figure, partly facing the viewer, may suggest the single-mindedness of his purpose, devoid of the tender titillation of sentiment experienced by the parson which is indicated also by the excerpted text (cf. 42) and invoked earlier in the novel when Yorick muses: "When the heart flies out before the understanding, it saves the judgment a world of pains" (40). The "heart" is not really a consideration for Lovelace, who is all cold judgment. Accordingly, the tenderness of the encounter in Calais expressed by the body language of the figures and their light touch, upon which Yorick reflects at length (40-43, 45), is contrasted by the physical and emotional distance of Clarissa and Lovelace in the later illustration.

Probably the earliest extant representation of the flight from the garden produced in England is a painting by Francis Hayman (fig. 12). The painter had collaborated with Richardson as illustrator of *Pamela* and was a close friend of the writer. This painting, the only pictorial representation of Hayman's of Richardson's second novel and executed probably between 1753-54, shows, in Janet E. Aikins's words "Clarissa's Miltonic escape, through the garden gate, from her father's house" (2002, 503). Not only the expulsion from paradise and its rich iconographic tradition is thus evoked as a pre-text of the painting. Aikins sees here more particularly a theological affinity with Hayman's engravings for Thomas Newton's 1749 edition of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In these illustrations the painter had broken with the iconographic tradition of the epos and had represented the expulsion from paradise as a 'happy' event (fig. 13; Aikins 2002, 503).

16 In (CLA-1795.1-A abb) this motif was prefixed to the volume as a frontispiece (CLA-1795.1-A abb {a}). Clearly identified by the caption – "Lovelace forces Clarissa to leave her / Father's House" – the frontispiece of this edition instantly introduces the reader to the heroine's dilemma. The subsequent altogether six illustrations also follow a continuous narrative.



According to Mary D. Ravenhall (1984), whose argument Aikins reiterates, Hayman develops in his illustration of Book XII of the Christian epos the visual representation of the conception of *felix culpa*, which is also inscribed into Milton's text (105-106): Adam and Eve are not expelled from paradise but are being lead away – with gestures of admonition and persuasion (Milton 1990, Book 12, 637-640). Referring to contemporary commentators Ravenhall detects here a typological reference to the story of Lot (Gen 19,16): "By visually repeating the parallel between Milton's version of the Expulsion and Lot's rescue, Hayman reminds the viewer of the promise of salvation Michael brings to Adam and Eve along with God's order to remove them from Paradise" (1984, 106).

Clarissa's death and her salvation, of which she feels certain at the end of her 'passion', after her 'expulsion', seems to be based on the same theological conception.<sup>17</sup> "These correspondences", Aikins suggests, "hint that Hayman's suggestions may have contributed to the composition of *Clarissa*, although we have no evidence in the form of letters or written documentation to prove that this is so" (2002, 503). In turn, Hayman's access to the novel's manuscript, which Richardson had circulated in early versions since 1744-45,<sup>18</sup> and his close contact to the writer may well have influenced his own conception of the visual representation of the 'expulsion' from paradise.<sup>19</sup>

Why Hayman did not paint the scene from *Clarissa* before 1753-54, when the distribution of Richardson's new novel, *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753-54), had already commenced or was at least imminent, will have to remain conjectural. Yet that his painting represents as the central scene of the older text the flight from the paternal garden and that Hayman here, as in his illustration of Book XII of *Paradise Lost*, chose the gesture identified by John Bulwer in his *Chirologia* (1644) as *admoneo* – "used by those who admonish and persuade"<sup>20</sup> – is without doubt significant. Despite the evidently deliberate references to the iconographic tradition of the expulsion from paradise which Richardson inscribed into his very 'visual' verbal text and which are also articulated within the 'eschatological' conception of the novel as a whole, it is primarily the differences from this tradition which assume significance and meaning.

With a view to the traditional iconography, the most significant and most meaningful of these differences seems to be the ambivalent representation of Lovelace who – and here the various illustrators have individually made an important decision – may be associated through the visual representation with either the archangel or with the seducer, Satan, or (if less convincingly) with Adam. The latter interpretation is suggested in particular by those pictures which show Leman with the staff which turn the servant himself into a distorted permutation of the archangel (cf. fig. 3 and, with some reservations, figs 7 and 11). An important difference to representations of

Adam is, however, that Lovelace does not hide his face and actively promotes the exodus from 'paradise' by seducing Clarissa – in this all the illustrations and the verbal text of the novel concur (cf. *Clarissa*, L94: 374).<sup>21</sup>

The gesture of the *admoneo*, assigned in Hayman's painting to Lovelace, who seeks to lead Clarissa away from the gate, associates him with the similarly drawn archangel in Hayman's earlier representation (cf. fig. 13). The same gesture, if executed differently in detail, also features – with the one exception of Chodowiecki's second adaptation of the motif (fig. 9) – in the other visual renderings of this scene. But this print, once again, differs fundamentally from all the others. One indication of this is that there is no reference to the iconographic tradition of the expulsion from paradise inscribed into its composition. However, that the gesture of the *admoneo* was also used in the other illustrations suggests that not too much should be made of the fact because the same theological interpretation through the illustrator can hardly be assumed in every case. After all – as described by Bulwer – this is the gesture also of persuasion.

Another parallel with traditional representations of the archangel is the drawn sword in the crook of Lovelace's arm, which refers to the customary flaming sword with which the angel gives emphasis to his divine mandate. That the sword is missing in Stothard's version (fig. 5) may obscure the association with traditional iconography. Yet it is sustained by other allusions which are no less potent and which – once again with only one exception (cf. fig. 7) – persist in all of the plates: the representation of the wall enclosing the garden, for instance, and of the gate which bars any return.

The libertine's affinity with Milton's Satan has frequently been pointed out (Keymer 1992, 189-196), his physical and intellectual attractiveness crucially promote this association. However, in the visual component of the intermedial iconotext of the flight scene it is mainly his dominant physical presence and the momentum it carries which are presented as a complement to and partially as the substitute of his verbal authority. The verbal seduction and Clarissa's pensive resistance or, perhaps, even her weakening resolve is captured visually only by Chodowiecki. In all the other illustrations – as in the verbal text: "[he] hurried me on still faster: my voice, however, contradicting my action; crying, No, no, no, all the while" (*Clarissa*, L94: 380) – Clarissa's resistance is presented as a primarily physical struggle with intimations of sexual violence and voyeuristic pleasure. Yet her very resistance is a significant deviation from the iconographic tradition of the expulsion from paradise which at the same time 'illustrates' a pattern of the interrelation of both characters. Lovelace may be the stronger physically and may thus be able to overpower Clarissa. Yet her mental integrity is never really at his mercy. Seen in conjunction with the story of Lucretia (see Stähler 2008b), the iconarrative describes a climactic progression: Clarissa finally, even after her ultimate violation, still emerges victorious from the confrontation with Lovelace because she continues to defy him mentally and eventually succeeds in gaining her liberty. Hers, however, is the liberty to die and thus is once again closely related to the expulsion from paradise which, of course, also entails the mortality of the body.

17 See Aikins (2002, 503) and Richardson's postscript (*Clarissa*, 1495-98).

18 Cf. Ross, "Introduction" (*Clarissa*, 15). Hayman was working on the illustrations to *Paradise Lost* since 1745 at the latest, cf. Raynie (2004, 545).

19 Warren Mild suspects this theological bias to have prevented Highmore from designing any more illustrations for *Clarissa* since he viewed it skeptically (1990, 292).

20 "To take hold gently of another's Hand, is a gesture used by those who admonish and persuade [...]. Such an intention of gesture, but with more vehemency of expression the Angels used to Lot, while he lingred in Sodome, laying hold upon his Hand, and upon the Hand of his wife, and upon the Hand of his two daughters, to admonish and persuade them to sudden departure from that accursed City" (Bulwer 1644, 158). See also Ravenhall (1984, 106).

21 Clarissa herself suggests such an identification. With respect to Lovelace, however, she withdraws it in the same breath: "But here, like the first pair, I at least driven out of my paradise, are we recriminating" (*Clarissa*, L98: 393). See also (L261.1: 894).

That this paradise is no more a real paradise than Lovelace is either archangel or Satan is characteristic of Richardson's iconarrative method, which rests primarily on the contrastive re-interpretation of established patterns of the construction of meaning and which – whether consciously or not – was apparently adopted by his illustrators (Stähler 2008a, 22). In this particular instance it is the re-interpretation of a Christian iconographic tradition which is measured against a similarly 'perverted' reality. For the real reason for Clarissa's expulsion from 'paradise' is not to be sought in the (fallen) angel's art of seduction, but in the flawed intransigence of paternal authority, which is exposed as the mere parody of the divine rule of mercy.

### Conclusion

The intermedial iconotext seems to be by its very nature a highly ambivalent mélange. Gustave Flaubert's apprehensions for the cherished indeterminacy of his literary endeavours when confronted with the materially visual and potentially predatory component of the graphic image, while perhaps surprising in their vehemence, are without doubt perceptive: any text will alter when it alteration finds. Intriguingly, however, as the use of erotic blanks and, conversely, of highly explicit pornographic illustrations in Laurence Sterne's novels demonstrates, not only are there different levels of iconotextuality of varying penetration, but the verbal iconotext may well reassert itself against its graphic complement and both may even create a productive interpretive friction that transcends the limitations anticipated by Flaubert.

While Sterne's novels appear to fully exploit the verbal iconotext's potential for indeterminacy, Samuel Richardson evidently sought to instrumentalise the intermedial iconotext as a tool of authorial control. In his first novel, *Pamela*, he augmented his verbal iconotext with 'authorised' illustrations to create a properly intermedial iconotext which would guide the reader's fancy. In his later novels, for reasons unknown, but possibly determined by financial considerations, Richardson returned to the construction of a 'one component', verbal iconotext. In *Clarissa*, however, he invested this with a particularly high 'visuality' through the use of his specifically pictorial style and the reference to established iconographic traditions. Richardson's references, to the iconographic traditions of the expulsion from paradise (or the legend of Lucretia, for instance), provided him with a foil of well-known subjects in whose recognition effect he could trust and against which he pitted his own text – with some success, as the intermedial re-configurations of *Clarissa* as an iconotext long after the author's death suggest. His illustrators generally sustain the corresponding construction of the iconotext – if always with a partially varying focus, most notably Chodowiecki in his second series of illustrations. That none of the illustrations to *Clarissa* were 'authorised' is then highly significant. Although subject over time to changing fashions, as demonstrated in the first part of this article, their relative conformity suggests that the iconotext of this particular novel at least is assertive enough to appreciably inform its intermedial configuration even without the author's direct intervention.

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Fig. 1: "Tristram Shandy", anonymous, in Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* (Amsterdam: Slaukenberg, 1771) falsified imprint, c. 1785, frontispiece. By permission of The British Library (P.C. 31. g. 21.).



Fig. 2: "a Limb is soon Broke – in such Encounters." Anonymous, in Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* (Amsterdam: Slaukenberg, 1771) falsified imprint, c. 1785, facing p. 361. By permission of The British Library (P.C. 31. g. 21.).



Fig. 3 (C.1): CLA-1751.1-F {j} [M28]. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn (Fb 454/3). By permission.



Fig. 4 (C.2): CLA-1768.1-E {b} [M28]. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn ([VIII]=65-6/1606). By permission.



Fig. 5 (C.3): CLA-1784.1-E {h} [M28]. By permission of The British Library (1207.b.16-18.).



Fig. 6 (C.4): CLA-1784.1-E {i} [M29]. By permission of The British Library (1207.b.16-18.).



Fig. 7 (C.5): CLA-1794.1-E {f} [M27]. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Vet. A5 e. 4148). By permission.



Fig. 8 (C.8): CLA-1794.1-E {g} [M28]. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Vet. A5 e. 4148). By permission.



Fig. 9 (C.7): CLA-1796.1-D {f} [M26]. Private collection. By permission.



Fig. 10: Daniel Chodowiecki, in Laurence Sterne, *Yoriks empfindsame Reise durch Frankreich und Italien* (1783). Private collection. By permission.



Fig. 11 (C.6): CLA-1785.1-F {f} [M28]. By permission of The British Library (628. i. 36.).



Fig. 12 (C.9): Francis Hayman, *Robert Lovelace Preparing to Abduct Clarissa Harlowe* (M28) (c. 1753-54), oil on canvas, Southampton City Art Gallery. By permission.



Fig. 13: Francis Hayman, "The Expulsion from Paradise", illustration to Book XII in John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Thomas Newton (London: Tonson, 1749). By permission of The British Library (94. h. 1.).