‘And men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders’
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Encountering the Other in the Illustrations of Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* and *Othello* in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

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I. Introduction

With stereotypical fixity, Caliban is regarded and treated as an outcast among the small population of the "vn-inhabited Island[1]" in *The Tempest*. He owes this position to his otherness,[2] which is such a striking feature of the figure that the audience learns about it even before his first entrance. At that point, Prospero seems reluctant to even mention Caliban by name, and so the reference to him is confined to two parenthetical lines: "Then was this island / (Save for the son that she did litter here, / A freckled whelp, hag-born) not honoured with / A human shape."[3] As if gradually preparing the audience for the appearance of this creature, Caliban's otherness is thus emphasized by likening him to a young dog, apparently devoid of a properly "human shape". This aspect and the fact that Prospero's mentioning of Caliban is (also syntactically) subordinate to the former's descriptions of Ariel and his pre-history already indicates the way his difference has caused him to be a marginalized figure: "'Tis a villain, sir, / I do not love to look on,"[4] Miranda thus seconds only a little later in the same scene. When Caliban makes his entrance, the ensuing confrontation eradicates all doubt about the irreversible antagonism with Caliban. Labelling him "most lying slave, / Whom stripes may move, not kindness"[5], even though Prospero claims to have treated him, "(Filth as thou art) with humane care"[6] ultimately makes his marginalization unmistakably clear.

Despite this antagonism, it is also noticeable that, paradoxically, Prospero and Miranda rely upon Caliban to a certain extent. If it were not for him, they would have to dedicate themselves to the somewhat dull and exhausting physical tasks that need to be carried out upon the island.[7] As much as Miranda is frustrated by Caliban's resistance to her attempts of instilling "kindness" in him, their first encounter also reveals that her reluctance to "look on" Caliban has only gradually replaced what initially must have been an eagerness to make direct contact with him, perhaps for the sake of having a

[1] E. A. J. Honigmann (Ed.), *The Tempest*, 3rd edn. (London: Arden, 2003), 0.0; all subsequent references will be made to this edition (T).
[2] For a detailed discussion of the concepts of the "other" and "otherness", the way they are understood in this study, see the following section.
[3] T 1.2.281-284.
[4] T 1.2.310-311.
[5] T 1.2.345-346.
[6] T 1.2.347.
[7] Cf. T 1.2.311-314.

companion besides her father, someone she can educate and mould according to her own needs.

The main body of this analysis of the other in the illustrations of Shakespeare's *Tempest* and *Othello* will focus on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries only. For the purposes of this introduction, however, identifying some of Shakespeare's sources for the other may help to comprehend the enduring ambivalence and complexity of the concept. Likewise, a comparison of this ambivalence in the reactions towards Caliban with the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century responses to otherness shows that these cross-cultural encounters[8] in the play had a real-life basis. Shakespeare's plays are full of references to foreign figures, distant lands and exotic commodities. They fascinated the playwright at least as much as his contemporaries, a society intrigued by things alien and novel.[9] It is therefore little surprising if *otherness*[10] does not only feature in *The Tempest*.[11] Similarly, it is a feature of the impenetrably ambivalent Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* – outsider on account of his stereotypical Jewishness –, a Shakespearean character that was influenced by and aimed at the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean society's fascination with the other and otherness in general.

As in Shylock's case,[12] otherness in Shakespeare's day was personified mostly by foreigners, and the attitudes against them were constituted by the same ambivalence noticeable during the first encounters of Prospero and Miranda with Caliban: a mixture of fascination, fear, contempt and rejection. In a similar fashion, G. K. Hunter, the first to focus on the theme of racism in *Othello* in 1967,[13] observes that

> the Elizabethan urge to moralize was normally served most easily by presenting the foreigner in terms derived from simple nationalism. The European foreigner appears in post-Reformation English literature, in fact, as part of a process of vulgarization (in both senses of the word). He comes into literary focus caught between the poles of Fear and

[8] For this concept, and therefore a considerable share of the study's motivation, I am indebted to Geraldo U. de Sousa's monograph *Shakespeare's Cross-Cultural Encounters* (Houndmills et al.: Macmillan Press, 1999).
[9] Cf. de Sousa, p. 1.
[10] During this study, the term *otherness* will be used in its non-capitalized spelling. This way, a confusion with Lacan's concept of the *Other* and *Otherness*, which refers to psychoanalysis and particularly the unconscious, shall be avoided. Cf. Michael Payne (Ed.), *A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 392.
[11] Cf. Dirk Delabatista, "Caliban's Afterlife", in *Constellation Caliban: Figurations of a Character*, eds. Nadia Lie and Theo D'Haen (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1997); Verena Olejniczak Lobsien, "Caliban erzählen. Strukturelle Skepsis in der Frühen Neuzeit", in *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 28: 110 (1998); Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, *Shakespeare's Caliban – A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Daniel Wilson, *Caliban: The Missing Link* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1873).
[12] For a discussion of Shylock's foreignness, see Nicholas de Lange (Ed.), *Ignaz Maybaum: a Reader* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), p 145.
[13] Cf. E . A. J. Honigmann, *Othello* (London: Arden, 2003), p. 27.

> Derision, which had always operated where Englishmen and Foreigners came into contact, but which was new as a literary image.[14]

While the foreigner alluded to here is a fitting example of how "otherness" is understood in this study, this does not necessarily imply that this perceptional category may only be constituted by regional aspects such as nationality. Certainly, it is one of its most frequent determinants, but otherness may, in fact, be made up of other aspects, ranging from moral, philosophical, or even religious values (in this regard, Shylock is probably the best example of all the characters in Shakespeare's plays),[15] to the merely trivial and exotic: there were e. g. chambers of marvel which included various curiosities, "drawn from the animal, vegetable, mineral and human worlds"[16] in England and other European courts. Correspondingly, although the other may be perceived as foreign it does not necessarily have to be represented by *a* foreigner. Difference resulting from nationality is, therefore, only incidental to Hunter's description of otherness. It is, however, noteworthy that the instances of the encounters Hunter alludes to all have literary sources. Likewise, there had been confrontations and exchanges with other countries in the decades and centuries before, and it was in fact in the Elizabethan age, that, "[f]or the first time in English history, blacks were used as scapegoats for social evils."[17] Nevertheless, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century society's confrontation with otherness was still predominantly realized in narrations or other forms of indirect experience.[18] Correspondingly, the typical direct and indirect experiences of the foreign and exotic in places that were considered as the periphery of the colonial empire during the Victorian age – from the consumption of exotic goods to professional careers in the territories overseas[19] – still lay centuries ahead.

A comparably innocent prelapsarian state, it may seem; a society waiting to open the first chapter of its colonial enterprise. Already at this early stage of English colonial history, however, the social and psychological mechanisms at work during the confrontation with alterity were well-practised routines. Reasons for marginalizing the

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[14] G. K. Hunter, "Elizabethans and Foreigners", in *Shakespeare and Race*, eds. Catherine M. S. Alexander and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 37-63. Here, pp. 45f.
[15] Cf. de Lange, p. 145.
[16] Pascal Blanchard et al., *Human Zoos. Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), p. 1.
[17] Dabydeen p. 9.
[18] Cf. ibid., pp. 53f.
[19] Cf. Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism. Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1988), p. 108.

other on account of deviating from the accepted standards of behaviour or being, values and customs, were either blatant ridicule or – on a deeper level –, a fear of the threat that was felt to be emanating from the other. Hence, in Elizabethan literature, the foreigner was frequently portrayed

> as more malignant than comic. In such cases he [was] seen (as always) to be dangerously 'cleverer than us', as slick, devious and lacking in integrity. In Robert Wilson's *Three Ladies of London* we meet Artifex, an honest English tradesman, who cannot sell his honestly made wares, 'for there be such a sort of strangers in this country / That work fine to please the eye, though it be deceitfully'. When Artifex has been brought near enough to starvation he succumbs to these foreign wiles and is instructed by the Franco-Scottish Fraud how to make trashy goods look attractive. In the sequel-play, Wilson's *Three Lords and Ladies of London* Fraud reappears, this time (dressed as 'an old French artificer') deceiving the honest English clown Simplicity.[20]

The mechanism described here is obvious: the Englishman is introduced as honest, righteous and, as implied by the clown's name "Simplicity", unsuspecting, innocent and good-natured. In contrast, the other with whom the Englishman is engaged is portrayed in the guise of a man who attempts to pursue his commercial aims by deceit, cunning and dishonesty. In the same way, he is perceived as a threat to national stability and security, and the presence of the other is described as ultimately corrupting the integrity of the English value system when Artifex is forced to yield to the economic pressures of trade. Whichever driving force underlay such mechanisms of marginalizing the other, they are indicative of English Renaissance society's desire to reassure itself of the validity of its moral, cultural, political or economic values by describing foreign influences, contrastively, as influences harmful to the stability of the own community.

Despite the predominantly indirect nature of making contact with otherness, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, a considerable share of these confrontations were more direct than those narrated in the literature of the day.[21] Considering the fact that the colonial enterprise of Portugal and Spain had already begun in the late fifteenth century, it is little surprising that this project had been sustained long enough[22] to have brought foreigners into Elizabethan society. Likewise, an official decree gives evidence to the fact that

[20] Dabydeen, p. 46f.
[21] Cf. Honigmann, p. 29.
[22] It is considerably more difficult to date England's first direct encounters with the other, i. e. those contacts resulting from an effort of territorial and economic expansion than those of the Spanish or the Portuguese and rather "consisted of a series of stutterings", as has been pointed out by Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters. Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London and New York: Routledge, 1986), p. 89.

> the Queen's Majesty is discontented at the great number of negars and blackamoores which are crept into the realm since the troubles between her Highness and the King of Spain, and are fostered here to her annoyance of her own people.[23]

On account of their conspicuous otherness, naturally, blacks were the epitome of foreign influences. Their presence was predominantly a result of the fact that it became "fashionable for aristocratic families in England to own a black houseboy, and [that] hundreds of Africans were consequently imported into the country."[24] While the Queen's decree only mentions the Elizabethan's "annoyance", experienced in encounters with the other, such contacts also left a certain feeling of anxiety about the consequences of the intrusion of foreign influences into the country. In addition, they are in many cases symptomatic of the people's insecurities and deficiencies. What if the other possessed something that could suggest ways of life alternative to the mores of Elizabethan society? Or, even more radically, what was so uniquely *English* about the English? Was it really that obvious, then, that the other was significantly different? Frequently, this manner of being confronted with alterity is therefore conspicuous enough in order to be able to infer more than just the way and the extent to which the English perceived themselves as being superior. Such confrontations, in other words, permit the identification of their fears or defects or to lay open latent conflicts among and between individual classes or strata of English society.

If things alien were such a central aspect of everyday life in Elizabethan and Jacobean society, it seems a logical consequence that the cultural practice expressed in the ways of encountering the other should also impinge upon late sixteenth and early seventeenth century forms of cultural production.[25] It is the intimate connection between the way people respond to experiencing racial, cultural or national difference and how the self is perceived that makes the analysis of encounters with otherness such a worthwhile subject of any cultural study. Correspondingly, since both, the collective as well as the individual self, are the essential constituents of any society, charting the peculiarities and the changes in the way the latter copes with the experience of alterity also allows to examine its cultural practices as well as the instabilities and transformations of its

[23] de Sousa, p. 8.
[24] David Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks. Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century English Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 9.
[25] Cf. de Sousa, p. 3.

communal identity.[26] This is also the reason why the way Shakespeare's most prominent characters of otherness, Caliban and Othello, are encountered in the visual adaptations of the corresponding plays are of such crucial relevance in this study.

Othello is portrayed, on the one hand, as the stereotypical "moor", easily moved to jealousy by the cunning Iago, while his good intentions and his merit, on the other hand, rarely fail to bestow on him the sympathy needed to constitute the tragicality of his character. His social position, and, to a certain extent, integrity of character,[27] as well as his good intentions towards any of the characters he engages with, secure the play's compliance with the precepts of classical tragedy. His conviction that relying on flawless conduct and achievement alone will fend off the attacks launched against him on account of the critical attitude towards his otherness thus makes him a highly tragical character. A case in point is his hopeful declaration in act one: "Let him do his spite; / My services, which I have done the signiory, / Shall out-tongue his complaints."[28] Othello's otherness, then, exhibits the mechanisms of marginalization and their self-fulfilling, tenacious character: in the same fashion, it seems somewhat ironic that he fails to evade "the net / That shall enmesh them all"[29], spun by Iago's cunning, not *despite* but *because of* his eagerness to fulfil the expectations of those he interacts with.[30]

Caliban is a similarly complex character, although the way he is marginalized, i. e. denied social acceptance, is more overt than in Othello's case. The way Caliban's otherness is different from Othello's is also constituted by the fact that, while the latter accelerates his tragic fall in course of the play – it is also his own jealousy that makes Othello an easy victim for Iago's jealous revenge –, Caliban's supposed sexual assault can only be condemned with difficulty: after all, it was Prospero's intrusion into his realm that exposed his daughter Miranda to this danger in the first place. Furthermore, as much as Caliban wishes he had "peopled else / This Isle with Calibans"[31], ultimately, no unequivocal proof is given in the play that this assault has ever taken place. Nevertheless, as the opening paragraphs of this study have shown, Caliban's otherness, which is somehow related to his allegedly vicious behaviour, equally reveals the latent

[26] Cf. Susanne Strobel, *Various Forms of Savagery. Identitäts- und Alteritätskonstruktionen in Reiseberichten viktorianischer Frauen zu Süd- und Westafrika* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2003), p. 75.
[27] Cf. Sadakichi Hartmann, *Shakespeare in Art* (Boston, MA: L. C. Page & Company, 1901), p. 243.
[28] E. A. J. Honigmann (Ed.), *Othello.* 3rd edn. (London: Arden, 2003), 1.2.17-19; all subsequent references will be made to this edition (O).
[29] O 2.3.356-7.
[30] Cf. Honigmann, p. 61.
[31] Cf. T 1.2.351-2.

mechanisms of marginalization and the Elizabethans' as well as the Jacobeans' ambivalent fascination with things alien.

Also in the visual readings of Shakespeare's *Othello* and *The Tempest*, i. e. its illustrations, which became more and more numerous in the subsequent centuries, the complexity and ambivalence of the concept became apparent. Therefore, after these introductory instances of the way the other was encountered in Shakespeare's day, the main body of this study will explore the way Caliban's and Othello's alterity were understood and interpreted in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: those marks left upon the characters during the particular historical circumstances that influenced their interpretation will have to be considered, always with an awareness of those mechanisms at work during encounters with the other.

Since it is the aim of this analysis to take illustrations as the basis of this consideration, and since the hermeneutical path outlined hitherto already makes certain tacit assumptions about the treatment of the relationship of the conditions in which the illustrations were created on the one hand, and the works of art as well as their authors on the other, it will also be required to establish a firm foundation for the implementation of this task. It is thus in the third chapter of this present section that these methodological preliminaries will be approached.

Cultural studies' great familiarity with the term "otherness" conceals that behind this term lies a concept of considerable ambivalence. Correspondingly, its concrete manifestations in the illustrations of Shakespeare's *Tempest* and *Othello* are just as multifarious as the different uses of the concept in theory.[32] So far, it should have become sufficiently apparent that, whenever there is an instance of "encountering the other", the self and the other need to be understood as the participants in a social mechanism, a concept that subsumes the processes related to the changes of the sets of values, beliefs, assumptions and attitudes governing the identities and behavioural patterns of those partaking in the encounter. For a satisfactory understanding of the recurring patterns of the more or less predictable behaviours of these participants, a discussion of the concepts of "otherness" and the "other" will be necessary. This will be carried out in the following chapter of this section.

[32] Cf. Payne, p. 392.

I.1 Otherness

The familiarity and the common usage of the term "otherness"[33] may suggest that the concept is a simple given, an object of reality that, sooner or later, is "encountered" in the way the title of this study already implies. Of course, this is a far cry from being an accurate description of the concept: "'[a]wkward and faddish as it may sound, othering expresses the insight that the Other is never simply given, never just found or encountered, but *made*.'"[34] But where should this "other" have its origin, if the claim goes that before it can be encountered it first has to be made? There are certainly more perspectives from which otherness can be viewed, but for the purposes of this study, it will be sufficient to narrow its scope to a sociological and psychological application of the term. Likewise, the artificiality of otherness must be understood against the background of the notion that social realities are *per se* constructs of certain processes of interaction and the negotiation of the way these realities are perceived.[35] In other words, social realities are constructed by human individuals who are, at the same time, determined in their behaviours and actions by the social realities in which these actions are executed. Correspondingly, social realities have a micro- as well as a macrosociological dimension, making the process of constructing and re-constructing reality twofold.[36] First of all, the individual who encounters the other acts and behaves according to his or her own motivation, and more or less in line with those particular values, beliefs and attitudes prevalent in the society or social reality this human being inhabits. On a macrosociological level, the individual's identity is thus influenced by accepting (or rejecting) these standards and by attempting to behave and conceive of itself in line with them (again, this self-image may also be determined by an act of rejecting these standards).[37] The second aspect of this process of constructing and re-constructing social realities can be described as follows: whenever somebody is encountered, the individual attempts, to a certain extent, to demarcate its subjectivity, its

[33] Cf. Payne, p. 392.
[34] Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street (Eds.), *Cultural Encounters. Representing 'Otherness'* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 1. Cf. also Carina Welly, *Literarische Begegnungen mit dem Fremden: Intranationale und internationale Vermittlung kultureller Alterität am Beispiel des Erzählwerks Miguel Ángel Asturias'* (Würzburg: Königshausen/Neumann GmbH, 2004), p. 29, emphasis added.
[35] Sandra Hestermann, *Meeting the Other – Encountering Oneself. Paradigmen der Selbst- und Fremddarstellung in ausgewählten anglo-indischen und indisch-englischen Kurzgeschichten* (Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2002), p. 37.
[36] Cf. Hestermann, p. 37f.
[37] For a further discussion of this process of classifying the other as being different, see Carina Welly, op. cit., p. 31.

identity therefore, from this other. This is what can be understood as the microsociological component of the process of creating identity. In this regard, it is not primarily the social structure that determines the construction of identity, but rather the interaction with other individuals. The aspect that both identity and, consequently, otherness are constructs manifests itself in the following phenomenon: although identity may have been established by certain psychological and sociological processes beforehand, otherness has the potential to alter, emphasize, or even create identity.[38] Especially the latter aspect is a noteworthy phenomenon since it is frequently observable in connection with the social mechanism that is in the focus of this study – the one of encountering the other. In this context, otherness functions as a contrast which permits or facilitates the construction of identity by representing all those qualities the self judges undesirable. As a consequence, the subject's conception of itself may even consist merely in those aspects that are constituted by what the self is *not*. In other words, identity is frequently a result of delimiting the self from those aspects of a social reality that the individual encounters and chooses to reject. This is a particularly frequent variant of being confronted with otherness when involving the formation of the identity of an entire group of people. Nationality is one such category that relies heavily on negating certain features that are collectively perceived in the other.[39] There will be sufficient opportunity to discuss this in greater depth later on, but it may be emphasized, already at this point, that William Hogarth's paintings and illustrations frequently employ this attempt of forging national identity by contrasting oneself with the other. Probably one of the most famous of these works is his engraving *O the Roast Beef of Old England (Calais Gate)* of the year 1749 (Figure 1). Already its title refers to a popular song of Hogarth's day, and the illustration may be taken as a deliberate attempt of evoking the nationalist emotions of his audience. Although it is clear that Hogarth's own "anti-French sentiments cannot be taken too seriously"[40], the illustration is a token of the fact that there were certain pre-existing patterns that allowed visualizing the French in distinct contrast to the English.

[38] Cf. Blanchard 11. Cf. also Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 67.
[39] Cf. Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 51.
[40] Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art* (Cornwall: Hogarth Arts, 2007), p. 12.

1 William Hogarth, *O the Roast Beef of Old England (Calais Gate)*, 1749

The rival on the continent is portrayed as unnourished, ragged, filthy and excessively prone to believing in material tokens of God's existence (the nuns in the foreground are in the process of worshipping the bottom of a ray on account of its unusual marking).[41] The piece of meat in the centre of the illustration, recurs to its subtitle, which is the first line of the chorus of a popular song composed by a friend of Hogarth's. In it, the same opposition is established between the English ("When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food, / It ennobled our hearts, and enriched our blood"[42]) and the French and their foreign cultural practices as well as their potentially corrupting effects on English society ("But since we learnt from all-vapouring France / To eat their ragouts, as well as to dance"[43]). This process of contrasting oneself with the other in order to emphasize the values that were assumed to constitute one's own identity, the animosity of the English and the French in particular, will become more relevant at a later point in this study.

[41] Cf. Colley, p. 35.
[42] Quoted in Simon, p. 12.
[43] Quoted ibid.

It has been observed that social realities and, in the same way, the categories of "identity" and "otherness" are not simple givens but constructs. Correspondingly, it is to be understood against this background that they are also "artificial", i. e. man-made. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasized in this context, that the consequences of these processes of constructing and negotiating social realities are real, in the way that individuals respond to them as if they were, indeed, the actual givens of their social environments; and since identity is an existential category for the subject, it is only a logical consequence that there is generally the urge to ensure that the other does not pose a constant threat to this identity.[44] If such a threat is perceived by the individual, there are several possible consequences.[45]

Firstly, this menacing opposite may be relegated to a somehow – socially, morally, ethically, racially, emotionally, or physically – inferior status. One of the reasons for this may be seen in the individual's urge to reassure itself of the value of those aspects that are perceived to be the constitutive features of its identity. As a consequence, the encountered other's difference may be judged as no longer a threat to the self's identity. The first instance for this tendency has already been apparent in Prospero and Miranda's encounter with Caliban: his otherness and his recalcitrance against their attempts to educate him according to their own moral notions was met with their quick and irreversible labelling him as "evil" and "villain". As frustrating as the failure to instil "goodness" in him thus may have been for Miranda and Prospero, ascribing this failure to Caliban's resistance to it, his otherness in the play also serves as their way of reassuring themselves of the rightfulness of their endeavours, their presence on the "vn-inhabited Island", and ultimately, essential features of their own identity.

Secondly, a possible reaction to being exposed to otherness might also be the appropriation or incorporation of this otherness in order to homogenize, as it were, what is perceived as menacingly alien. The threatening potential of difference is thus disarmed by including it into the self as if it were somehow subsumable under or related to it. As a result, the disturbing newness is incorporated into the categories of the familiar:

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[44] Cf. Hestermann, p. 35.
[45] Cf. Thomas McEvilley, *Art and Otherness Crisis in Cultural Identity* (New York, NY: McPherson & Company, 1992), p. 147.

> Something patently foreign and distant acquires, for one reason or another, a status more rather than less familiar. One tends to stop judging things either as completely novel or as completely well-known; a new median category emerges, a category that allows one to see new things, things seen for the first time, as versions of a previously known thing. In essence such a category is not so much a way of receiving new information as it is a method of controlling what seems to be a threat to some established view of things….The threat is muted, familiar values impose themselves by accommodating things to itself as either 'original' or 'repetitious'.[46]

This is generally owing to the fact that, on account of being forced to deal with the encountered other – its otherness, to be more precise –, the individual has to negotiate its own reality against conflicting (moral, ethical, etc.) standpoints. Emmanuel Levinas has identified this outcome of being faced with otherness as a central feature of Western thought:

> One of the characteristics of Western metaphysics is to deny the otherness of the other—or if not actually deny its/their otherness, then at least to appropriate it, subsuming the *other/s* dialectically within the *same* of the absolute subject. "From its very beginnings philosophy has been stricken with horror by anything that is other and remains other, as if it had an incurable allergy to it," the philosopher Emmanuel Levinas writes in his essay "Die Spur des Anderen" (The Trace of the Other).[47]

This tendency can be observed in an eighteenth century Othello illustration by Francis Hayman (Figure 2). Although it will not be part of the main section of this study, it exemplifies the mechanism of making contact with alterity. In contrast to later renderings of the play, which attempt an "historical" depiction of Shakespeare plays, in this illustration, Othello's otherness is only visualized by his face and hands. The rest of the illustration, however, seems entirely indifferent to the fact that the General is a foreigner to Venetian society. Instead, the entire illustration shows a strong influence of contemporary eighteenth-century fashion, both, in the design of the interior as well as the characters' costumes. Although a deliberate tendency to assimilate Othello's otherness to the exterior details of English culture is not entirely beyond doubt, there is at least a palpable unawareness of it, an indifference or unwillingness to display a more defined contrast between the figures on the left and their other. It may thus be argued, in one way or another, that the illustration is a manifestation of the deliberate act of the

[46] Edward Said quoted in Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 73.
[47] Gisela Brinker-Gabler (Ed.), *Encountering the Other(s). Studies in Literature, History, and Culture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), p. 49.

cultural appropriation of otherness. Othello is thus included among the ranks of early eighteenth-century society at court. At least with regard to his appearance, therefore, his foreignness is depicted in a comparatively inconspicuous manner. From the viewpoint of the figures he is interacting with, Othello is regarded as, more or less, "one of us" – which might related to an implied act of cultural appropriation on the part of the illustrating artist.

2 Francis Hayman, *Othello*, 1709

To conclude these preliminary thoughts on otherness, their cruciality for the object of this study needs to be emphasized. Hence, since it could be observed that social realities are constituted by microsociological and macrosociological dimensions as well as the processes of sustaining identity and negotiating reality, it is also clear that encountering the other is a social mechanism that plays an important role in this analysis. The most apparent aspect of this phenomenon is that the way otherness is depicted in the illustrations of this study emphasizes the way the painters and, by the same logic, many people of the society they belonged to have conceived of themselves at a certain point in history. The self's interest for the other, as centrifugal as this impulse may appear, thus, always constitutes a reflexive glance revealing an avid desire to learn more about itself.[48] If e.g. Caliban (to name an obvious example that will not occur in the analysis section of this study) is portrayed, say, as a small, hunched figure of a markedly dark complexion, it seems a valid assumption that the function of employing these external aspects and the moral, ethical, etc., values his character was ascribed with at this particular period was to reassert the self of certain qualities by denigrating those of the encountered other. The workings of encountering the other permit more complex conclusions, however. Once more, without anticipating the discussion of the illustrations, it may be observed that the fact that the depictions of this play exhibit a tendency to appropriate Othello's otherness, allow for certain assumptions about the menacing potential of his alterity. Before these mechanisms of making contact with alterity can be discussed in greater detail, a last preliminary step remains – the introduction of the theoretical approach this discussion employs.

[48] Cf. Christ, Tomás, *South of the border – al norte des Río Grande: Grenzüberschreitung und Fremdheitserfahrung in Texten von Cormac McCarthy, Genaro González and Carlos Fuentes*, (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1999), p. 6.

I.2 Cultural Materialism

Cultural materialism is the name of the theory of cultural analysis the present study will employ. The latter and the *new historicism* are, respectively, the British and American responses to what has been called the 'return to history'[49] in literary criticism. Both theoretical approaches to literature share a common agenda: after the preceding decades of interpreting texts as autonomous entities, entirely isolated from other formative influences (social, political, economic, etc.), it thus became their objective to re-situate the literary text within a historical framework. While very similar in principle, their application is slightly different. Similarly, since it would be misleading to conceive of cultural materialists as merely practising the theory of new historicists under a different name,[50] it will be necessary to juxtapose their interpretive paths, according to their individual ways of conceptualizing literary texts. Although it is clear that these theoretical approaches were developed in connection with the study of literature, their ideas apply to other forms of cultural production as well, and are a powerful model concerning their analysis. Especially the analysis of works from the visual arts have been somewhat neglected in relation to cultural materialism, which is why the following discussion of the theory will lay its primary focus upon them.[51] Subsequently, the conceptualization of illustrations as texts will be carried out in the following chapter.

It is another implication of cultural materialism's 'return to history' that, in the act of unearthing the various layers of signification, any cultural artefact is situated in a coordinate system spanned by the constituents *text* and *context*. While the terms cannot conceal cultural materialism's roots in literary theory, this does not necessarily entail their restriction to solely describe the analysis of literary artefacts. Rather, the opposition of text, i. e. the work of art itself, and *con*-text, i. e. the social, political, cultural, economic and historical framework within which the artefact is situated, highlights that all cultural artefacts must be analyzed as the results of a process of material production at a specific moment in history. This particular instant, in turn, is

[49] Richard Wilson and Richard Dutton quoted in John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (Houndmills, Basingstoke and Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), p. 2.
[50] Cf. ibid., p. 20.
[51] Cf. Hywel Roland Dix, *After Raymond Williams: Cultural Materialism and the Break-Up of Britain. Writing Wales in English* (Cardiff: Wales University Press, 2008), p. 1.

informed by certain social, political, cultural and economic circumstances. Not only does this imply that the illustrations of this study have to be understood as the manifestations of such circumstances, it also means that it is impossible to consider the former in isolation from the latter. In the same fashion, Clifford Geertz makes it sufficiently clear that any theoretical approach that attempts doing so is based upon an illusion:

> If anthropological interpretation is constructing a reading of what happens, then to divorce it from what happens—from what, in this time or that place, specific people say, what they do, what is done to them, from the whole vast business of the world—is to divorce it from its applications and render it vacant. A good interpretation of anything—a poem, a person, a history, a ritual, an institution, a society—takes us into the heart of that of which is the interpretation. When it does not do that, but leads us instead somewhere else—into an admiration of its own elegance, of its author's cleverness, or of the beauties of the Euclidean order—it may have its intrinsic charms; but it is something else than what the task at hand […] calls for.[52]

Correspondingly, as will be emphasized at a later point in this study, the illustrations analyzed in this study do not hold their value for their "intrinsic charms", but for their quality of being, at the same time, indicators as well as carriers of certain sets of cultural, social, political, or economic ideas. The illusion of somehow being able to disentangle works of art from the circumstances Geertz refers to is exemplified by the *l'art pour l'art* movement. This aestheticist school manifested itself the most palpably in the British art of the last decades of the nineteenth century. In reaction to the emphasis of the didactic, moralistic or mimetic focus of the works of art in the decades of the mid-century,[53] the followers of this school of Aestheticism boasted themselves to lay their only "emphasis on the intrinsic worth of formal values such as colour, line, tone, and pattern"[54], treating their creations as ends in themselves. Walter Paper thus highlighted in his 1877 essay *The School of Giorgione* that

> [i]n its primary aspect, a great picture has no more definite message for us than an accidental play of sunlight and shadow for a few moments on the wall or floor: is itself, in truth, a space of such fallen light, caught as the colours are in an Eastern carpet, but refined upon and dealt with more subtly and exquisitely than nature itself.[55]

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[52] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture", in *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz.* Ed. Clifford Geertz (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-32. Here: p. 18.
[53] Cf. Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (London: J M Dent & Sons LTD, 1973), p. 272; David Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture. Perceptions and Introspections in an Age of Change* (London: John Murray, 1997), p. 9.
[54] Julian Treuherz, *Victorian Painting* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), p. 131.
[55] Pater quoted in Treuherz, p. 132.

It seems but wishful thinking, therefore, that art could be void of narrative, moral, or imitation, since the desire to escape from these formers modes of artistic production is already one step past the *l'art pour l'art* claim: as soon as the work of art undertakes the conscious effort to fight tradition in this manner, therefore, it is already a token of the same ideological process of transformation – a process that consists in attempting to unload art of its carrying functions: moralistic, mimetic etc.

> This process does, in Jameson's words, 'draw the Real into its texture', but in a way that makes it twice hidden: first it is concealed in 'the phenomenal categories (commodity, wage-relations, exchange-value and so on)', and secondly, it is made 'empirically imperceptible' by the fact that the ideology of the text usually seeks to conceal or 'naturalize' those categories. […] but the work simultaneously reveals (to criticism, if not to the casually inspecting glance) how that naturalness is the effect of a particular production. If the text displays itself [its form or its substance] as "natural", it manifests itself equally as constructed artifice; and it is in this duality that its relation to ideology can be discerned' – and where 'knowledge' is to be harvested.[56]

"Harvesting knowledge" is the very motivation underlying the application of cultural materialism to any work of art, and a little more than a "casually inspecting glance" at John William Waterhouse's 1888 rendering of the Tennyson poem *The Lady of Shalott* (Figure 3) emphasizes that, according to this theoretical approach, there is virtually no other way than doing so. In the Waterhouse painting, ironically, the viewer is made to believe precisely what Pater claims in the essays from which the above quotation is taken: that the pictorial reality shown in the Tennyson illustration is entirely self-contained and thus does not attempt to either imitate or educate; that this painting has "no more definite message for us" than the impression made by the interplay of colours and shapes on canvas. What is more, the illustration somehow perpetuates this claim implying the self-referentiality of art, since this illustration is based upon Tennyson's poem: not a single connection to strands of cultural, political or social thought intended, allegedly. Upon closer inspection, the illustration reveals itself as being more than but a self-contained reproduction of the original poem. Likewise, the Lady of Shalott is depicted after the moment of her banishment from the tower she was forced to dwelled in before.

[56] Ivo Kamps, *Materialist Shakespeare. A History* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 12.

3 John William Waterhouse, *The Lady of Shalott*, 1888

Her decision to follow her awakening (sexual) desire for Sir Lancelot, whom she had been able to see through the mirror, by looking at him directly is thus immediately punished by the ensuing curse and, ultimately, her premature death.[57] The poem, therefore, establishes a conspicuous connection between female transgression, i. e. the Lady of Shalott's disregard for the imperative of restricting her view to the reflections of the real world in the mirror, and the fatal punishment that ensues immediately. Analogously, in the illustration, two of the three candles near the prow of the boat have been extinguished and the last one is about to go out as well. In a fashion very similar to the original poem, therefore, the illustration emphasizes the causality between transgression and subsequent punishment. In the Victorian age, it has to be kept in mind, the conceptions of womanhood were connected to certain assumptions concerning the female gender and the place women were assigned within society.[58] Generally speaking, there was a polarity that implied restricting the woman to the sphere of the private, while the man held sway in the realm of the public,

[57] Cf. ibid.
[58] Cf. Sally Mitchell, *Victorian Britain. An Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1988), p. 863f.

predominantly.[59] Correspondingly, it was the woman's duty, in this dual scheme of femininity and masculinity, to remain at home, in order to take care of the household and the children's education. What is more, her restriction to the private domain also implied certain expectations concerning her (sexual) morality. In this way, the woman "served as the conscience of the family and the state."[60] It is the Lady of Shalott's disobedience over against the role she has been assigned, therefore, that could be identified by the Victorian audience as the social transgression the Waterhouse painting makes reference to. Since the illustration can only establish this connection between transgression and punishment within the restrictions of the single frame,[61] however, cause and effect are depicted at the same pictorial instant. Likewise, the Lady of Shalott has taken the tapestry upon which she was to weave day in and day out, left the tower in which she had been confined and thus awaits her imminent death. The candles upon the prow, in this context, epitomize the consequences of her decision to reject the place she has been assigned. Like that, it is obvious that the depiction of the Lady of Shalott clearly makes reference to a certain concept of the female gender and female sexuality by establishing a connection between her decision and the destiny that awaits her subsequently. Waterhouse's *l'art pour l'art* painting is thus a good example of how cultural materialism works: it emphasizes that, no matter how much the producers of cultural artefacts claim to be able to isolate this process from social, historical, economic or other cultural circumstances, acknowledging the connection of text and con-text will remain an ineluctability of cultural studies. Wishing to adhere to the principles of cultural materialism, therefore will make it paramount to follow Clifford Geertz' dictum of refraining from divorcing text from its context, and vice versa. In the same way, the illustrations analyzed here certainly are not in the focus of this study for their "intrinsic charms", but for their quality of being, at the same time, indicators as well as carriers of certain sets of cultural, social, political, or economic ideas. Similarly, Beth Fowkes Tobin explains:

> Because art simultaneously reflects and shapes social, economic, and political practices, paintings can be invaluable to those seeking to understand the past, particularly the politics of a specific cultural landscape. Drawings and paintings are the sites where the

[59] In order to illustrate the undeniable connection of the spheres of art, this brief interpretive approach to the Waterhouse painting focuses upon one possible reading of female identity in the Victorian age. That said, it should be kept in mind that there are other approaches that equate the female other with artistic autonomy, e. g. in Joseph Chadwick, "A Blessing and a Curse: The Poetics of Privacy in Tennyson's 'The Lady of Shalott'", in *Victorian Poetry*, 1986, Spring. pp. 13-30.
[60] Cf. ibid., p. 864.
[61] For a more detailed discussion of the text-image nexus, see chapter I.3.2.

> tensions and contradictions of colonialist doctrines and practices were negotiated, more or less successfully, on an aesthetic level. Paintings, as is the case with all cultural production, are not merely reflections of larger social and economic forces; they participate in the production of meaning, in the dynamic construction of identities, and in the structuring within these discursive fields of particular positionalities.[62]

The Lady of Shalott is only one of Waterhouse's many examples emphasizing this aspect – that, whether they reflect or engage in processes of social transformation predominantly, they are everything but isolated modes of artistic expression; and that there is always knowledge "to be harvested", as Ivo Kamps puts it.

It might seem somewhat natural or self-evident that cultural materialism should operate with the intimate connection of text and context, but, one has to be aware, these terms did not emerge out of nowhere. Rather, they receive their analytical momentum from the Marxist questioning of the validity of foregrounding the cultural text, or even its neglecting of the conditions of cultural production entirely. In fact, the underlying concept of such theories operating with two somehow connected or interrelated but separate spheres – the world in- and outside the Lady of Shalott's tower, as it were – is a precarious one, as Raymond Williams observes:

> We have got into the habit, since we realized how deeply works or values could be determined by the whole situation in which they are expressed, of asking about these relationships in a standard form: "what is the relationship of this art to this society?" But "society" in this question, is a specious whole. If the art is part of the society, there is no solid whole, outside it, to which, by the form of our question, we concede priority. The art is there, as an activity, with the production, the trading, the politics, the raising of the families. … It is then not a question of relating the art to the society, but of studying all the activities and their interrelations, without any concession of priority to any one of them we may choose to abstract. … I would then define the theory of culture as the study of relationships between the elements in a whole way of life.'[63]

In this sense, Williams' theory of cultural materialism must be seen as a reaction to both, Marxist and bourgeois theories of culture and literature:

> As *cultural* materialism, it is the name Williams gave to his distinctive version of Marxist theory, but, as cultural *materialism*, it refers to his response to the theory and practice of literary analysis at work in the existing institutions of English studies. This theory and practice, the discipline of English literature, is distinctively bourgeois in nature and effect. Bourgeois literary analysis is marked by an overemphasis on the

[62] Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power. Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 1.
[63] Raymond Williams quoted in Moyra Haslett, *Marxist Literary and Cultural Theories* (Houndmills, Basingstoke and Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), p. 15.

> individual at the expense of the social; and a tendency to ahistorical and apolitical analysis. To borrow Edward Said's useful terms, bourgeois literary theory produces an idea of literature as a pure textuality cut off from the entanglements of all worldly circumstance.[64]

The concept of a coordinate system spanned by text and con-text, thus, is another way of modelling the relationship of the cultural artefact and its author, on the one hand, and all other surrounding aspects (what is termed by Said as the "entanglements of all worldly circumstance") on the other. It is the specifically Marxist feature of cultural materialism to call into question the assumption of bourgeois cultural analysis that there is such a thing as the "autonomous subject" and, by the same logic, something that could be conceived of as the "autonomous text", as Walter Pater's "accidental play of sunlight and shadow" would suggest. In other words, any Marxist theory radically questions the assumption of the individual or a work of art being entirely independent of the surrounding historical conditions, being "ends in itself" as, e. g., Waterhouse's *Lady of Shalott*. In contrast, any Marxist theory of analysis, be it cultural or literary, gives prominence to the concept that ideas in general are subject to materialist influences. Marxism thus radically suspends the notion of certain historical processes emanating solely from the subject and its cultural, political, or social activity. Such a radical break with the traditional concept of subjectivity, naturally, forestalls any attempt of identifying cultural artefacts as the causes of certain transformative processes. Therefore, it is cultural materialism's flexibility, its careful sidestepping of an all too radically mechanical materialism, that permits grounding the following analysis in Williams' concept of cultural theory as the "study of the relationships between the elements of a whole way of life"; a flexibility that allows taking into consideration the artist as the subject producing cultural artefacts within the framework of an interpretive whole, in turn formed by the constitutive elements of the Marxist "base" and "superstructure".

In this process, cultural materialism also differs from the American practice of Marxist cultural theory concerning the way it employs for analysis the concepts of text and context, i. e. the cultural artefact and the surrounding structures. Hence,

[64] John Higgins, *Raymond Williams. Literature, Marxism and Cultural Materialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 125.

> when Foucault moves us out of a text, it is into the archive of roughly contemporaneous writings, and then into the historically specific institutions which produce them.[65]

This "in and out" movement is of considerable significance for the purposes of this study if it is to be avoided that the social, cultural, economic and political specifics of the production of the illustrations are treated as a mere background, while overemphasizing the supposed authority of the text, i. e. the cultural artefact in general. Hence, cultural materialism, it must be stressed in this context, also questions the supposed archimedic point of bourgeois literary theory that so often fell prey to the blind spot of neglecting the historical conditions of the text and the artist. In this sense, Fredric Jameson begins *The Political Unconscious* with the often-quoted dictum to "always historicize!"[66]: of course, the illustrations analyzed in the present study are inevitably the product of the surrounding conditions of production, but they must also be regarded in their function as the contributors to this con-text. In this sense, their individual modes of visualizing *The Tempest* and *Othello* have to be identified as both, the tokens as well as the agents of historical, cultural, political, and social change. It must also be added, however, that cultural materialism clearly opposes the static concept of base and superstructure, formulated by classical Marxist theory, in whose context cultural production is merely a manifestation of economic aspects. In contrast, this theoretical approach presupposes the inherence of social, cultural, political and historical aspects in all of the constituents of base and superstructure. There also is no primacy of the political, economic, or cultural. Every element of the moment in history must be seen as interrelated, as mutually influenced by and influencing other elements. Analogously, especially the problem of economic determinism is precluded by the theory of cultural materialism.

The following analysis shall therefore pursue the following methodological trajectory: artist, work of art and historical, social, political, cultural and economic conditions will be understood as forming an entity whose constituents need to be analyzed in the course of this study. Likewise, it will be attempted to include as many of these determinants as possible into the examination of the visualizations and the historical conditions of their production. The illustrations of Shakespeare's works as cultural artefacts shall therefore

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[65] Hugh Grady, *The Modernist Shakespeare. Critical Texts in a Material World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 226.
[66] Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious. Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London and New York: Routledge, 1981), p. ix.

be discussed in relation to these aspects; it is the object to approach them as the manifestations of a certain overall structure, consisting of Fredric Jameson's "social relations"[67] at a certain point in history. This, of course, does not imply that the causing forces of changes lie outside of the scope of the following interpretation. It shall be attempted to trace such transformative processes to their sources to the extent the analyzed material permits. The interpretive approach of cultural materialism, predominantly, shall determine the awareness with which the following analysis will be carried out: in this manner, the illustrating artists will have to be considered as both, authors of certain changes as well as representatives of their individual historical, social, economic and cultural conditions, and, at times, agents of certain processes of social transformation.

[67] Jameson, p. 20.

I.3 Shakespeare Illustrations as Speaking Pictures

It is the object of this study to discuss the way otherness was encountered in England and Great Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by adducing the development of the visual reception of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and *Othello*, and focusing on a limited number of illustrations. For this analysis, the main focus will be with the most crucial decades of the illustration[68] of Shakespeare's dramatic work in England – from the first stages in the beginning of the eighteenth century, which is generally held to be the most important period in this regard,[69] until its decline during the Victorian period from when, as Lauren S. Weingarden argues, it is said to have slid

> downhill in the fanciful and boneless, though sometimes agreeable company of the lesser Boydell artists who reflect abroad the true romantic spirit, though their lamps are rather murky and heavily shaded by gothic veils borrowed from the lady-novelists.[70]

This decline was also owing to the final throes of a most violent period of animosity and military opposition between England and France at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which impeded the cultural exchange and trade that had fuelled the development of Shakespeare illustration during the eighteenth century. With the rapid pace of technological progress during the first decades of the Victorian age, subsequently, the demand for a culture of Shakespeare visualization began to come to a halt in the late nineteenth century.[71] There are two other reasons for this choice of settling for the beginning of the eighteenth century as the starting point of this study: firstly, it was only with the Rowe edition of Shakespeare's works that their illustration began to be taken seriously,[72] viz. as a more or less self-contained creative act. Second of all, it took until the early decades of the eighteenth century that the figure of Caliban – the more prominent figure in the present analysis of making contact with the other – had its first entrance in the visualization of Shakespeare.[73] Analyzing only a small

[68] During the course of this study, the term will be used denoting such works of art in general that rendered Shakespeare's work visually. Although there the distinction will be made between engravings, prints, paintings and drawings, the term will thus be used in a very functional sense. This way the focus can rest with the value of the illustrations in terms of cultural studies in general, without paying any particular attention to art-historical criteria.
[69] Cf. F. E. Halliday, *The Cult of Shakespeare* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1957), p. 110.
[70] Woodward, p. 1030.
[71] Cf. Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: p. 234.
[72] Cf. Krömer, p. 9.
[73] Cf. ibid., p. 220.

number of illustrations of *Othello* and *The Tempest*, certain significant aspects of British society's attitudes and values, fears and hopes, especially those regarding its reactions to transformative impacts that can be identified as somehow foreign, and its capacity to adapt to such influences in particular, shall be elucidated. For this purpose, it will be attempted to treat these illustrations of *Othello* and *The Tempest* as manifestations of certain processes of cultural, social or political change, in keeping with the theory of cultural materialism. In other words, we shall follow the footsteps of Stephen Greenblatt, who once said that his post-structural approach to Shakespeare began with a "desire to speak with the dead"[74]; it will thus be attempted to make the seemingly mute illustrations speak meaning to us. Therefore, apart from the methodology of cultural materialism that constitutes the theoretical structure underlying the present study, the general interpretive practice will be marked by the assumption that any illustration – a painting, an engraving, a print, a drawing – may be treated as a historical document. The underlying conceptualization of the illustrations as "speaking pictures" necessary for this task will be the focus of the following chapter.

[74] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespeare Negotiations. The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), p. 1.

I.3.1 The Illustration as an Historical Document

In their monograph *Historische Bildkunde. Probleme – Wege – Beispiele*[75], the historians Brigitte Tolkemitt and Rainer Wohlfeil emphasize that, adhering to certain principles and disregarding the illustrations' art historical quality,[76] they may have a supplementary, illustrative, or even autonomous value in historical science:

> Bilder können jenseits von real- oder personenkundlichen Zwecken als historische Quelle genutzt werden. Gerade als nonverbales Medium mit primär affektiver Wirkung erscheinen sie geeignet als Ergänzung und Korrektiv zu schriftlichen Quellen.[77]

Apart from serving as mere tokens of specific developments manifested in historical texts, the non-verbal quality of illustrations may also be valuable in identifying those attitudes, fears, hopes or conflicts of a society at a certain point in history that would not have been expressed in textual media. This is also why cultural studies do not primarily adhere to the criteria an art historian would focus upon when approaching a painting or an illustration. In any analysis in the field of cultural studies, these artefacts are assigned their value because of their communicative function. Correspondingly, they are not considered primarily as tokens of certain technical or stylistic practices relevant during a particular illustration's time of production.[78] Since one way of approaching such illustrations is to construe them as part of a certain process of communication, at a particular moment in history, therefore, there are two aspects of this phenomenon that must be considered. On the one hand, during the analysis of the illustration, the attention must be paid to the producer of the message conveyed by an illustration – intentionally or unintentionally, consciously or unconsciously. His or her attitudes, beliefs and values inevitably influence its production, resulting in iconographical structures and permitting, in turn, certain assumptions bearing relevance to a specific field of culture studies. Furthermore, in most cases, the production is accompanied by a conscious act of directing this message at individual addressees. This may be explained

[75] Brigitte Tolkemitt and Rainer Wohlfeil, *Historische Bildkunde. Probleme – Wege – Beispiele* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1991).
[76] Cf. Rainer Wohlfeil, "Methodische Reflexionen zur Historischen Bildkunde", in Brigitte Tolkemitt and Rainer Wohlfeil, op. cit., pp. 17-35. Here, p. 17. Cf. also Tobin's remark that "when we employ art historical categories that focus on 'the aesthetic values of great art,' 'we inevitably miss their significance as political documents.'" (Tobin, p. 3). See also Rolf Pfeiffer, *Bildliche Darstellungen der Elfen in Shakespeares SOMMERNACHTS-TRAUM* (Marburg: Diss., 1971), p. 4n;
[77] Ibid., p. 9.
[78] Cf. Nils-Arvid Bringéus, *Volkstümliche Bilderkunde* (München: Callwey, 1982), p. 16.

by simple economic reasons – e. g., if the work was commissioned by somebody else –, but can also be considered as representing a deliberate political act: in this case, the artist intentionally alludes to certain historical, cultural, social or economic circumstances in order to share his or her opinions and/or criticize these aspects. On account of the intentionality of this act, this may sometimes have the effect that certain tendencies of a society at a certain point in history materialize in illustrations without necessarily being manifest in the texts of the day. In this way, the non-rational quality – i. e. what is not related to predominantly cognitive procedures of processing information – of illustrations may also imply that non-intentional but, all the same, valid, i. e. representative, points of criticism, fears and hopes can be identified as being the underlying motivation of an illustration. The fact that the use of visualizations can be interpreted as part of a communicative process,[79] which differs from the verbal, may therefore be helpful in obtaining insights into those processes in a society whose intentional expression may have suppressed or controlled by their authors on account of the predominantly rational quality of texts. Hence, it is the fact that illustrations must be analyzed within the coordinate system constituted by the author and his deliberate or unconscious act of creation on the one hand, and the social, cultural, historical, economic and political circumstances of this creation on the other that allows us to embed Tolkemitt's and Wohlfeil's claims within the principles of cultural materialism:

> Kunstwerke können zur Erforschung von Machstrukturen und sozialen Beziehungen herangezogen werden, sie erlauben einen Einblick in „visuelle Vorstellungen, Welt-‚Bilder', bildliche Orientierungsweisen" und die Gefühlswelt vergangener Tage und bereichern damit auch die Mentalitätengeschichte um interessante Aspekte.[80]

Apart from their supplementary, corrective, or illustrative function, Tolkemitt and Wohlfeil also emphasize that illustrations provide more than mere insights or reflections of days long gone: in the majority of instances, illustrations are acknowledged as the co-determinants of historical processes.[81] Treating them as such, therefore, will also be the *modus operandi* of this study. Their creations will be understood, at the same time, as manifestations as well as a transformations of social, cultural, political and historical circumstances. Consider, e. g., the following illustration, one of the few of Hogarth's Shakespeare visualizations (Figure 4).

[79] Ibid., p. 17.
[80] Ibid., p.10.
[81] Cf. ibid.

4 William Hogarth, *Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn*, 1728

Hogarth's 1728 engraving "Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn" illustrates how a visual work of art's functioning as an historical document may extend beyond merely reflecting historical or social processes, by contributing to an ongoing political debate. Likewise, Hogarth's illustration may be taken as a comment upon the succession of George II to the throne in 1727:[82] although Henry VIII and the reigning queen are both in the centre of the illustration, the latter is visible only in the background of the illustration, while the king is ostentatively devoting his attention to Anne Boleyn on the left hand. In the same way, Cardinal Wolsey on the right clearly does not form the focus of the engraving. Instead he is depicted in the shadows of the court room. Hogarth's illustration thus depicts a moment of political transition: Henry VIII's new marriage to Anne Boleyn will put an end to the dominant and unpopular influence of Cardinal Wolsey. In the same way, the succession of George II to the throne in 1727 put up the hopes of the English people, including William Hogarth, that the days of Walpole's

[82] Cf. Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Hummel, *Die Shakespeare-Illustration (1594-2000)*, 3 VOLS (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag and Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur 2003), VOL 1, p. 16.

corrupt and over-mighty rule would soon come to an end. While Hogarth's comment on current affairs may seem less conspicuous today, its implications surely were fairly intelligible to the eighteen-century public. When it was published, therefore, the illustration was understood a direct contribution to an ongoing political debate.

This outlines the manner in which the visualizations of Shakespeare's *Tempest* and *Othello* will be analyzed. Taking the illustrations as both, tokens of as well as the discourses contributing to such transformative processes, the Foucauldian in-and-out movement mentioned in the second chapter of this section, thus, in essence, constitutes the interpretive praxis of this study. Following this methodological approach, it will become apparent that the variety of discourses responsible for transformative processes of all kinds occurred in manifold cultural subsystems such as religion, art and politics. Similarly, there will be enough occasion to reflect upon the artists' role in relation to certain transformative processes.

I.3.2 *Ut pictura poesis*? The Text-Image Nexus

> *Constable said that the best lesson on art he ever had was contained in the words, 'Remember light and shadow never stand still.'*[83]

Horace's famous dictum *ut pictura poesis* – "as painting so is poetry" – implies that pictures mutely utter the words of poetry. Similarly, his *Ars Poetica* approaches the art of painting and the art of poetry as the "sister arts", thus highlighting the similarities, concerning, e. g., the way their works may be viewed or read. If isolated from this context, Horace's idiom might be misleading, since both are informed by specific qualities, concerning the artist and the interpretation of his work, distinguishing the one from the other. This is precisely what the art historian Kenneth Clark remarked with regard to Constable's aesthetic understanding: although the visual and the literary modes of representation are both branches of the arts, their ways of accomplishing an imitation of life resort to different means. In other words, the fact that representational art – it is important not to generalize about art, although in the centuries relevant for the purposes of this study the prevailing concept of art was a representational one – aims at the imitation of realities, internal/psychological as well as external/material, by grouping shape and colour upon the pictorial plane, and by employing perspective, implies that there are considerable differences between, say, a book illustration from the eighteenth century on the one hand, and the novel it was intended to accompany on the other.

The first implication concerning the analogous structures and dissimilarities of the literary and the visual arts, resonant in Constable's dictum quoted above, concerns the different dimensionalities of the visual and the literary arts. Likewise, while any form of literary representation can resort to the temporal succession of scenes, chapters – or moments in time, more generally speaking – in order to convey meaning or express whatever it is the author wishes to express, any kind of visual representation – at least in the first instance – is forced to rely upon the illustration's spatial composition, i. e. its shapes and colours, as well as the use of perspective etc. In other words, whether the artist wishes to paint a static portrait or depict a scene from one of the plays in

[83] Kenneth Clark quoted in Anthony Hecht, *On the Laws of the Poetic Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 6.

discussion, he or she has to subject the design to the confines of the single frame. The implications become clearer if we take a look at an early *Hamlet* illustration, published in the first edition of illustrated Shakespeare from 1709 (Figure 5).

5 Louis du Guernier, *Hamlet*, 1709

The illustration shows a terrified Hamlet, abacked by the apparition of the ghost of his father, and a similarly startled Ophelia. A toppled chair can be seen lying in the foreground of the illustration, indicating that the entry of the ghost has agitated Hamlet to such an extent that he has accidentally overthrown this piece of furniture. It is this very chair on which the central disparity of the verbal and the pictorial arts seems to turn. Hence, in the translative process from the former to the latter,

> the image of the over-turned chair changes in meaning. On stage, the key thing is the act of knocking it over – the effect is dynamic, symbolic of the sudden charge introduced by the ghostly apparition and the flurry of emotional intensity which results. In the illustration, what counts is not the action but the shape of the composition.[84]

Thus, the illustration translates the linear progression of a series of actions on stage, and the acceleration of the dramatic pace this implies, into the dramatic tension arising from the spatial opposition of Hamlet on the left, the ghost on the right, emphasized by the toppled chair lying between the two figures.

In the eighteenth century, the point in time marking the beginning of the period discussed for the purposes of this study, it becomes evident in the writings of the two most prominent representative art theorists, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury and Sir Joshua Reynolds that there was an awareness already at this time that the visual arts had to tackle the difficulty of representing successive points in time in the pictorial instant.

> The painter's moment in Lessing's argument is unitary and without duration. Its subject in the phenomenal world, however, will naturally be of long or short duration, and what Lessing calls the "most fruitful moment" for painting, the most suggestive of past and future, will never be the most transitory.[85]

Being thus forced to select one moment that will be of "unitary" duration in the confines of the illustration is the obvious consequence of the differing dimensionalities of the word and the image. The static quality of pictorial art this limitation to the single moment implies is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, as Martin Meisel has pointed out, it is a characteristic of most literary texts that they intend to trace certain changes, e. g., a character's psychological development, altering constellations of several characters, or changes that are best described by the terms narrative or dramatic action.

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[84] Bate 2000: p. 33. Bate's argument is counterpointed in Peter Holland, "Performing Shakespeare in Print. Narrative in Nineteenth-century Illustrated Shakespeares", in *Victorian Shakespeare, Volume I: Theatre, Drama and Performance*, eds. Gail Marshall and Adrian Poole (Houndmills, Basingstoke and Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 54: "Bate fails to acknowledge that the market for Rowe's edition in 1709, the interpretative community of readers, was largely made up of people who knew perfectly well that this was a famous moment for Betterton as Hamlet and hence would read back into the image its dynamic and theatrical meaning." He goes on to emphasize that "illustration proves not to need to deny time but instead proves to negotiate with the representation of action and reaction in performance." (Ibid.). Holland's argumentation thus emphasizes the negotiability of the predominantly spatial dimensions of illustrations. However, this only constitutes a minor restriction of the principal fact that the representation of temporality upon canvas, in general, poses a challenge for any illustrating artist, and it appears sufficient to only in passing refer to Holland's argumentation here.

[85] Martin Meisel, *Realizations. Narrative, Pictorial and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1983), p. 18.

> To tell a story requires time, and time itself is what a story represents, as a change of state in material or psychological reality. The temporality of narrative was the theoretical aspect most worrisome to reasoners on the capacities of painting in the [Victorian] age […][86]

This contrast is of particular importance for any illustrating artist, and in this context, the limits of the single frame pose a considerable challenge. In the attempt to represent a particular aspect of the textual source, or even the aim for what is considered the "essence" of a play – whatever this might transpire to be – the artist's visualization is inevitably subject to an act of choice. And consequently, this choice must necessarily entail a reduction, alteration or interpretation of the source.

Contemplating illustrations with an awareness of this aspect shows that there are various strategies to approach this challenge. In many cases, the artists attempt to transcend the limiting confines of the canvas by either alluding to the pictorial moment's past or future, as indicated in Lessing's argument. A well-known paradigm for this extension of the pictorial moment, first theorized by the Third Earl of Shaftesbury in 1713,[87] is employed in a *Macbeth* illustration by John Wootton (Figure 6): in the central foreground of the painting, the figures of Banquo on the left and Macbeth can be observed during their meeting of the witches who, in apparent textual deviation,[88] are depicted during the emergence from their cave, already at this early stage of the play, i. e. the third scene of the first act. The ambivalence with which Banquo and Macbeth subsequently discuss the prophesies of the witches in the illustration appears to have reached the point of Macbeth's determination to pursue whatever is necessary in order to become king. In depicting Macbeth's decision to turn his back on virtue, represented by a sceptical Banquo in the illustration, and to follow vice, John Wootton employed what is known in art history as the "Choice of Hercules"[89] or "Herculean trope". After the publication of Shaftesbury's essay in 1713, this paradigm reached considerable popularity among the leading figures of the visual arts in England.

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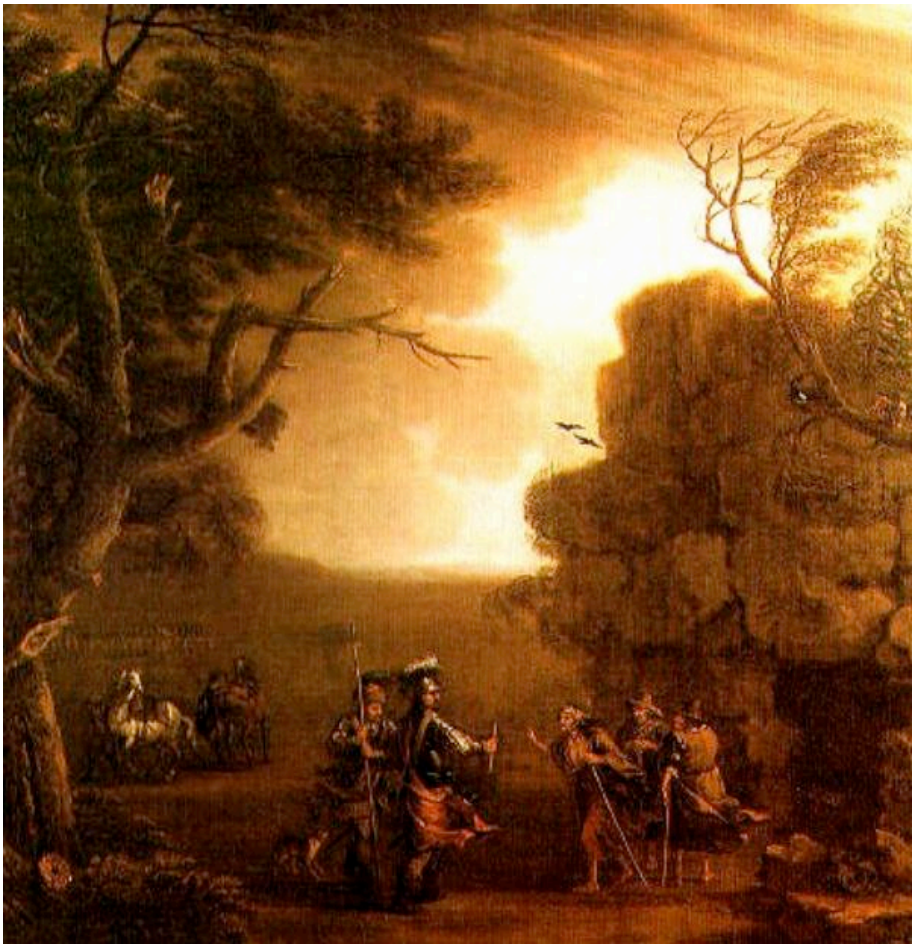
[86] Ibid.
[87] Anthony Ashley Cooper (3rd Earl of Shaftesbury), *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgement of Hercules, according to Prodicus, lib II Xen[ophon] de Mem[orabilia] Soc[ratis] (London: A. Baldwin, 1713).*
[88] Cf. Sillars, p. 2.
[89] Cf. ibid.



6 John Wootton, *Macbeth and Banquo Meeting the Weird Sisters*, 1750

The illustration thus expands the unitary moment of the canvas by referring to the moment in Hercules' life, in which he selects vice over virtue, a moment containing "all the greatness of the hero's future life"[90]. In this manner the dimensional deficiency of the visual arts is sidestepped by inviting the viewer's supplementation of the missing temporal layers symbolized by the allegory of Virtue, whose path Hercules is going to take. While this, of course, cannot compensate for the factual limits of the frame of the canvas, it allows, to a certain extent, the creation of the illusion of a progression of events.

Such uses of symbolism for the extension of the instant depicted in the painting were also necessary if the artists attempted to visualize what they considered to be the "essence" of Shakespeare's work. Meisel subsumes these strategies under the term "modifying agents":

[90] Ibid., p. 3.

> The problem for the narrative painter, however, is to represent a subject of *finite* duration, whose phases are necessarily not all present at once. His subject, then, is not representable in a single frame except with the help of such modifying agents as a convention that permits the "simultaneity" of stimulus and response; as symbolism that does the work of literary foreshadowing and retrospection; as a shared knowledge of specific stories and story formulas which permits the spectator to supply the broken pattern without meaning.[91]

If the "essence" of a certain play is constituted by the causality of two related moments in time, then, it is either necessary to stretch Lessing's "unitary moment" by a simultaneous depiction of these successive points in time, or by the use of symbolical structures – temporal referents denoting events in the illustration's past or future.

Where it is impossible to convey the seriality of dramatic action by a mere symbolical inclusion of additional instances in time, some illustrations also reveal the individual artists' strategy of pushing beyond their limits the extension of pictorial conventions. In this regard, William Hogarth's eminent role in the history of English art becomes evident. Hogarth's series of the *Harlot's* and the *Rake's Progress*, are two original approaches to the age-old problem of the visual arts' spatial limitations: Hogarth circumvents the obvious restrictions and suggests the linear progression of narrative characteristic of literature by employing multiple frames of representation. This concept is included in the title of his most successful works of art, and from then on was alluded to over the course of the next centuries. The discussion of Hogarth's visualization of *The Tempest* will deal with these series in greater detail; therefore, it shall suffice to point out that the *Progress* of the "protagonists", i. e. the process of their changing "material and psychological reality" so typical of literary narratives was skilfully adapted for the purposes of visualization.

Apart from these dimensional limitations concomitant to the work of the illustrating artist, there are also restrictions of a formal kind. Despite the principal disparity of the dimensionalities of the visual and the literary arts, they also share what can be characterized as a common "language". This concept may manifest itself in certain structural analogies of the interrelation of the individual constituents of the arts such as irony, metaphor, pathos. This parallel of the "sister arts" is little surprising if we follow W. J. T. Mitchell's argumentation:

> "Writing," as Plato suggested in the *Phaedrus*, "is very like painting," and painting, in turn, is very like the first form of writing, the pictogram. The history of writing is

[91] Ibid., p. 20.

> regularly told as a story of progress from primitive picture-writing and gestural sign language to hieroglyphics to alphabetic writing "proper." Writing is thus the medium in which the interaction of image and text, pictorial and verbal expression, adumbrated in the tropes of *ut pictura poesis* and the "sisterhood" of the arts, seems to be a literal possibility. Writing makes language (in the literal sense) visible (in the literal sense); it is, as Bishop Warburton noted, not just a supplement to speech, but a "sister art" to the spoken word, an art of both language and vision.[92]

That said, it has to be emphasized that the fact that the arts have a common language does not entail that "translating" certain concepts from literature into the visual can always be achieved successfully. Hence, of course, metaphors and similes may be adapted to the canvas more easily than for example hyperbole or irony. That the visualization of the latter is by no means an impossible task, however, is demonstrated by William Hogarth: his illustrations are crowded with details that allow for their interrelation and juxtaposition with other elements in the same work of art, and one of the most prominent features of his art are his ironic insinuations that, for example, what the characters pretend or think is not what he wants his audience to believe. There will be ample opportunity to go into detail during the discussion of his adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. As shall become evident, William Hogarth's art uses a distinct iconography, comparable to the linguistic and stylistic inventory of a novelist or a dramatist, revealing his attitude towards the depicted and permitting a number of interpretive approaches.

Finally, there are also topical restrictions that may determine the work of the illustrating artist and, consequently, demand consideration in the following analysis. In the same way that some linguistic concepts are difficult to translate into the "grammar" of the visual, there are certain events or ideas that may not always pose an easy task for a visual rendering. Likewise, physical action, e. g., movement, may be imitated by a certain constellation of the characters and settings involved, whereas states of mind, important dialogues, and especially monologues of Shakespeare's plays may be represented only with difficulty. Correspondingly, as will become evident later on, there are considerably fewer visualizations attempting to depict psychological states.[93] One instance will be discussed in the third section of this study, dealing with the illustration of *Othello*.

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[92] W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 113.
[93] Cf. Horst Oppel, *Die Shakespeare-Illustration als Interpretation der Dichtung* (Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1965), p.76.

It will become clear during the course of this study that most of the illustrating artists were aware of the challenges posed by the text-image nexus. Just as their illustrations of Shakespeare's plays evidence this awareness, they are also the tokens of their diverse ways of mastering these challenges: some artists decided to depict scenes with character constellations that were easy to transfer upon canvas and some invoke the Herculean trope, or translate dramatic action by interrelating numerous pictorial planes. Reflecting upon what constituted the artists' difficulties of successfully visualizing texts, will turn out to be a considerable benefit regarding this study's object: what made the artist decide to visualize the particular scene selected as the source of the illustration? What were the values or ideas he or she attributed to the characters, scenes and events depicted? What ideological conflicts, political ambitions, or social deficiencies may be identified as the driving forces that influenced the creative process? Finally, the main limitation of the visual art's spatiality, its predominantly static dimension, will also be of importance during the following analysis. What inventory of symbolism did the artist employ to circumvent what initially appear to be shortcomings of the visual? These are the questions that will arise when contemplating the illustrations against the backdrop of the text-image nexus.

I.4 Literature on Shakespeare Illustration – An Overview

Up to the present day, the range of monographs and essays on the subject of Shakespeare illustration is comparatively limited. A closer look at these works also shows that it took some time until the illustrations and their artists began to be considered in a wider context, viz. the framework of the social, political, cultural and philosophical conditions of their production. For the most part, the publications highlight aspects of the history of the illustrations or the influences of the artists separately, without paying attention to the illustrations' value as historical documents as cultural materialism and the conception of Tolkemitt and Wohlfeil do. Instead, from the approximately 50 titles, it seems to be the main concern of many of these texts to give a more or less historical account of the way Shakespeare's work was illustrated in the past.

A case in point is the first contribution to this subject, Sadakichi Hartmann's *Shakespeare in Art*[94], published in the year 1901. On account of its brevity and small format, the book could be a handy and somewhat valuable companion to the study of Shakespeare illustration. It is also remarkable for its familiarity with the great majority of both English and European illustrators. However, its personal style and highly descriptive tone make it interesting only inasmuch as it marks the first in line in the series of the publications on Shakespeare illustration.

Karl Woermann's monograph *Shakespeare und die bildenden Künste*[95] is another example of how the illustration of Shakespeare's works established a position in academic study autonomous of the larger-than-life figure of the playwright only with difficulty. Full of pathos and always in awe of Shakespeare's "artistic genius", it seems little surprising that, the visualization of his plays appeared to prove no more than that his ingeniousness lay in his unmatched imagination and knowledge of human nature, at this time of the academic study of Shakespeare. From the present standpoint, Woermann's work is of some value, however, since it gives a detailed account of the many artists who dedicated themselves to the illustration of Shakespeare. It is therefore useful for obtaining the necessary names and dates for studying this field.

[94] Sadakichi Hartmann, *Shakespeare in Art* (Boston, MA: L. C. Page & Company, 1991).
[95] Karl Woermann, *Shakespeare und die bildenden Künste* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel in Leipzig, 1930).

Some forty years after Hartmann's *Shakespeare in Art*, T. S. R. Boase published his *Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* in the *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*.[96] This paper gives a highly detailed overview of the successive stages of the visualization of Shakespeare, embedding it within an insightful presentation of the historical circumstances that were the determinants of these periods. In this context, Boase's paper undoubtedly is one of the most valuable contributions, regarding the purposes of this study, since it conveys a sense of the importance of nationalistic tendencies and continental influences on the one hand, and the cultural interplay between the traditions of the stage and the visual arts on the other. However, the reverse argument, that the fact that the tradition of the illustration was influenced by such circumstances also allows for the identification of certain of their aspects as tokens and manifestations of historical processes, does not constitute an issue Boase's essay is concerned with.

After the publication of these works followed a series of books and essays by the art historian W. Moelwyn Merchant. The first[97] is a good example of how the practice of illustration and staging were strongly interdependent in the eighteenth century. In a similar fashion, it gives evidence of this period's strong reliance on foreign, especially French, artists and the resulting imbuement of the illustrative tradition in the Rococo style.

Another essential work on how Shakespeare's works were received in visual adaptations in the course of the centuries is W. Moelwyn Merchant's *Shakespeare and the Artist*[98]. In this monograph, it becomes apparent that, while there were certain attempts of drawing attention to the numerous works of Shakespearean illustrations before, it seems to have been common to separate the academic activity in the field from a discussion of the visual production of Shakespeare. Merchant provides a thorough analysis of the practice of staging and illustrating Shakespeare from the Elizabethan age until the early 1950s, when this monumental work on Shakespeare visualization was written. The concept of 'visual criticism' is only one of the monograph's many aspects for which anyone working in this field must be grateful.[99] Likewise, although Merchant's approach is still different from the way a cultural

[96] T. S. R. Boase, "Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*, 10 (1947). pp. 83-108.
[97] W. Moelwyn Merchant, "Francis Hayman's Illustrations of Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9:2 (1958). pp. 141-147.
[98] W. Moelwyn Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).
[99] Sillars, p. 30.

materialist analysis would employ its material – having recourse to it in order to make certain assumptions about the time of its production –, there is a clear tendency to include illustrations and insights about stage practice for the understanding of Shakespeare's work. Merchant's work remains one of the most important aids when trying to obtain information about the succession of the various stages in the illustration of Shakespeare's works, their illustrators and some of their prominent contemporaries.

Another important phase in the critical reception of the illustration of Shakespeare's works commenced with Horst Oppel's foundation of an archive of these visualizations. Many scholars after him were indebted to these efforts.[100] Following a publication on Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*[101], he published a monography with its focus upon the theoretical foundation of the literary illustrations in general. Already in its title, his 1965 publication[102] *Die Shakespeare-Illustration als Interpretation der Dichtung* reveals its indebtedness to Merchant's concept of "visual criticism". His merit regarding the more systematic approaches to the illustration of Shakespeare's works lies in his dissemination of the process of transforming any piece of literature, drama in particular, into a work of the visual arts. In doing so, he emphasizes, especially in the introduction to his essay, that although the visualization of Shakespeare's work appears to be unique in its act of interpreting the original – in fact any adaptation of the plays, be it for the purposes of the stage or as an illustration –, it entails an act of interpretation. As a consequence of this inevitable deviance from the original arise a number of choices, freedoms and limitations any illustrating artist is faced with, as has become obvious in the *ut-pictura-poesis* section of this study. Oppel's monograph forms a good starting point for a thorough study of the relationship of word and image, their respective qualities and dimensionalities etc. As the title's focus on Shakespeare implies, Oppel illustrates crucial aspects of the adaptation of drama for the visual arts by resorting to suitable examples from the history of Shakespeare illustration. Especially his attempt at providing a typology of illustrations make Oppel's book a valuable contribution to the *ut-pictura-poesis* problematic: likewise, he lists a number of "case studies", permitting a characterization of the relationship of the textual original and visual adaptation, i. e., ways of simulating simultaneity, focusing, downgrading, or visualizing events that cannot be part of the visible stage action in the original due to

[100] Cf. Krömer, p. 14.
[101] Horst Oppel, *Titus Andronicus* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961).
[102] Horst Oppel, *Die Shakespeare-Illustration als Interpretation der Dichtung* (Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1965).

their narrative exteriority. Although Oppel elaborates upon the aspect that Shakespeare illustrations also assist in the reconstruction of certain social, political, cultural or historical circumstances of the time of their production[103] – an idea that had begun to form at the beginning of the twentieth century[104] –, the value of this monograph has to be seen primarily in relation to the literary focus on Shakespeare's work. Likewise, the aspect that illustrations may be considered as interpretations that are carried out on the part of the visual artist is taken as the basis for the assumption that these adaptations provide additional insights for a more profound understanding of Shakespeare's work.

This began to change in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Jonathan Bate's 1989[105] monograph demonstrates, for the first time in the tradition of the reception of Shakespeare illustration, that the latter may be conceived of as more than mere visual accompaniments of the playwright's works. Influenced to a considerable extent by Foucault's discourse theory,[106] Bate thus emphasizes the connection between forms of cultural production and the relationships of social structures.

In the same vein, Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan's monographs *Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History* and *Othello. A Contextual History*[107] represent further examples of the way the visual reception of Shakespeare's plays in general, or, in the case of their studies, the figures of Caliban and Othello in particular can be employed as a source for cultural analysis. Accordingly, their monographs underline the increased awareness that is implied in some of the post-structuralist approaches of the second half of the twentieth century, that cultural production is never effected in isolation of certain political, social, economic or historical conditions but must, in fact, be seen as a manifestation of these aspects. Similar to the object of the present study, then, the ninth chapter of *Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History* focuses on the visual appropriation of Caliban by individual artists, thus providing an excellent overview of important developments of the way this complex figure was understood in the course of the centuries after its original conception.

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[103] Cf. Oppel, p. 75.
[104] Cf. Tolkemitt and Wohlfeil, p. 7.
[105] Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
[106] Cf. Krömer, p. 16.
[107] Vaughan & Vaughan 1991, op. cit.; Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Othello. A Contextual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

A comprehensive study of the overtly nationalistic project of the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery is given in the eponymous monograph by Walter Pape and Frederick Burwick.[108] Their publication not only includes a wide range of essays dealing with the political, social, cultural and economic entanglements of the project as a whole and its individual paintings and engravings, but also contains a reproduction of all of the prints published by the Alderman Boydell for commercial distribution among a wider public.

Published as a PhD thesis only a year later, Bärbel Krömer's *Embellished with beautiful engravings: Visualisierungen von Shakespeares Tempest in Großbritannien 1790-1880*[109] is probably the monograph with the most resemblances to the object of this study. It also emphasizes that the approach to the illustrations of Shakespeare's works as sources for cultural analysis has established itself as scholarly practice. Krömer's work is different, in the way its focus lies on a considerably greater number of illustrations. Her work also contains a catalogue of *Tempest* illustrations and also the chapters on the social, cultural and political aspects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries make it a valuable source for the study of Shakespeare illustration.

The wide range of predominantly critical approaches to the illustration of Shakespeare, i. e. such works that analyze the subject and *also* contain reproductions of the illustrations, make it easy to overlook Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Hummel's essential three-volume essential collection[110] of an overwhelming number of the visual renderings. Her work is an invaluable companion for research in the field inasmuch as it contains a scene-by-scene listing of Shakespeare's plays.

The last publication of works focusing on the illustration of Shakespeare while, at the same time, emphasizing that the idea of treating such visualizations as interpretations of his work has established itself as scholarly practice are Sillars' rather recent studies *Painting Shakespeare: the artist as critic, 1720-1820*[111] and *The Illustrated Shakespeare*[112]. The former's title highlights what has already been pointed out by Hans Oppel and W. Moelwyn Merchant: that, apart from those works created solely to accompany new editions of Shakespeare's works, the illustrations of Shakespeare's work are always valuable inasmuch as their being instances of "visual

[108] Walter Pape and Frederick Burwick (Eds.), *The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery* (Essen: Verlag Peter Pomp, 1996).
[109] Bärbel Krömer, *Embellished with beautiful engravings. Visualisierungen von Shakespeares Tempest in Großbritannien 1790-1870* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1997).
[110] Hammerschmidt-Hummel, op. cit.
[111] Op. cit.
[112] Stuart Sillars, *The Illustrated Shakespeare, 1709-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

criticism" allows for certain assumptions about the cultural, political, social and economic circumstances of the time of their production – a central supposition of cultural materialism. Furthermore, Sillars' monographs are invaluable on account of their insistence that eighteenth-century visual culture had a certain dominance over against the written word:

> If the critical analysis of Shakespeare's language was at best embryonic in the mid-eighteen century, the practice of analysing the composition of paintings and the way that it influenced meaning, especially in the presentation of narrative, was increasingly the subject of theoretical discussions that determined both how paintings were produced and how they were read.[113]

The head start in prevalence the image had over written word in the interpretive discourses of the day emphasizes the importance of Shakespeare illustration in cultural analysis. The present study's focus on the way England and Great Britain encountered the other and its employment of Shakespeare illustration thus stands in a tradition of interpretive practice that has developed from the analyses carried out by art historians to a burgeoning development of conceding visual culture a position of central significance in the field of English cultural studies.

Apart from these monographs, there are a number of essays differing greatly in their value for the analysis of Shakespeare illustration. Among the most important of them is Jonathan Bate's study,[114] in which the author scrutinizes the age-old issue of the text-image nexus, exploring a wide range of cultural and political implications of illustrating Shakespeare. Bate's argumentation follows Meisel's observation that the illustration has to rely, predominantly, upon conveying the "essence" of a play in the pictorial moment.

[113] Sillars, p. 6.
[114] Jonathan Bate, "Pictorial Shakespeare: Text, Stage, Illustration", in *Book Illustrated: Text, Image, and Culture 1770-1930*. Ed. Catherine J. Golden (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 31-60.

II. Illustrations of William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*

II.1 William Hogarth: Engraver, Painter, Illustrator, Entrepreneur

Both, William Hogarth's influence on the development of Shakespeare illustration in particular, but also his contribution to English art in general have been widely acclaimed.[115] Hogarth's way of dealing with otherness make his person, his work, and the time he lived in particularly relevant for the aim of this study. Likewise, his awareness of the deficiencies and exaggerated tendencies of English eighteenth-century society, as well as his recognition of England's role in the world make the encounters with otherness an important constant of his work. Characteristically, as has been pointed out by numerous authors,[116] those figures representing the other were often employed in his illustrations and engravings for the purposes of questioning the condition of England and English identity itself.

It is for the same reasons, and on account of the fact that the first appearance Caliban made in Shakespeare illustration was in Hogarth's *A Scene from the Tempest* that the starting point of this study will focus on the artist's motivations and sources that were underlying his approach to the illustration of the play. In this context, it will also be necessary to discuss Hogarth's entanglements with social, political and cultural developments of his day.

[115] Cf. Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Boase 1947, op. cit.; Merchant 1959, op. cit.; Ronald Paulson, *Book and Painting. Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible. Literary Texts and the Emergence of English Painting* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982), p. 4; Simon 1; John Woodward, "Shakespeare and English Painting", in *The Listener*, 43 (1950). pp. 1017-1018. Here: p. 1030; William L. Pressly, *A Catalogue of Paintings in the Folger Shakespeare Library. "As Imagination Bodies Forth"* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 14.
[116] Cf. Dabydeen, op. cit.; Hallam/Street, p. 29.

II.1.1 Pre-Hogarthian Shakespeare Illustration

Despite his outstanding role in the development of Shakespeare illustration and English art, William Hogarth, too, had predecessors that influenced his work. Little of the manner he illustrated Shakespeare would have been conceivable without the preceding artists. Also the way in which the artists that came after William Hogarth rendered his dramatic works was influenced, to a considerable extent, by the pre-Hogarthian tradition of the visual arts, and the emergence of Shakespeare illustration in particular.[117] Accordingly, it will be necessary to outline the main developments of the approaches to visualizing the works of the playwright in order to make the artist's way of illustrating Shakespeare more comprehensible.

Regarding the relationship of Shakespeare's work and its visualizations, it is striking that the role of the visual arts in general was diminished by a number of cultural and political developments in England in the period of more than a century before Hogarth's day. Thus, T. S. R. Boase explains,

> [t]he Elizabethan religious settlement, for all its carefully steered middle course, had no half measures in its condemnation of religious paintings. Ecclesiastical patronage of the visual arts ceased abruptly, and with its disappearance there was no sufficient demand to stimulate the production of historical paintings drawn from other fields.[118]

With the stimulus of religious visual art gone, therefore, the English art market was deprived of one of its most vital fields of cultural activity, which in turn slumped into a state of lethargy. This desolate state of the English visual arts was aggravated by the fact that those art circles that did exist when Hogarth began his career were practically unable to exist without the help of the many foreigners living in England at the time.[119] Correspondingly, the works that were produced exhibit the influences of Flemish, French and Italian painting. These were the circumstances in which the first attempt at a visualization of Shakespeare's works was carried out: an illustration attributed to Henry Peacham[120] (therefore also known and generally referred to as the "Peacham

[117] Cf. Altick 1973: p. 277; Edward Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1988), p. 4.
[118] Boase 1947: p. 83.
[119] Cf. Merchant 1959: p. 47; Simon 2007: p. 9.
[120] Cf. Allan R. Young, Hamlet *and the Visual Arts, 1709-1900* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2002), p. 17.

drawing"[121]) was made in the year 1595,[122] making it the earliest example of visualizing a Shakespearean play, *Titus Andronicus*. Some 40 years after the playwright's death, in the year 1655, this illustration was followed by a rendering of *The Rape of Lucrece*. Although, in contrast to the Peacham drawing, the artist of the latter is unknown, both illustrations, unmistakably reveal the tradition's deep imbuement in the styles of continental art.[123] Especially the Peacham drawing marks a somewhat noteworthy stage in the way Shakespeare's work was imagined visually, if not necessarily visualized, in the middle of the seventeenth century. In this way, Merchant takes it to be a

> testimony to sensitive grouping on the stage. Some of this may naturally be attributable to Peacham but the strong placing of the central figures, emphasized by the ornate spearhead of Titus' staff, is theatrical, as is also the variety of narrative action in the drawing, which economically omits almost as much as it includes, suggesting the presence of the other characters solely by gesture.[124]

Although the illustration is in itself of little value in obtaining such insights pertaining to seventeenth-century attitudes towards alterity, it does serve to provide an idea of the way visual artists deployed illustrations at that time. The visualization of Shakespeare, then, was still at an intermediate stage – a means of successfully representing his plays upon stage. Illustrations, at that time, did not yet have the status of autonomous interpretations of Shakespeare's work.

The following decades, which led into the eighteenth century, saw the bifurcation of the tradition of Shakespeare illustration: one group of artists continued to base their work on theatrical productions. The second group employed Shakespearean sources for the purposes of book-illustration, which began to flourish in England during the eighteenth century – especially with regard to the visualization of novels.[125] While the second of the two groups continued to be influenced directly by continental baroque painting, its visual approach to the playwright's work evidenced, for the first time, a tendency to imagine Shakespeare visually, without necessarily intending these illustrations as the preliminary steps to theatrical productions. In other words, the designs were a direct application of Shakespearean ideas to the visual arts. Two names deserve particular prominence in this regard. For the first time after the edition of the folios, thus, Nicholas Rowe re-edited the complete works of Shakespeare with 43

[121] Cf. Merchant 1959: p. 13.
[122] Cf. Oppel, p. 83.
[123] Cf. Boase 1947: p. 85.
[124] Cf. Merchant 1959: p. 13.
[125] Cf. ibid.

engravings in cooperation with Jacob Tonson. As such, the enterprise allows certain assumptions concerning the way the plays were conceived of and the way they were intended to be performed on stage. Correspondingly, each of the renderings shows a key scene of one of the plays, and demonstrates the way the performances were carried out in courtly costumes in the fashion of the day – and revealing thus, once more, the influence continental baroque culture continued to have on English society.[126] Furthermore, with this edition of the actual texts of Shakespearean drama accompanied by illustrations also emerged a certain indifference to theatrical practice, paralleled by a new interest in adapting the plays in the manner they were assumed to have been intended to be visualized by Shakespeare himself.[127] In the context of this study, this is a noteworthy development, since an orientation toward the textual source of the Shakespearean work may also be seen as a reflection of how English early eighteenth-century society gradually developed an awareness of its shared national and cultural identity. Likewise, there grew a desire to emphasize the particularly English aspects of contemporary society by rejecting foreign influences, i. e. those forms of cultural production determined by the styles of continental Baroque owing to the dominant cultural influence of the continent. Accordingly, the mechanisms of encountering the other may be identified as the underlying forces. Likewise, it was felt that national identity could only be achieved by distancing oneself from the cultural dominance of foreign nations. As Merchant observes,

> [t]he impulse behind the illustrations in the 1709 edition is interesting: Nicholas Rowe was commissioned to edit it, and there are the beginnings of a critical apparatus and biography. Thus far would one expect a 'literary' quality in the engravings also; but the dedication to the Duke of Somerset appears to imply a different or an additional aim:
>
> > The Present age is indeed an unfortunate one for *Dramatick Poetry*; she has been persecuted by Fanaticism, forsaken by her Friends, and oppress'd even by Musick, her Sister and confederate Art, that was formerly employ'd in her Defence and Support. In such perilous Times, I know no protection for *Shakespeare*, more Safe or more Honourable than Your Grace's.
>
> The references 'persecuted by Fanaticism' and 'oppress'd even by Musick' seem clearly to refer to the closing of the theatres during the Commonwealth, now long since over, and to the more recent menace of opera and the operatized versions of Shakespeare. This implies a desire to vindicate the plays as plays in the theatre and many of the illustrations seem intended to produce this result.[128]

[126] Cf. Bate 2000: p. 31.
[127] Cf. Brian Allen, "The Early Illustrators of Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare in Art*. Jane Martineau et al. (London: Merrell Publishers Ltd., 2003), pp. 49-59. Here: p. 49; Woermann, p. 105.
[128] Merchant 1959: p. 48.

Merchant's observations emphasize that, apart from a tendency to treat Shakespeare as the 'natural genius' whose supposed ingeniousness was assumed to be ingrained solely in the original, this return to the textual source is also the beginning of another development. In this context, it should be mentioned that during the Restoration period, the main influences upon the tradition of theatre and opera were French and Italian. Likewise, it took until well into the middle of the eighteenth century until English culture managed to distance itself from this dominance. The urge to rid itself of the cultural hegemony of the continent was the most apparent in the rejection of theatrical productions that were perceived as all too lofty and unnecessarily showy. Accordingly, Merchant's remark may be supplemented by the facet that whenever such forms of stage productions met with disapproval, its foreign influence was identified as the responsible cause. In other words, "operatic" was often used synonymously as "Italianate", and thus deemed inadequate and untypically English.

The underlying motivation of the Rowe edition thus allows to make two points: firstly, the publication of this edition accompanied by a critical apparatus, and the very fact of turning to the Shakespearean source itself demonstrates that, for the first time, the illustration of Shakespeare's work was considered as an autonomous form of art; a way of imagining the implications of the plays in another place than the stage, thus a new form of interpretation. Second of all, the Duke of Somerset's dedication for the 1709 edition reveals that the visual interpretation of Shakespeare began to be increasingly politicized. Likewise, the discovery of Shakespeare as the English artist in this period was accompanied by exploiting his person and work for the promotion of English identity. The illustrations were therefore a way of putting an end to the exaggerated forms of the stage adaptations. This concept of Shakespeare as an artist who was not only born in England but also epitomized Englishness, came to life in the formative years of Shakespeare illustration.[129] Just how influential its "invention" became is still discernible in Boase's twentieth-century article in the *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*. His observations on the Rowe-edition are concluded by the following words:

> It was, however, hardly surprising that these foreign artists [who formed the majority among those who participated in the Rowe-Tonson-enterprise] failed to catch some of the essential and very English quality of Shakespeare. The Tonson editions produced no final solution of any of the problems, no character visualized so aptly as to become a

[129] Cf. Krömer, p. 9.

> permanent and recognized figure. Falstaff, so well known by sight to-day, is haltingly treated. The first edition has a vaguely Elizabethan figure, paunchy and characterless […][130]

This quotation emphasizes the crucial role the developments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries played in determining the relationship of Shakespeare and the concepts of Englishness. Furthermore, it also reflects the dilemma the tradition of Shakespeare illustration was in before the arrival of William Hogarth: although the illustrations were meant to extol and promote the Englishness of the playwright William Shakespeare, the very medium in which this ambition could be achieved was firmly rooted in the continental, predominantly French, tradition.[131] Also when the second edition of Shakespeare's plays was issued in 1740, slightly after the first of the illustrations discussed in this study, the English art market was still struggling with the establishment of a national tradition. Shakespeare illustration at that time was still "Frenchified" or given what Jonathan Bate calls the "French treatment"[132]. After all, the very first volume of Shakespeare's illustrated work was visualized by the Frenchman François Boitard.[133] This was about to change with William Hogarth's arrival on the scene of the English art market. The engraver and painter had all the personal qualities, artistic skills and entrepreneurial competences necessary to help English art out of its shadowy existence and to make the illustration of Shakespeare's works a subject many of those men and women found worthy enough to commit themselves to.

[130] Boase 1947: p. 88. For a similar view of Shakespeare's supposed "essentiality" being only representable by an Englishman, also see Halliday p. 111.
[131] Cf. Hodnett, p. 67.
[132] Bate 2000: p. 34.
[133] Cf. Pressly, p.13.

II.1.2 William Hogarth, his Day and his Work

Of only very few men is there such a widespread agreement that it was their fortunate concurrence with specific socio-political circumstances that led to incisive changes in the cultural, social and political context of a certain historical period. William Hogarth is one of these prominent figures. Equally, his contribution to the flourishing of British art and the promotion of English national culture in the middle of the eighteenth century can hardly be valued too high.[134] In retrospect, this might not appear particularly noteworthy – somehow, the interdependence of historical developments and historical personae is an ineluctability, and there is always sufficient reason to argue that the one promoted the other and *vice versa*. Still, William Hogarth's merits in the development of Shakespeare illustration and English art in general makes the painter's arrival on the stage of art history of such outstanding importance for the development of Shakespeare illustration that an analysis of William Hogarth's renderings of the playwright's dramatic work asks for a conscious introduction of the artist, his day and his work, by considering cultural, social and political circumstances alike. Also the way otherness is encountered in his *Tempest* illustration underlines the centrality of Hogarth in the context of this study. Strikingly, it is Miranda's and not Caliban's almost stereotypical alterity that seems to have intrigued the artist the most.

[134] Cf. Simon Wilson, *British Art from Holbein to the Present Day* (London: The Bodley Head Ltd. and The Tate Gallery Publication Department, 1979), p. 27.

II.1.2.1 Society, Culture and Politics at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century

II.1.2.1.1 England's French Other

It has already been mentioned in the first section of this study that the theory of *cultural materialism* assumes an interdependence of text and context, i. e. a co-determination of the artist and his creation on the one hand, and the surrounding social, cultural, economic, historical and political conditions on the other. It might therefore seem only logical that the artist William Hogarth came to play such a prominent role at this particular stage in English history. Hogarth's career began at a time when the concept of *Englishness* underwent what must have been its most formative years, and, at the same time, Hogarth's works were to become a central factor for the rendering of this concept in the visual arts.[135] As Benedict Anderson points out, during these early-eighteenth century years, nationalism was still its infancy years:[136] when it became impossible to satisfy the desire to ascribe meaning to human existence by taking refuge in the promises held by religious doctrine and faith, there opened a spiritual void. With time, this void was filled with a quasi-religious belief in the national state. Similarly, an awareness grew that belonging to the "imagined community" – to use the wording of the title of Anderson's study – of the national state held a new promise: that human existence could thus again be prolonged beyond death, restoring it to its prior meaningfulness. Today, nationality is of such central importance to social and political processes that it seems difficult to imagine a time before these forming years of British/English national identity. More importantly, this way of thinking misses the point since such notions are, in fact, social constructs, modes of perception of which the individual avails itself during its contacts with the other in everyday encounters. Accordingly, it is a general assumption of social psychology that the construct of nationality is a perceptional category, a stereotype, that facilitates processing the large quantities of information the individual is confronted with on a daily basis.[137] In the same fashion, stereotypes of the self and the other are circumstantial to most social

[135] Cf. Hodnett 1988: p. 67.
[136] Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism*. 7th ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1996), p. 11.
[137] Cf. Meyer 22; Hestermann 4; Nick Hopkins and Neil Murdoch, "The Role of the 'Other' in National Identity: Exploring the Context-dependence of the National Ingroup Stereotype", in *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 9 (1999). p. 321-338. Here: p. 322; Strobel, p. 75.

encounters. Despite their reductionist tendency, they permit individuals to interact with one another quickly, without having to go through the lengthy process of making one another's acquaintance. Stereotypes thus render it unnecessary to assemble the other's identity from the innumerable minutiae of social reality in direct and indirect personal encounters.[138] In these situations, the self is determined, to a certain extent, by the way it perceives its other.[139] Identity is therefore a concept dependent, to a certain extent, upon individual situations of social life, i. e. the encounters with other individuals.

This also applies to the concept of national identity,[140] a fact exemplified by the relationship of England and France. In both, England's as well as Great Britain's process of becoming a nation, it was France that was considered as the big rivalling other.[141] In a manner of speaking, the British nation was invented in this period, "above all by war", as Linda Colley points out:

> Time and time again, war with France brought Britons, whether they hailed from Wales or Scotland or England, into confrontation with an obviously hostile Other and encouraged them to define themselves collectively against it. They defined themselves as Protestants struggling for survival against the world's foremost Catholic power. They defined themselves against the French as they imagined them to be, superstitious, militarist, decadent and unfree.[142]

In this period, therefore, the formation of national identity did not so much rely upon an emerging collective awareness of certain shared attributes that were assumed to inform Englishness (and Britishness, a little later); instead, the threat emanating from the French rival on the continent constituted a unifying force that gave the English a feeling of belonging together, if only for being different from the French other. England's relationship with France was extremely hostile during late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: from the years after the Glorious Revolution in 1689 until 1697 and during innumerable periods in the eighteenth century, even after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815,[143] France continued to be the United Kingdom's most threatening enemy. Likewise, warfare was a constant element in the relationship of England and

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[138] Günther Blaicher, *Erstarrtes Denken: Studien zu Klischee, Stereotyp und Vorurteil in englischsprachiger Literatur* (Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 1987), p.72.
[139] See ibid., p. 27.
[140] Cf. Hopkins and Murdoch, p. 323.
[141] See also Peter Mandler, *The English National Character. The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), p.53; Simon 2007: p. 6; James Buzard. "'Then on the Shore of the Wide World': The Victorian Nation and its Others", in *A Companion to Victorian Literature & Culture*. Ed. Herbert F. Tucker (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 1999), pp 438-455. Here: p. 443.
[142] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. 2nd edn. (London: Vintage, 2008), p. 5. See also Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 30; Krömer, p. 93.
[143] Cf. Colley p. 1.

France during the last twenty years of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth and the first few years of the nineteenth century. In the development of this relationship, Scotland, too, began to play a prominent role. Accordingly, after the Union with the Scots in 1707, the formation of the concept of "Englishness" became increasingly interchangeable with the formation of a national British identity. Since the Scottish troops fought alongside those of the English in the military encounters with France, warfare also played a unifying role in this context.[144] The amalgamation of the people from Wales and England with those from Scotland to what began to be referred to as the British nation, thus, must be seen as a process concomitant to the rise of English and British national identity. If the previous as well as the subsequent pages convey an impression of the difficulty of distinguishing *Englishness* from *Britishness*, this is also because of the parallel development of the perceptual and political categories the terms came to denote: the common cause of the people of the young United Kingdom was their antagonism with France, a relationship constituted so predominantly by intermittent warfare, that the intervals in between have been cynically termed as "occasional outbreaks of peace"[145]. This is a somewhat revealing aspect of Britain's process of becoming a nation. Irrespective of whether the Scots were included to rally under the banner of nationalism, the interchangeability of *Britishness* and *Englishness* indicates that the focus lay on the French other. It was they against which national identity was sought to be established. Likewise, when Hogarth started his career as an engraver and artist in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the armies of the French posed a constant threat to the political stability, which had only been accomplished recently, after 1688 and the union with Scotland in 1707. Moreover, since the French stood on the other side of the religious spectrum, this threat was perceived all the more menacing: although the Act of Settlement and the Act of Union succeeded in securing a Protestant dynasty by law, the *Jacobites*, i. e. the Catholic followers of the deposed Stuart King James II and VII (ruler to both, England and Scotland), continued to be a latent threat to political stability.[146] Apart from the continuous Jacobite risings going on until 1745, from which emanated a considerable threat in its own right, there also remained the danger of France uniting itself in its military efforts with the last

[144] Cf. Roy C. Strong, *The Spirit of Britain. A Narrative History of the Arts* (London, Sydney, Auckland, Johannesburg: Hutchinson, 1999), p. 418.
[145] Cf. Simon 2007: p. 13.
[146] Cf. M.H. Abrams et al., *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Seventh Edition. Volume 1 (New York, NY and London: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2000), p. 2047; Meyer 200.

Stuart monarch who had gone into exile there. The stability was thus fragile and, accordingly, the forces that posed a threat to it were beheld with great anxiety, especially since the menacing potential was associated with the possible expansion of Catholicism. Consequently, in the process of "forging the nation", English Protestantism acquired a role of considerable significance:[147] religion became the background against which the everyday experiences of a belligerent eighteenth century were perceived and organized.[148] The British saw themselves as a "a people *apart*"[149] before God, thus emphasizing how the other came to play such a significant role in the formation of English national identity in the early eighteenth century. The conviction that God had led the English through times of hardship and violence strengthened their belief that the young nation had taken the right path, that God had destined their great country to become a "second Israel", a refuge for those who longed to live in political and religious freedom. Anything French, on the other hand, was employed as a negative example. Similarly, it became a well-established routine of the English to define their national identity by emphasizing what it was not, rather than by developing an awareness of certain shared values or beliefs. In other words, Protestantism also became part of English identity because it represented what the French were not.

Protestantism may appear as some interchangeable label, a colourful but trifling banner under which to rally for national unity. It had, however, a genuinely religious core, a set of assumptions, derived from the post-Reformation branch of Christianity directly. Accordingly, there was a close relationship between the political aspect and the religious dimension of Protestantism. Likewise, the political concept of a "people apart" was intimately connected with the religious idea of a second Israel"[150]. The violent events of England's past acquired significance as the stages of a collective national history, a seemingly teleological process in which God acted as the protector of the English nation, which was perceived to have been plagued by conflict and aggression:

> For large numbers of them, as David Cressy has shown, time past was a soap opera written by God, a succession of warning disasters and providential escapes which they acted out afresh every year as a way of reminding themselves who they were. Every 30 of January until 1859, Protestant worshippers throughout England and Wales fasted and prayed in memory of Charles I's execution in 1649. By contrast, 29 May, the anniversary of the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, was a jubilee day marked out by bonfires and bells, a time for celebrating the end of political instability and martial rule.

[147] Cf. also Strong, p. 418.
[148] Cf. Colley, p. 55.
[149] Cf. ibid., emphasis added.
[150] Cf. ibid.

> The first day of August marked the accession in 1714 of the first Hanoverian king, the securing of the Protestant Succession. And 5 November was doubly sacred, not just the anniversary of the landing in England in 1688 of William of Orange, come to do battle with Catholic James II, but also the day when in 1605 Parliament and James I had been rescued from the gunpowder plotting of Guido Fawkes, yet another Catholic.[151]

This form of a national culture commemorating the blessedness of the English as a righteous, free, Protestant and therefore chosen nation also had a more aggressive dimension. Likewise, those few Catholics that did live in England were ostracized severely in many ways:

> […] Catholics could still encounter personal abuse and physical injury at the hands of Protestants, particularly in time of war when the enemy was a Catholic state. Britain was at war with France, for example, when anti-Catholic riots broke out in the Scottish Lowlands in 1778. It was still at war two years later, when the most destructive and intolerantly Protestant of all British riots, the Gordon Riots, erupted in London. At such times, vulnerable Catholics might see their property smashed or even be assaulted themselves. […] In time of danger or insecurity, Catholics – like witches – became scapegoats, easy targets on which their neighbours could vent fear and anger. The slang adjective most commonly applied to Catholics was 'outlandish', and this was meant quite literally. Catholics were not just strange, they were out of bounds. They did not belong, and were therefore suspect.[152]

Thus, not only the conscious identification with Protestantism and the rejection of anything associated with the French, but also the stigmatization of Catholics and Catholicism were important elements that contributed to the formation of English national identity. Paradoxically, this mechanism of encountering the Catholic other was such a well-established and rigorous routine that the fact that the religious freedom supposedly characteristic of Englishness, apparently, was not perceived to contradict these practices. Considering the fact that the uniqueness of English Protestants was a government policy, this is little surprising: those few Catholics that did live in the English diaspora were discriminated against substantially, being denied access to political and educational institutions or imposed with separate forms of taxation.[153] Rallying around the emblems of Protestantism, then, was at the heart of the social, cultural and political experience of being English during the first half of the eighteenth century.

It has to be added, at this point, that the fact that Protestantism played such a significant role in the development of English identity was not only owing to an

[151] Ibid., p. 21f.
[152] Ibid., p. 22f.
[153] Ibid., p. 19.

irrational association of religious issues with political enemies. Not only because the French were England's biggest enemy throughout the eighteenth century did Protestantism come to make up such an integral constituent of Englishness. Catholicism also epitomized a number of threats that had a thoroughly rational basis. The way the English considered themselves as God's chosen people and England as their promised land, as well as their culture of remembering decisive years of their collective history was due to the fact that in 1707,

> the Counter-Reformation was still very much in progress in parts of Continental Europe. France had attempted to expel its Protestant population in 1685, and many of these Huguenot refugees had settled in Britain, living reminders to their countrymen of the enduring threat of Catholic persecution. In Spain, the Inquisition continued to take action against Protestants throughout the eighteenth century.[154]

The French and their Catholic faith were thus two of the most crucial determinants in the process of the development of national identity in England. Throughout the period between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth century, Protestantism and the rejection of anything French, accompanied by the political struggles with France, became the rallying point of English national identity. Whether imaginary or real, the anxieties, fears, expectations and hopes resulting from this opposition constituted the coordinate system of a disturbing and sometimes threatening French otherness. The Counter-Reformation is a case in point: any reminder of the threats of a Jacobite resurgence in England and a reinstitution of Catholicism sufficed to elicit irritation or animosity in the English population and, at the same time, reinforced a shared feeling of Englishness. This antagonism with the French other will play a central role in the discussion of Hogarth's *Tempest* illustration. Before turning to this analysis, however, there is another concept of alterity that needs to be turned to.

[154] Ibid., p. 23.

II.1.2.1.2 England's Female Other

Alongside French otherness, the concept of female alterity constituted an important influence for the development of English society in the first half of the eighteenth century. At this time, womanhood as a category of social perception was a concept that resulted from an active process of gender construction.[155] Correspondingly, from about 1670 onwards and until well into the eighteenth century, the medical sciences and literature were dedicated to scrutinizing the female other, and at the same time, moulding it into the way that was thought to be for the greatest benefit of society.[156] While the medical strand of this discourse on womanhood was concerned, primarily, with analyzing the psychological and physiological aspects, there was a steady stream of literature, so called "conduct books", in the Restoration period that sought to influence women from the upper classes in particular in the way they were expected to behave both, in public and at home. In this regard, one publication stands out from most of the others, on account of its dominating popularity in this sub-branch of women's educational literature: Richard Allestree's 1673 volume *The Ladies Calling* had such a large readership in the last decades of the seventeenth and the early ones of the eighteenth century that it had to be reprinted as many as seven times. It is a publication that needs to be born in mind, therefore, when considering the Hogarth illustration later. Both the popularity of Allestree's volume on female conduct as well as the organized manner it is written in allows for a number of conclusions concerning the way the female other was conceived of by society, and how it came about that it could be established as the prevailing pattern of femininity.

The main line of Allestree's argument is based on the assumption that although women were the weaker sex by nature, there were ways that they could find some kind of "personal fulfilment"[157], provided that they complied with Allestree's articles of moral conduct. Unsurprisingly, the implication rested upon the premise that women were to conform to those patterns of behaviour laid out in the book, assigning them the role the patriarchal society of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century had designated for them. Allestree's *Ladies Calling* is divided into a presentation of the

[155] Cf. Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New York and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 383.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid., p. 384.

'general qualifications, duties and ornaments of women' on the one hand, as well as a focus upon the "'respective duties' and 'peculiar cautions' of the three stages of a woman's life"[158]. With regard to the purposes of this study, the most relevant aspects of this didactic scheme are contained in his five step programme. Thus, although the female other is presented in the conduct book as meek in character, Allestree sees a fair chance of mastering their inconstancy of temper by commanding their will successfully. In this regard, Allestree concedes that all of mankind faces the challenge of having to conform to the governing principles of reason to a certain extent, but it is also clear that his advice for young women relies upon the image of the female other as the weaker sex, more liable than men to follow the impulse of their passions.

> As a will thus resigned to reason and just authority is a felicity all rational natures should aspire to, so especially the feminine sex, whose passions being naturally the more impetuous ought to be more strictly guarded and kept under the severe discipline of reason.[159]

It is conspicuous, in this context, that the aspect related to the discipline of reason Allestree is the most interested in pertains to the domain of female sexuality. Chastity, it may thus be inferred from Allestree's five step programme, was the (open or tacit) keyword in a young woman's coming-of-age at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Abstinence from pre-marital sex had such a central position in the conduct of young females that they were expected to exert control over themselves in thought, bearing and action: women were thus required to be heedful in themselves of all lightness of carriage, wanton glances, obscure discourse, things that show a woman weary of her honour that the next comer may reasonably expect a surrender.[160] In the same vein, it also becomes clear from this short excerpt that whenever the ideal of chastity was seen abandoned, it was not owing to men's complicity but on account of women's failure to live up to society's expectations from the female other.

This bias towards women, which manifested itself the most conspicuously in society's expectations pertaining to female virtue, persisted throughout most of the eighteenth century. Again, the conception of female alterity, as outlined in Allestree's volume, deserves particular attention in this context, since it remained such a long-lived concept throughout the eighteenth century. Not least with regard to Richard Steele's *The Ladies Library*, in which "large sections of [Allestree's] *Ladies Calling* are borrowed

[158] Ibid.
[159] Allestree quoted in Fletcher, op. cit., p. 385.
[160] Ibid.

verbatim"[161], there is sufficient reason to assume that female otherness, in the way it has been outlined so far, remained a constant of English culture. In a similar fashion, the Marquis of Halifax's *Advice to a Daughter* from the year 1688 had to be reprinted some fourteen times in the first half of the eighteenth century.[162] Based on Allestree's concept of natural gender difference, Halifax sets out to defend the patriarchal structure of English eighteenth century society in his conduct book.[163] Asserting the difference of the sexes, the Marquis echoes Allestree's words, and he is convinced this is also the way nature designed it. What is more, the female other is considered by him as inferior to men, who "for the better economy of the world […] were to be the law-givers", having "the larger share of reason bestowed upon them".[164] Consequently, the Marquis argues that it is only in the legal union of man and woman – an institution "too sacred to admit a liberty of objecting to it"[165] – that the inequality of the sexes can be balanced for the greatest benefit of society.[166] While revealing the self-confidence with which his views are presented, the Marquis is also aware that there women might begin to object to their status. Almost apologetically, therefore, he emphasizes the advantages that might compensate for this bipolar alterity:

> We are made of differing tempers, that our defects may the better be naturally supplied: your sex wanteth our reason for your conduct and our strength for your protection: ours wanteth your gentleness to soften and to entertain us.[167]

This defense indicates that the concept of female otherness and the conclusions it seemed to permit had to hold its ground in a climate of increasing public controversy. Especially the obsessive attention paid to the woman's control over and the defense of her chastity began to be drawn into question. Likewise, female alterity at the time implied that pre-marital sex irrevocably made a woman an outcast of society, whereas it was well possible for a man to indulge therein or even be adulterous while married and still rehabilitate his reputation and be a respectable member of society.[168] This double standard is also implicit Halifax's volume. Likewise, in the prevailing culture of the early eighteenth century,

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[161] Ibid. p. 387f.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] The Marquis of Halifax quoted in Fletcher, op. cit., p. 388.
[168] Cf. Stuart Sim, *The Eighteenth-Century Novel and Contemporary Social Issues. An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 52.

> men's adultery does not threaten blemishing the blood of the family whilst women's does. Chastity, in this reading of early modern patriarchy, becomes the overwhelming female imperative and the foundation of all gender construction.[169]

Female alterity saw a phase of considerable negotiation during the first decades of the eighteenth century. At first sight, the controversial issues of this debate may appear as the logical consequences of the assumption that the sexes were different, the woman being inferior to the man. Nevertheless, it also began to be viewed with increasing scepticism that women were expected to conform to a value system that was subject to a patriarchal bias. Especially the prevailing double standard related to female chastity more and more emerged as an issue of critical debate. Also William Hogarth's *Tempest* illustration may be taken as an expression of this growing unrest concerning the way women and men were assigned their individual places in eighteenth century society.

[169] Fletcher, p. 388.

II.1.2.2 The Condition of the English Art Market at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, English painting in the wider European context of visual art had a very weak standing: in comparison with the European continent, the artworks that were produced within the boundaries of the young British national state constituted a virtually negligible quantity; there was no such thing as an "English school", and, by all appearance, there was no demand for it either.[170] This may seem somewhat peculiar, considering the relationship of England and France in this period: why should a country like England, vying with France for cultural and political hegemony over decades and decades, contrasting its own identity against French otherness, so utterly lack something the French so magnificently boasted? If striving to assert its identity by a rejection of anything French determined the experience of being part of the young nation so profoundly, why should the necessary impulses to establish a tradition that could compete with the French school of painting have held off? The main reason for this peculiarity seems to lie in the fact that, during the courses of the preceding centuries – not only the turbulent seventeenth – England had become a nation whose culture was founded upon the prevalence of the word; images and paintings simply were not extensively popular as a means of criticism or communication, just yet. Trying to comprehend this logocentrism takes this discussion back to the tumultuous years of the English Civil War. During this period in the middle of the seventeenth century, Parliament promoted a cultural politics that culminated in an aggressive iconoclasm: although they were not the first manifestations of the Reformation's rejection of visual representations in general and iconic hagiolatry in particular, the systematic, Parliament-led destruction of such objects that vied with the word for cultural hegemony certainly left the most serious damage. What is more, this aimed systematicity reflects how deeply rooted in history, and how widely spread such impulses of rejecting visual representations as supposedly blasphemous artifice must have been in English society during a considerable period of Hogarth's lifetime. In this regard, the cultural prevalence of the word in England was very different from the situation in France.

[170] Cf. Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1660-1768* (New Haven and London: University of Yale Press, 1988), p. 1.

> England entered its phase of iconoclasm nearly three hundred years earlier, and with the sanction, indeed the encouragement, of its monarch. The icons destroyed were originally replaced by a lateral transference from God, Church, saints, and pope to the English monarch and his family. The iconoclasm that spread from this center to all corners of the kingdom was carried out under the direction of the crown itself, in the case of Henry VIII as part of his very practical dissolution of the monasteries, less as a sign of theology, certainly not of revolution, than as part of a process of consolidating royal (and national) power. England was the only country of any size where iconoclasm—as an important part of the Protestant Reformation—was carried out as a government policy with a fair amount of consistency and so produced a mind-set that was national rather than factional or local and continuing rather than sporadic.[171]

It may be said, then, that the iconoclasts, by breaking out church windows in order to tear down the walls that, according to them, obstructed the believers' eyes to behold God's glory, somehow got in the way of England's developing an autonomous tradition of visual art. This logocentrism even went as far as legally prohibiting the importation of foreign works of art into the country; and it is little wonder that, when the ban was eventually lifted in 1695, the collapsing of the dams that had been erected to uphold the prevalence of the word brought an enormous flood of foreign paintings into England,[172] mostly of French and Italian origin. These were the sources for the slowly but steadily growing group of people who were interested in and could afford this cultural commodity. Likewise, resorting to these sources allowed them to satisfy this demand *à la mode*.

For William Hogarth, the ambitious artist and infamous patriot, this certainly represented an unbearable state of things. Although his outrage was not directed against the French as strongly as it may seem, it was the relationship between France and England that elicited a considerable extent of the impetus of his creative and entrepreneurial work.[173] As early as 1648, the French established the *Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*. This concerted, well-organized and well-funded efforts contributed to the firm establishment of French art worldwide. It was probably a combination of both these aspects, predominantly, that awakened in William Hogarth the desire to assist the English nation to achieve a similar status by the establishment of an English art tradition – or at least by ridding the country of foreign cultural influences. He had considerable success with this goal, as shall become evident, albeit, it has to be emphasized once more, not as a result of any form a particular dislike of the French: as

[171] Ronald Paulson, *Breaking and Remaking: Aesthetic Practice in England, 170-1820* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989), p. 15. See also Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: p. 225.
[172] Cf. Pears, p. 2.
[173] See also Colley, p. 33.

a matter of fact, William Hogarth was superbly acquainted with all kinds of traditions of visual art, *especially* the French. What is more, Hogarth was to travel to Paris twice in his career, worked with a great number of French artists and relied upon their qualities as engravers, critics and friends.[174] His attitude towards France, the French and French art, then, was surely somewhat more complex than simple antagonism or rejection.

Nevertheless, the fact that English artists faced such great difficulties in vying with the dominant tradition of continental art influenced his career considerably. Most importantly, Hogarth was intent upon modelling his illustration upon the textual source in quite fastidious a manner: while, of course, Hogarth had other goals in the course of his long career, to imitate the grandness of French national painting, and to create a similar school of art in England, was what led him to choose Shakespeare's dramatic work one of his main motivations. The reason for this preference must be seen in the fact that, in the hierarchy of art genres of the French *Académie*, history painting was considered to represent the highest level. This meant that the subjects to be painted had to taken from the stories of ancient mythology, the Bible or history itself.[175] For Hogarth, this also meant that, in contrast to the many operatic theatre performances of *The Tempest*, he could resort to a genuinely English source for his work, establishing history painting in England by selecting the plays of Shakespeare as the models for his work. Textual faithfulness is therefore of central importance if one wishes to comprehend Hogarth's individual approach to visualizing the literary original. Correspondingly, this adherence to the textual source will also form the starting point of the analysis of Hogarth's visualization of Shakespeare's work.

[174] Cf. Simon pp. 3ff.
[175] Ibid., p. 1.

II.1.2.3 William Hogarth's *A Scene from the Tempest* (c. 1738-40[176])

The analysis of Hogarth's *A Scene from the Tempest* will commence with a discussion of its textual origin, i. e. the scene to which it is referred already in its title. Thereby, the theme of Miranda's chastity that will immediately become apparent from this analysis of the relationship of text and illustration will constitute the main focus. After these features of Hogarth's visualization that become evident already at a very early stage in the discussion of his illustration, this study will engage in an analysis of the underlying iconographical structures of the illustration. Although it seems more systematic to defer a final and thorough analysis of the implications of William Hogarth's employment of iconographical structures until the very end of the discussion of his illustration, it would also appear artificial and somewhat tedious to do so entirely. Accordingly, an interpretation of some of his iconographical structures shall be carried out in the corresponding section directly. The general route the discussion of William Hogarth and his visualization of *The Tempest* that shall be pursued will be one of delving deeper and deeper into the layers of iconographic meaning; this will imply starting from the superficial structure of the immediately visible to more latent levels of interpretation, back to the visible and deeper yet, and so on. This appears to be the most legible way of analysis for this exceptionally dense composition.[177]

[176] Cf. Simon 2007: p. 74.
[177] For a more detailed discussion of approaching works of the visual arts by moving from the more obvious to the more latent structures, see Erwin Panowsky, *Ikonographie und Ikonologie: Bildinterpretation nach dem Dreistufenmodell* (Köln: DuMont Literatur und Kunst Verlag, 2006).

II.1.2.3.1 Textual source

William Hogarth once claimed that he considered his canvas as a stage and that it was his personal artistic achievement that his characters appeared to talk and act.[178] This might explain why his *A Scene from The Tempest* (Figure 7) is replete with so many details that it takes a considerable amount of time to absorb the painting visually.[179] At first sight, this makes the illustration appear unbalanced and overcharged. After a more thorough reading of his composition, however, interrelations between the individual elements of his design can be established, contributing to the impression that upon his static canvas, the dramatic action of *The Tempest* is actually unfolding, generated by the illusion of the overlapping of multiple temporal layers of the textual original. Hogarth thus had his own way of circumventing the limitations of the visual art: filling the limited space of his illustrations and paintings with such a multitude of elements, all referring to a great number of aspects that are not necessarily related to a single event, permitted him to meet his ambitions of making his canvas a stage. In many cases, his illustrations and prints can be identified, therefore, as referring to events that would have been displayed in a sequence of scenes upon stage. This aspect will be of more significance at a later point of this study.

As for the formal differences between the verbal and the visual arts, Hogarth also employed his very own "visual language": likewise, as has been alluded to in the discussion of the *ut-pictura-poesis* trope, it is Hogarth's characteristically rich iconographical inventory that makes his art so valuable for the aims of this study. The structural relationships between its individual elements allow for a quasi-literary execution of his visualization of the Shakespearean sources. As with his strategies of expanding the dimensions of his illustrations, his individual "visual language" and style, this discussion, too, has to be deferred until a later point.

William Hogarth's ambition of treating his canvas like a stage was accompanied by an aim at artistic verisimilitude. It was therefore his view that the illustrating artist had to adhere to the textual original as faithfully as possible. Taking into account the historical

[178] Quoted in Merchant 1959: p. 44.
[179] Regarding Hogarth's use of excessive detail in his works as a visual strategy, see Frédérich Ogée and Olivier Meslay, "William Hogarth and Modernity", in *Hogarth*, eds. Mike Hallett and Christine Riding (London: Tate Publishing, 2006). p .27; cf. also Dabydeen 9, Sillars, p. 37.

circumstances, which constituted the formative influences of his creative process, this aim is little surprising: the production of *A Scene from The Tempest* cannot be precisely dated,[180] but it may be safely assumed that William Hogarth began working on his painting in the period between 1735 and 1738, a time in which Britain saw a phase of immense cultural commercialization. The dominant influence of the steadily expanding middle class was paralleled by a noteworthy increase in the number of readers and, consequently, a tremendous growth of the literary market.[181] As a result, the economic prospects of this industry – for thus it could be called, already at this point – attracted a great number of writers who valued commercial success higher than the artistic quality of their works. Similarly, with the growing appetite of theatre goers for popular entertainment, spectacle and special effects, frequently writers and playwrights did not hesitate to cater to their needs. One of the chief consequences of these developments was a certain high-cultural decline, leaving "Pope […], Swift and other satirists turn[ing] their weapons against what they perceived as the coarsening and corruption of public life and the arts."[182] One instance of this change, if not estrangement, of cultural forms towards the demands of popular predilections was a stage practice of excessive pathos and inflated sentiment. Being a witness to these tendencies and being the enthusiastic theatre goer that he was,[183] Hogarth felt compelled to turn his back upon such exalted forms of expression – especially Italian Opera incurred his utter contempt and disgust.[184] It must thus be understood against this cultural background that the artist became determined to focus upon what he considered a more sober and "authentic" execution of dramatic works of art. From his discontent with stage performances, which he thought inapt for the representation of the Shakespearean original, then, arose William Hogarth's resolution to return to a less operatic and more dramatic manner of

[180] On account of the quality of craftsmanship manifested in this illustration, many commentators tend to settle upon a date around 1735. This is suggested especially perceivingly in Simon 1979: p. 217: "*The Tempest* is usually dated about 1735 and 1740 on the grounds of style: it seems very difficult to put it later, in view of the many contrasts it affords, in its much smaller scale, in its handling and colour, which the *Richard III* of c. 1745 (n some ways the most appropriate point of comparison). There is, of course, abundant evidence in Hogarth's work, by the mid-1730s, for the brilliance of small-scale brushwork evident in *The Tempest*, and the largeness and daring of the conception point towards the large-scale bravura of *Richard III*: they remain trapped here, in a sense, by the size of the picture. Then, although pentimenti are common throughout Hogarth's career, there is evidence especially of anatomical uncertainty, of a kind which is overcome in the 1740s […]. Thus, the drapery over the top part of Miranda's right thigh and lower leg was re-worked in order to clarify the difficult contrapposto;" This makes Woodward's evaluation that William Hogarth's *A Scene from The Tempest* "dates from about 1728" seem very improbable. Cf. Woodward, p. 1017.
[181] Cf. Hodnett, p. 67.
[182] Abrams et al., p. 2061f.
[183] Cf. Ronald Paulson, Hogarth: *His Life, Art, and Times*. 2 VOLS. Vol. 1 (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 181.
[184] Cf. Dabydeen, p. 76.

visualizing theatre.[185] It remains debatable, however, whether this decision also implies Hogarth's aim to arrive at a visualization adhering exclusively to the Shakespearean original, and also whether this permits the assumption that the illustration is actually one single scene from *The Tempest*. Many commentators assign the events to act one scene two,[186] ascribing Caliban's presence in the illustration (although he is off-stage at that moment of the scene in the Shakespearean original) to artistic licence. Others, unwilling to ignore this detail, refuse to identify this illustration as the direct visual representation of one single scene.[187] Despite this patent deviance from the original, of course, many details lend credence to the assumption that the events depicted parallel those of the original scene.

7 William Hogarth*, A Scene from the Tempest*, c. 1735-38

Likewise, in the same way as in the second scene of act one of the play, Ferdinand is about to make his first encounter with Miranda, who is depicted in the instant of

[185] As Jane Martineau observes, Hogarth ignored the stage tradition of his time for his *Tempest* illustration, which until 1746 was based on the operatic version of 1674, adapted by Thomas Shadwell from the stage version by Sir William Davenant and John Dryden (1667). In the opera, there was not even a single scene corresponding to the one Hogarth paints." Cf. Martineau, p. 54.
[186] Cf. Martineau, p. 54; Paulson 1982:. p. 48; Simon 1979: p. 217.
[187] Cf. Sillars, p. 52; Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: p. 216.

sighting the first man after her father and Caliban: thus, the painting shows Ferdinand entering from the left in a bowed posture, his knees slightly bended, his hands folded and his face averted humbly – almost as if in prayer. This submissive approach of Ferdinand can be identified as the representation of the following lines:

> […] Vouchsafe my prayer
> May know if you remain upon this island,
> And that you will some good instructions give
> How I may bear me here. My prime request,
> Which I do last pronounce, is (O, you wonder!)
> If you be maid or no?[188]

In the light of Hogarth's claim for a textual rather than theatrical approach to *The Tempest*, i. e. his orientation towards the Shakespearean original instead of the majority of contemporary theatric performances, it seems logical (at a first glance, at least) that his visualization should pay attention to one of the play's central interests. Regardless of the precise degree of textual authenticity, therefore, the illustration and the play have a common focus on Ferdinand's "prime request": Miranda's virginity.[189] As noted in the *ut-pictura-poesis* chapter of this study, this assumption seems fairly probable since, the illustrating artist's choice of the moment to be displayed on canvas is always an indication of the importance ascribed to the depicted subject. In *The Tempest* itself, the focus on Miranda and her virginity is so prominent that this virtue determines her entire identity: her name is designed to betoken her whole being as "having to be admired" on account of the strength of her rationality over her physical needs and urges. Throughout the play, this aspect continues figures prominently, since it also represents the precondition for Ferdinand's and Miranda's marriage and thus for the all-pervading theme of „the restoration of rightful power to the thrones of Naples and Milan.[190] Ferdinand emphasizes this stating "O, if a virgin, / And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you / The Queen of Naples".[191] Also Prospero is well aware that his own plan of securing the future of both Milan and Naples greatly depends upon this condition. It therefore remains his principal endeavour to secure the unconsumedness of Ferdinand's and Miranda's wedding. This interest is manifested not only in his protective attitude

[188] T 1.2.423-428.
[189] Cf. Hulme, p. 126.
[190] Constance Jordan, *Shakespeare's Monarchies: Ruler and Subject in the Romances* (Ithaca and London: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 147.
[191] T 1.2. 448-450.

towards Miranda, but also in his repeated excoriations of his potential son-in-law regarding his chastity.[192]

The triad of characters revolving around the pivotal character Miranda is completed by the depiction of Caliban in the right half of the illustration. Emphasizing Hogarth's self-perception as a dramatic painter, Caliban's outward appearance is a direct rendering of individual passages of the Shakespearean original: ignoring Rowe's illustrated edition published by Jacob Tonson in 1709 – which provides an illustration focusing on the shipwreck rather than the characters involved in this event,[193] Hogarth's pioneering role in the field of Shakespeare illustration is particularly apparent in his depiction of Caliban. The latter's deformity is obvious since he has more or less the same height as the bowed Prospero although standing on two steps. Furthermore, Caliban is depicted with a distorted face, dishevelled hair and brownish skin, which contrasts with the light and smooth faces of Miranda, Prospero and Ferdinand. In similar opposition to their civilized apparel, Caliban has only a loincloth around his waist. As for the depiction of Caliban's webbed toes, scaly legs and finned shoulder, his portrayal appears to have Trinculo's descriptions as its basis:

> TRINCULO
> […]
> What have we here, a man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish, a very ancient and fish-like smell, a kind of – not the newest – poor-John. A strange fish! […] Legged like a man and his fins like arms![194]

And a little later in the play Caliban is addressed thus:

> TRINCULO Thou liest, most ignorant monster. I am in case to jostle a constable. Why though deboshed fish, thou, was there ever man a coward that hath drunk so much sack as I today? Wilt thou tell a monstrous lie, being but half a fish and half a monster?[195]

Rounding off the portrayal of the "savage deformed slave", Caliban is leering at Miranda, his face contorted and saliva running out of his half-opened mouth. In the way he is shown, William Hogarth seems to make reference to Caliban's animalistic, untamed sexual appetite as well as to his desire to thwart Prospero's dynastic scheme

[192] Cf. B. J. Sokol and Mary Sokol, *Shakespeare, Law and Marriage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 67.
[193] Cf. Pointon, p. 105.
[194] T. 2.2.24-33.
[195] T 3.2.24-28.

and to thus free himself of his bondage by founding his own colony of 'Calibans' as he reveals during his first appearance in the play:

> PROSPERO
> […]
> In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate
> The honour of my child.
>
> CALIBAN
> O ho, O ho! *Would't had been done;*
> *Thou didst prevent me, I had peopled else*
> *This isle with Calibans*.[196]

It is no coincidence that his plans rival Prospero's and Ferdinand's intentions: this way, Shakespeare sets up the conflicting poles between which the action of the play unfolds and, furthermore, highlights the distinct contrast between Prospero's dynastic schemes and Caliban's own intentions. The tripartite structure of the characters' interrelations and interdependences of the Shakespearean original is echoed in Hogarth's illustration.[197] Bearing in mind Shakespeare's emphasis upon Miranda's chastity, it hardly seems surprising that Hogarth's visual representation should bring to the fore her alleged virtue in the same manner.[198] In his illustration, Miranda's moral integrity appears to be, at a first glance, depicted in a positive fashion by the grouping of the play's central characters. Furthermore, her pivotal role is emphasized by the visual analogon of the three male characters attempting to lay their claims.

[196] Cf. T. 1.2.345-352, emphasis added.
[197] Cf. Mark Hallett, "High Art", in *Hogarth*, op. cit., p. 202.
[198] Cf. Lisa Hopkins, *Shakespearean Marriage: Merry Wives and Heavy Husbands* (Houndmills et al.: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), p.178.

II.1.2.3.2 Iconography

The aspect that inspired Hogarth to employ Christian iconography and its topical parallels must have been the play's apparent focus upon Miranda and the character's chastity. As highlighted in the majority of essays and monographs dealing with Hogarth and his adaptations from Shakespeare,[199] the main iconographical sources for this illustration of *The Tempest* were Baroque and Renaissance Biblical painting,[200] viz. depictions of the Nativity of Christ and the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.[201] The most apparent manifestation of the fact that Hogarth employed the Christian tradition of visualization is constituted by the overall constellation of characters. In this regard, two iconographical traditions have been blended: on the one hand, the position of Ferdinand, Prospero and Caliban in relation to Miranda – the deferential postures of Prospero and Ferdinand in particular – call to mind the visualizations of the Adoration of the Magi. Correspondingly, the half-open rocky scenery accentuates the parallel of the events to a nativity scene. Likewise, Ariel floating over the mock-stable is shown instead of the host of angels who generally accompany such visualizations of the birth of Christ. His figure might allude to the celestial harmony the earthly union of Miranda and Ferdinand would restore after the usurpation of the throne of Milan. Instead of making the infant Jesus the main focus of the illustration, however, Hogarth has positioned the only female character of the play in the centre of attention. The young sheep to which Miranda has been feeding milk alludes to the lamb typology, originating in the Old Testament,[202] evoking the original constellation of Renaissance nativity scenes. Miranda has had to abandon her action of feeding the lamb because of Ferdinand's sudden arrival, and her surprise is reflected by the fact that she is "showing a nipple and has just spilled the milk she was feeding her lamb."[203] Both aspects contribute to Miranda's

[199] Cf. Robert Halsband, "Stage Drama as a Source for Pictorial and Plastic Arts", in *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660-1800*. Ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1984), pp. 149-170; Krömer 47; Marcia Pointon. „Representing the Tempest in Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery", in *The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery*, eds. Walter Pape and Frederick Burwick (Essen: Verlag Peter Pomp, 1996), pp. 103-113; Paulson 1982; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times*. 2 Vols., (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971); Grant F. Scott, "To Play the King: Illustrations from the Tempest in Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery", in *The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery*, op. cit., pp. 113-122; Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France & British Art. The rise of the arts in 18th-century Britain* (Cornwall: Hogarth Arts, 2007).
[200] Cf. Sillars, p. 53.
[201] Cf. Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: p. 216; Krömer, p. 47.
[202] Cf. Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Harlot: Sacred Parody in Enlightenment England* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 3.
[203] Simon 2007: p. 78.

portrayal as a chaste young woman in her prime, ready to enter the prosperous state of marriage her father has intended for her. The inadvertent exposure of her chest does not seem to embarrass Miranda because of her innocent upbringing on the remote island.[204] Furthermore, her exposed breast and the act of feeding the lamb highlight her eligibility for the role of the mother in Ferdinand and Miranda's future state of matrimony.

Bearing in mind the painting's apparent theme, the lamb, of course, supports the supposed chastity of Miranda, although somehow, the idyllic gesture of feeding seems disturbed by the presence of the three male figures, an impression that is emphasized by the associations with violent slaughter, evoked by the ritual sacrifice of lambs in the Old Testament.[205] Somehow, Miranda's virginity seems to be at stake in a different manner than upon a first viewing of the illustration. Now, at a second glance, the ostensible harmony of the scene appears to be uncertain. For one, the inconspicuous background that appeared to corroborate Miranda's alleged claims of purity at first sight no longer conveys a pristine impression: likewise, in the same manner that Miranda's throne is man-made, the perfectly geometrical steps and the passage, clearly, can only have been hewn into the rock:[206] a deliberate manipulation of the natural environment that seems to echo the past events. Thus, Prospero's dynastic scheme relies strongly upon the invasive act of subjugating the environment to his own interests, marking a stark contrast to the untouched pastoral idyll of the island, evoked by the sheep and its floral wreath, among other aspects. In the same way that the clouds and lightning in the top left corner recall his complicity in these unnatural events, both, the archway and the symmetrical steps are apparently of Prospero's contrivance. Just like the "vn-inhabited island", the Dukedom of Milan has suffered the usurpation of foreign authorities, thus echoing Shakespeare's recurrent theme of power relations. Considering these circumstances, the presence of Caliban, bearing the logs Prospero ordered him to gather earlier on[207] contrasts sharply with the outward harmony of the overall setting. Likewise, his entry upon the scene is facilitated by the same infrastructural elements of the civilized realm whose contentious values are brought into question by the illustration. In his scheme, the magus deems it justified to resort to his magical powers

[204] Cf. T.1.2.38-41.
[205] Cf. ibid.
[206] For a very interesting theory about the source for Hogarth's composition, especially its structure, please see Simon 2007: p. 80.
[207] Cf. T 1.2.313.

in order to restore in Milan what he considers to be the rightful order. Consequently, he identifies Caliban as the malignant force that is out to thwart these supposedly righteous aims. Prospero's evaluation contrasts sharply with the fact that it is, in fact, Caliban who has been forced into the marginal position – a detail implemented quite literally in William Hogarth's adaptation of the play. Not only is Caliban depicted as the pitiable onlooker of Prospero's dynastic ambitions, the logs he carries on his back in fact accentuate that it is only through his assistance that Ferdinand's and Miranda's union can be completed:[208] Caliban is illustrated carrying the logs that are meant to function as a symbolic ordeal, meant to prove the sincerity of Ferdinand's vows but also to ensure that the lovers' affection will outlive the initial surge of passions.[209] Thus, in addition to the illustration's patent focus on Miranda's chastity, William Hogarth also accentuates the theme of subjugation and colonization in his visualization of the play. In this regard, the way the illustration depicts the encounter with the other refers to the ambivalence or even hypocrisy of the value system represented by Prospero primarily. His ethics of chastity, and the necessity of honest work to achieve certain goals are undermined by his reliance upon his magic on the one hand and the illegitimate intrusion into Caliban's realm and the latter's subsequent subjugation.

Such relations of submission and power are continued in the iconographical structures inherent in the depiction of the relation of Ferdinand and Miranda. Taking the former's submissive approach to Miranda as the posture of the Archangel Gabriel, and Miranda's raised left hand as a sign of the Virgin Mary's bewilderment that she has been chosen to give birth to Jesus Christ, permits the identification of the iconographical tradition of the Annunciation as the second underlying biblical iconographical structure in this illustration.[210] As if to emphasize this biblical episode, William Hogarth's illustration includes an open book showing the names of the three archangels symbolizing the prophecies of the Old Testament, fulfilled by the birth of Jesus Christ.[211] This theme of Baroque/Renaissance annunciation paintings is taken up by the red and blue of Miranda's fine garments. These colours also set her apart from the rest of the illustration

[208] *The Tempest* contains a number of allusions to the task of log-gathering and log-bearing. E.g., first, Prospero reveals Caliban's role "in offices//That profit" him and Miranda in Act One, Scene 2. At the beginning of Act Three, then, Miranda begs Ferdinand to exonerate him from his (symbolic) burden. It is all but impossible that the theatre connoisseur Hogarth included this detail in his illustration without being aware of the logs' double function.
[209] Cf. T 1.2.451ff.
[210] For this and the following cf. Sillars, p. 53. Cf. also Allen, p. 54.
[211] Cf. Krömer, p. 47.

and accentuate her relationship with Ferdinand. Their role in Prospero's stratagem and the play in general is emphasized by their depiction in noble dress:[212] thus, not only are they the only figures standing out from the shades of brown of the rest of the illustration; the blue colour of their garments match, as if to underline, additionally, their connection in their forthcoming state of matrimony. More importantly still, their matching appearance draws attention to their royal descent and, therefore, also to their social eligibility for marriage. Thanks to their social status, only fornication on either side would be in the way of their union.[213] Correspondingly, a transgression of the lines of class would have meant a threat for Prospero's dynastic project – a detail that did not escape Hogarth's attentive eye. Furthermore, Miranda's head is clad in a veil – most likely prefiguring her wedding with Ferdinand –, adorned with an ensemble of flowers and buds very similar to those worn around the neck of the lamb, once more emphasizing her maidenhead. Thematically, the artist here appears to refer to the masque in act four scene one where Iris, Ceres and Juno appear, thus emphasizing the ideal of a chaste marriage while, at the same time promising its reward represented by the prosperous future of Naples and Milan. Of course, this harmonious scene is interrupted as soon as Prospero remembers that "the beast Caliban and his confederates"[214] still seek his life – this detail will become significant at a later point in this chapter:

> IRIS
>
> Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
> Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats and peas;
> Thy turfy mountains where live nibbling sheep,
> And flat meads thatched with stover them to keep;
> Thy banks with pioned and twilled brims,
> Which spongy April at thy hest betrims
> To make cold nymphs chaste crowns;[215]

Iris, commonly associated with the rainbow,[216] and whose colours ornament Miranda's head and the sheep's neck, thus eulogizes Ceres, goddess of the earth and protrectress of

[212] Incidentally, for Hogarth this meant no deviation from his overall accuracy in representing the Shakespearean original. As Marcia Pointon writes, it is "worth noting here that *The Tempest* offered full licence to illustrators and artists to clothe the characters as elaborately as they wished since Prospero tells his daughter that Gonzalo arranged for them to take away with them "Rich garments, linens, stuffs and necessaries." Cf. Marcia Pointon. "Representing 'The Tempest' in Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery", in Pape and Burwick, op. cit.,. p. 106.
[213] Cf. Lisa Hopkins, *Shakespearean Marriage: Merry Wives and Heavy Husbands* (Houndmills et al.: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), p. 181.
[214] T 4.1.140.
[215] T 4.1.60-66.
[216] Cf. Robert Kilburn Root, *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare* (New York, NY: Gordian Press, Inc., 1965), p. 77.

the harvest, implying that the virtue of Ferdinand's and Miranda's chaste union would be echoed by the crowns on the nymphs' heads.

Echoing the events of the Annunciation, Ariel enters as the Archangel Gabriel to attend the scene of Ferdinand's and Miranda's first meeting. In this way, the antithetical relationship of Ariel and Caliban is emphasized by including the spirit into the illustration: in this manner, the illustration provides a moral spectrum with Ariel's virtue on the one end and Caliban's supposed base savagery on the other. The former is visualized, correspondingly, in compliance with the textual original: being "subject to no sight" but his own and Prospero's, "invisible/To every eyeball else"[217], therefore semi-transparent, Ariel hovers over the scene representing the airy element. Caliban's depiction, on the other hand, emphasizes his earthiness: his colouring, physique and lustful gaze epitomize his baseness that both, playwright and illustrator intended to convey. Miranda is thus positioned on this polar scale between earth and air, vice and virtue, her pose echoing the *contrapposto* of Ariel, her weight shifted to the left slightly. Finally, the colour of Miranda's garment is taken up in Ariel's cloak,[218] rounding off her portrayal as the Virgin/virgin.

[217] T 1.2.302f.
[218] Cf. Simon 1979: p. 217.

II.1.2.3.3 Interpretation

As it has been outlined earlier on, Hogarth lived in a time in which the concept of the female other was undergoing considerable change. A close reading of women's conduct books thus revealed that the society Hogarth lived in was biased concerning the manner in which women were expected to conform to moral standards. In this context, it seems difficult to maintain that Hogarth's shared interest with Shakespeare in Miranda's virginal status should be mere coincidence. Also if we go back in Hogarth's career as an engraver, illustrator and painter, the apparent emphasis on one central female character and her sexuality calls to mind, inevitably, the theme of his most famous conversation piece – *The Harlot's Progress* (Figure 8). Considering this focus on a single woman and the ambivalence with which the concept of the female other was being negotiated in Hogarth's day, it seems worthwhile to approach *A Scene from the Tempest* with this most successful series in mind.[219] From a formal point of view, it may be observed that Hogarth knew how to compensate for the limited temporal dimension of his canvas: while the *Harlot's Progress'* serial format made it a lot easier for Hogarth to represent the unfolding of the protagonist's story, Hogarth's *A Scene from the Tempest* is confined to the dimensions provided by the frame of the painting.

Also thematically, it is expedient to carry out the interpretation of the *Tempest* illustration against the background of his earlier series. Both, *A Harlot's Progress* and *A Scene from the Tempest*, exploit biblical subjects, although, in the case of the former, he only vaguely refers to the life of St Mary. William Hogarth's cycle of conversation pieces tells the story of Moll Hackabout, a young woman who precipitated her moral and financial downfall by leading the life of a prostitute. On the one hand, his *Scene from the Tempest* – at a first glance, at least – suggests the chastity of the central female figure. This could be demonstrated with regard to Hogarth's adherence to the Shakespearean original. On the other hand, however, his earlier series of illustrations *A Harlot's Progress*, ironically, commences at the very point in Moll Hackabout's "progress" when her personal and moral downfall are already imminent. Similarly, already in the second plate of this series, she is depicted immediately after her first night as a prostitute,[220] in stark contrast to the superficial appearance of Miranda's status in

[219] Cf. Paulson 1982: p. 49
[220] Cf. ibid.

the *Tempest* illustration. It would seem very improbable that Hogarth should have forgotten about his treatment when devising this rendering. Bearing in mind the popularity of women's conduct books and the eighteenth century concept of the female other that could be inferred in this context, it would, in fact, seem very plausible that William Hogarth assumed the moralizing tone of this well-sold and widely circulating series of prints in his adaptation of Shakespeare, employing it as a critique of society's contentious demands towards and their misconceptions of women and their virtue. Especially the double standard of expecting only women to be chaste, and the social reality this clashed with on the other seem to be under critical assault in both, Hogarth's *Harlot* and his *Tempest* illustration.

8 William Hogarth, *A Harlot's Progress*, plate 1, 1733

In a similar fashion, Hogarth's first plate of the *Harlot's Progress* employs the "imagery of the anti-mary", i. e. a young girl examined and cajoled into prostitution by her prospective bawd.[221] In a similar fashion, the young woman's imperilled innocence is symbolized ironically by the rose attached to her dress. Furthermore, this imminence of her moral downfall is implied by the toppling panniers on the left margin of the

[221] It seems sufficient for the purpose of this study to restrict the description of this plate to very few aspects. For further reading please see Jenny Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), Chapter 10.

engraving, as well as the cracks of the building in the centre, and the dead goose whose head is hanging out of a basket in the bottom right corner. It seems Hogarth had in mind the contrast between the external appearance of the heroine and her impending ruin. As William Hogarth himself pointed out to the French commentator Jean André Rouquet, the clergyman fails to notice what must be the most pivotal moment in the life of Moll Hackabout.[222] In his series *A Harlot's Progress*, thus, especially the church and its two-faced policy of advertising Christian values on the one hand, while, at the same time, turning their back on those in need on the other, meets Hogarth's criticism here. Furthermore, this again draws attention to the fact that it is common to find an antithesis of what seems to be depicted and what is implied by certain symbolical structures in Hogarth's works.

Returning to the illustration, and keeping in mind Hogarth's depiction of Moll Hackabout's fate in his *Harlot's Progress*, some details that seemed of only minor importance at a first call for another interpretation of the way Miranda is depicted in William Hogarth's *A Scene from the Tempest*: as mentioned, portraying the character in the context of the iconographical framework of Renaissance/Baroque paintings alludes to what surely must have been the most decisive events in the life of the Virgin Mary – the Birth of her only son Jesus Christ, attended by the Magi, and its preceding Annunciation by the Archangel Gabriel, indicated by Miranda's defensive gesture. Correspondingly, the lamb typology and Miranda's white skin, which appears to shine even brighter than the putto's robe, seem to attest to her claim that she is still a virgin. The first detail subverting this claim in the Tempest illustration, however, is constituted by the depiction of her bared shoulder and chest, matching the often prurient tone of many of Hogarth's works of visual art.[223] To be sure, it would be possible to explain this detail alone with regard to the Baroque style of the painting. In a similar fashion, this detail of Miranda's exposed nipple might also serve to suggest "her innocence in the literal sense of 'not knowing' either about men or about erotic zones."[224] It must be observed, however, that there are other aspects weakening the tenability of Miranda's tacit and explicit avowal in the *Tempest* illustration.[225] Likewise, the depiction of the liquid Miranda spills upon Ferdinand's arrival, is echoed in the spittle running out of

[222] Cf. Uglow, p. 201.
[223] Cf. Simon 2007: p. 81.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Cf. Uglow, p. 201.

Caliban's mouth at the sight of Miranda (Figure 9). Is it only Caliban, or does Hogarth intend to establish a connection between this detail and Miranda's own sexual arousal?

9 Detail from William Hogarth, *A Scene from the Tempest*, c. 1735-1738

Interestingly, the spilling of fluids constitutes an iconographical quirk Hogarth employed in many of his works,[226] e. g. in the following illustration (Figure 10). The ongoing critique the illustration joins in addresses the economic rift between the upper and lower classes of eighteenth-century society in England, a detail that is visible, quite literally, on the ground, separating the poorer class from the rich. Likewise, the outward poverty and immorality of the people on the right, the latter being epitomized by the overflowing liquid and the woman (resembling Moll Hackabout conspicuously) engaged in sexual activity with the black man, clearly aims at contrasting it with the church-goers on the left, who are dressed in expensive garments emphasizing their wealth.

[226] Cf. David Dabydeen, "Hogarth and the Cane Cutter", in *The Tempest and its Travels*, eds. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), p. 260.

10 William Hogarth, *Four Times of the Day*, plate 2 (*Noon*), 1738

Similar to this depiction of liquids being spilled, Miranda's blushed cheeks insinuate that, although she may be still a virgin, she certainly is moved, upon seeing Ferdinand for the first, time by the same sexual impetus, which is made to appear so condemnable in Caliban's (visual and dramatic) representation. Allestree's five step programme on female conduct, it may be recalled, would already take Miranda's blushing as a clear deviation from what was expected to be a woman's chaste behaviour in public. In other words, giving other men reason to feel exposed to the lure of female temptation would

have challenged the concept of the female other in the first half of the eighteenth century. In this regard, the juxtaposition of Miranda's latent and Caliban's manifest sensuality moves Hogarth's uncertainty about the validity and integrity of the day's value system to the fore. Correspondingly, it seems apt to take this parallel in the depiction of Miranda and Caliban as the beginning of an increasingly less clear-cut opposition in the interpretation of Caliban's savageness and Miranda's civilization concerning the development of *Tempest* illustrations altogether.

Adding to the impression that eighteenth century morals are under critical scrutiny in the illustration, Hogarth also appears to imply in the Shakespeare illustration that Prospero is well advised to exert his role as a custodian. This is suggested by his physical closeness to his daughter in the illustration: Prospero emphasizes his control of the situation in Shakespeare's *Tempest* when he says in an aside, "They are both in either's pow'rs. But this swift business / I must uneasy make, lest too winning / Make the prize light."[227] At this point in the argumentation, it has to be conceded that there remains some uncertainty concerning the precise nature of Hogarth's moral critique. Couldn't it also be that Caliban's conspicuously lecherous appearance in the illustration makes him the menacing other threatening Miranda's sincere effort of complying with society's moral expectations? It is difficult to eliminate this uncertainty entirely. Thus, it also thinkable that Hogarth's interpretation insinuates that the loss of Miranda's virginity has actually occurred or is imminent. Considering the iconographic structures of the *A Harlot's Progress* series, this reading is not entirely far-fetched, and it would also explain why the artist decided to deviate from the Shakespearean original despite his self-alleged aim for dramatic verisimilitude. Since the artist boasted to adhere to the Shakespearean original so faithfully, the integration of a textual detail from one scene into another – Caliban's presence in the scene although he is supposed to have left the scene according to the stage directions – might call for this interpretation of Hogarth's visualization: in an attempt to expand the limited temporal structure of his canvas, as he did by representing the *Harlot's Progress* in a serial format, Hogarth deliberately interlocked several temporal layers. As if to foreshadow the events which might occur later, Caliban is looming over the action as a dark shape, threatening the schemes of Ferdinand and Prospero. Adding to this impression, his opposition to their plans is also symbolized by the crushing of the two linked doves with his foot.[228] On a formal level

[227] T.1.2.451-453.
[228] Cf. Jane Martineau et al., op. cit., p. 54.

of interpretation, this demonstrates how Hogarth knew how to employ the resources of the visual artist in order to arrive at a faithful representation of the Shakespearean original: e. g. the pair of doves, a symbolism common already during Hogarth's lifetime, insinuates an event that would have been difficult to include in one single pictorial instance. Caliban thus conspicuously intrudes into Hogarth's *Scene* that would otherwise almost entirely speak in favour of Miranda's claim of her chastity. Correspondingly, this particular detail also foreshadows a similar situation, which occurs during the masque of Iris, Juno and Ceres in act four: as soon as Prospero remembers that he still has to thwart the plans of Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo, the outward harmony of the scene depicted is disturbed.[229] In the same way, the bright red of the garment thrown over Miranda's coral throne, in stark contrast to the lilywhite of purity, found in most Annunciations of High Art, might imply the (imminent) loss of her virginity.

What can be inferred from William Hogarth's particular interpretation of the Shakespearean original pastiche of St Mary in his illustration of *The Tempest*? Some of the aspects the artist addressed in his series of conversation pieces *A Harlot's Progress* reappear in this context, but before turning to a more thorough analysis of his Shakespeare adaptation, some further characteristics of the art market of Hogarth's day need to be taken into consideration.

First of all, it becomes apparent already from his remark to Rouquet that the Church as an institution – even by the standards of the English eighteenth century's climate of undogmatic religiosity – did not have a very safe standing in the society of William Hogarth's day.[230] After the Civil War, the church and the state had developed into two separate spheres, and likewise, the political influence of the church had been greatly diminished during Hogarth's day; the influence of the institution, it must be emphasized, for religion and faith in general played a considerable important role in this century.[231] But this was the century of an ever-growing reading public, the spread of coffee houses, periodicals and newspapers, which also determined the shape of religiosity. Correspondingly, the growth in the number of readers and the public

[229] As a matter of fact, this aspect has been overlooked in the majority of essays, articles and books dealing with *The Tempest* and the aspects of colonization and power relations in particular. Thus, Gabriel Egan writes, "the key moment that criticism has failed to explain is the disruption that ends the masque that Prospero puts on for the delight of Miranda and Ferdinand. Cf. Gabriel Egan, *Shakespeare* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 215.
[230] Cf. Krysmanski 1996, p. 34f.
[231] Sambrook, p. 31.

exchange of personal views was paralleled by a great emphasis on the centrality of God's word alone and the believers' individual way of relating to it. The main focus now lay on the individual concern with religion in the study of the Prayer Book and the Bible; there was, then, a very close connection between everyday life and the moral guidance of the Gospel. In a similar fashion, an excessive outward display of religiosity was considered inappropriate. What most people were concerned with, therefore were not so much the issues of official religious doctrine of the church rather than the relevance of certain articles of faith for their own existence.[232] The eighteenth century, then, was a period that saw the decline of church attendance, even though there was, at the time, a strong sense of the rightfulness and validity of the Protestant doctrine.[233] Similarly, there was a considerable degree of public scepticism towards the sumptuous religiosity of the Catholic Church in particular. This overly lavish emphasis of material goods, it was thought, missed the point of the Protestant belief in living life according to the moral and ethical principles of the Bible. It has to be emphasized, all the same, that this was also a result of the general animosity towards the Catholics in England and the fear of a Jacobite resurgence or a reinstitution of Catholicism in England. As noted earlier, also during Hogarth's lifetime, the British national identity was still in its infancy years and there was a great sensitivity towards the powerful French other. This explains, then, why there was an English Protestant distrust of Catholic church decorations, images, and counter-Reformation iconography.[234] To be sure, William Hogarth could not pursue his work as an artist without being cautious about employing a religious frame for his composition,[235] but it seems more probable that the conclusion that can be arrived at from this evaluation – the general spirit of distrust towards the Counter-Reformation and its concomitant iconography – has to be that his reaction was a more active one than merely the feeling of having to be wary. Likewise, besides exhibiting the social mechanisms at work during England's formative years of an emerging Englishness, the painter's application of Renaissance iconography may also be seen as a deliberate and disparaging parody of the paintings that were flooding the art market at Hogarth's time: after all, William Hogarth was the most outstanding figure in the development of the English art tradition, and it is thanks to his efforts that English

[232] Cf. ibid., p. 46
[233] Cf. Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. Second Edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p.31.
[234] Cf. Paulson 1971.1: p. 377.
[235] Cf. ibid.

art gained a prominent role in the larger context of European art. What began to alter after William Hogarth, then, and what he frequently deplored during his lifetime, were the conditions for the professional artist. Instead of being able to pride itself of the native artists' renown, England's art market was flooded by "'Ship Loads of dead Christs, Holy Families, Madona's' [sic] being imported by profit-crazed art dealers,"[236] Hogarth lamented in a letter to a daily newspaper. Therefore, the general English public's predilection with anything resembling the style of Renaissance art of the European continent made it almost impossible for a native artist to succeed with any other topic. William Hogarth did all he could to establish an independent tradition of the fine arts in England, but the general public did not always seem to be ready for the novelty with which he attempted to accomplish this goal. Similarly, Hogarth was indignant at the mostly self-styled "connoisseurs" and critics who dictated the taste and demand of the public for such art that chiefly depicted Biblical themes, apart from some historical and mythological motifs. Frequently, the illustrator and engraver included such paintings in his own works[237] in order to criticize the penchant of collectors and self-styled connoisseurs' to accumulate religious paintings for the sole purpose of boastful display, entirely unaffected by the moral influence Hogarth intended to be exerted upon the viewer.[238] When William Hogarth alludes to this iconographical tradition, therefore, it is obvious that the illustrator also turned a jealous eye to the continental art market and its visualization of Biblical topics as a profitable source of income. Correspondingly, while in those areas on the Continent where Catholicism was the predominant religion, Christian subjects commissioned by the nobility was still the central focus of the fine arts, Puritan England lacked these resources.[239] Consequently, his employment of an iconography and compositional structures similar to those from continental art in his visualization of Shakespeare's *Tempest* reflects his disgruntlement at the domination of the local art market by the connoisseurs and critics who favoured such works over those of genuinely English origin. Accordingly, *A Scene from The Tempest*, shows, to a certain extent, that it was William Hogarth's intention to expose and to criticize the "connoisseurs'" predilection with the foreign, especially in its extensive utilization of Christian iconography.[240]

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[236] Bernd Krysmanski, "Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*: An 'Anti-Passion' in Disguise", in *1650-1850: Ideas, Aesthetics and Inquiries in the Early Modern Area*, 4 (1998). p. 138.
[237] Cf. the fourth plate of his series *Marriage à la Mode.*
[238] Cf. Dabydeen 1987: p. 74.
[239] Cf. ibid.
[240] Cf. ibid. and Ronald Paulson 1971.2: p. 350.

It cannot be overstated, therefore, that it was a fortunate coincidence that the first half of the eighteenth century knew a man like William Hogarth, artist and successful entrepreneur, to address this issue. When Hogarth completed his illustration of *The Tempest*, it was he around whom a circle of artists had gathered, among them Francis Hayman and François Roubilliac and Hubert François Gravelot, with whom he shared many of his artistic principles. Why, the young men must have thought, does a great nation of liberty, learning and science still depend on the Continent's cultural evaporations? David Mannings assumes that this was the case because the English public not only lacked the necessary aesthetic discernment, they also wanted the apprehension that, just as their nation had brought forth a "Shakespeare and a Milton, they might also produce a Raphael or a Titian."[241] To prove that they might, indeed, became the driving motivation for Hogarth and the artists of his circle in the production of their decorations for Vauxhall Gardens – to illustrate the potential of the local art market. Although none of the paintings produced to adorn the fifty supper boxes in Vauxhall Gardens can be precisely dated, they were, by all likelihood, original in their effort to introduce literary painting to a wider audience; paintings, therefore, that had national culture as their sources, manifesting Hogarth's endeavour to contribute to the creation of a national tradition of art. In this regard, it is not insignificant that their themes ranged from local custom to subjects taken from plays and novels.[242] Correspondingly, the enterprise manifests a conscious act of acquainting the English public with their very own art.[243] Shakespeare and Shakespeare illustration were thus pivotal contributors to the formation of Englishness in the eighteenth century. It was, therefore, a turn against the sumptuous tradition of the Continent and, simultaneously, a search for those qualities that were assumed to inform the soul of the young nation: an interest for the individual and its personal liberty, accompanied by a focus upon the lived experience of everyday life, epitomized by figures like Moll Hackabout and Miranda. William Hogarth's motivations for his *A Scene from the Tempest*, therefore, become comprehensible, if seen as a continuation of such efforts: contributing to the establishment of a tradition of the fine arts in England independent of the continental one dominated by the catholicized works of art from France, Italy or even Spain.[244] In

[241] David Mannings, "The Visual Arts", In *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain. Vol. 5. The Augustan Age*. Ed. Boris Ford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 107.
[242] Cf. Altickv1985: p. 14.
[243] Cf. Paulson 1971: p. 350. Robin Simon contradicts this claim in Simon 2007: p. 2.
[244] Cf. Simon 2007: p. 278.

his illustration, therefore, Hogarth virtually replaced the structures of foreign art with a genuinely English "product" – William Shakespeare:[245] the conspicuous substitution of the Renaissance depictions of the Virgin Mary with a Shakespearean character within the iconographical structure parodied in this illustration, then, is a remarkable example of Hogarth's determination. While this alone certainly does not suffice as a satisfactory interpretation of the rich allusiveness of the illustration, his discontent with the condition of the English art market combined with his desire to address its insufficiencies as one of his motivations for the implementation of compositional and iconographical structures of the Renaissance with an adaptation of one of Shakespeare's plays certainly was the Hogarth's strongest motivation.

This chapter, in a nutshell, has shown that the way otherness is encountered in Hogarth's Shakespeare illustration is at least twofold. Encountering the other in Hogarth's *Tempest* illustration mainly comes down to the face-off between England and its great political antagonist France. Correspondingly, his visual interpretation of *The Tempest*, aims at a parody of those traditions of high art of England's biggest rival on the European continent. The main line of this argument was developed especially with regard to his complex employment of iconographical structures. In this context, it could be shown that these structures refer to the continental tradition of Renaissance and Baroque art. On account of Catholicism's dominant influence on its art scene and the corresponding demand for religious art, especially France appeared as the other that is encountered in the parody of the illustration's iconography. Owing to Hogarth's manifold talents as an engraver, artist and entrepreneur, therefore, *A Scene from the Tempest* is best understood against the context of the developments in early eighteenth century England, viz. the process of establishing Englishness, i. e. a national culture that was "truly English". Like that, Hogarth became one of the most important contributors to emphasizing the autonomy of English art over the French tradition. Encountering the other, thus, was demonstrably a central mechanism in the process of establishing the identity of the English self, of England as a national community. Considering the multiplicity of Hogarth's interests as an artist, entrepreneur, Englishman and a caustic commentator of the current affairs of his day, it could also be illustrated – as a mere case in point of this main line of thought, however – that it was Hogarth's intention to

[245] Cf. Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Hummel, "Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and Its Role in Promoting English History Painting", in Pape and Burwick, op. cit., p. 34.

deride certain cultural practices of continental art and theatre – another contribution to and a manifestation of the process of England's "forging the nation". Otherness, in this context, influenced the demarcation of what began to emerge as "Englishness" from the bulk of undesirable and menacing qualities the French rival on the European continent was associated with.

More prominently, but on a less international scale, it could also be outlined that Hogarth's *Tempest* illustration, as a historical document in the sense of Tolkemitt and Wohlfeil, was intended to partake in the controversy about female otherness. For this purpose, the study juxtaposed his *Scene from the Tempest* with the *A Harlot Progress* series. Behind the superficially chaste depiction of Miranda, we thus became witness to Hogarth's habit of commenting on eighteenth century current affairs. Miranda thus re-appears in Hogarth's visualization of the Shakespearean play as the modernized "female other", a young woman struggling with eighteenth-century society's image of her gender and the accompanying moral expectations.

II.2 John Hamilton Mortimer's *Caliban*

With regard to the iconographical structure of the illustration, it is certainly extraordinary that Hogarth employed a constellation of the principal characters in order to draw the attention to Miranda's ambivalent status. This impression is emphasized by the next *Tempest* illustration this study discusses. Turning to John Hamilton Mortimer's version of the play, therefore, immediately reveals the main difference of the artist's approach (Figure 11).

11 John Hamilton Mortimer, *Caliban*, 1775

The format of Mortimer's 1775 painting as well as the focus upon Caliban exhibits that the artist's fascination with *The Tempest* was constituted by his principal interest in one of Shakespeare's most original creations. Not only does this imply an novelty in terms of the topical focus of a Shakespeare illustration. Mortimer's approach also differs from the general practice of illustrating the playwright's pieces in the eighteenth century:

> Mortimer's etchings of Shakespearean heads are a quite original contribution to the illustration of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century. They are distinct both from the book illustrations of the period and from the theatrical conversation pieces, almost documentary in tone, of Zoffany and indeed Mortimer himself. […] Mortimer

> concentrated on heads of famous Shakespearean characters alone, which do not represent actors of the time in their roles, but are Mortimer's own conception of the character, drawn from the text of the play…There is no precedent for illustrating heads of Shakespearean characters alone.[246]

Exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1775 as one of eleven drawings solely depicting individual Shakespearean characters, a portrait of the bard was included making it an in even twelve. Mortimer's motivation for his focus on individual characters rather than a visualization of a whole set of them is best understood in relation to his artistic development as well as in the historical context of the illustration's production.

> Born in Eastbourne on the coast of Sussex, he had, according to Cunningham, ample opportunity as a boy to observe the characters and habits of those outcasts of society whose image later appear in the sketches of robbers and nomadic soldiers for which he first became known.[247]

The young artist soon became infamous for his wild fits of frenzy[248] and obsession with the fantastic and fanciful. He thus developed a fascination with Shakespeare and his ability to go beyond the boundaries of the imaginable and to make original creations. Accordingly, Mortimer "in exploring Shakespeare's multifaceted and varied creations, was giving witness of the protean nature of his genius."[249] In this way Mortimer's illustration of Shakespeare's work must be seen as an expression of praising Shakespeare

> for the power of his sympathetic imagination, which allowed him peerlessly to project himself into myriad personalities. As Montague said of him in 1769, "In delineating characters he must be allowed far to surpass all dramatic writers, and even Homer himself." However, rather than give a balanced offering in his twelve prints, Mortimer favored characters who are mad, malevolent or under extreme duress.[250]

While this, of course emphasizes, Mortimer's personal interest in the individuality of the character Caliban, a marginalized figure in the play, it must also be conceded that this focus is mostly due to the artist's constant search for creative sources of the fanciful and extravagant. Similarly, his series of twelve heads received a very heterogeneous

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[246] John Sunderland, *John Hamilton Mortimer: His Life and Works* (Leeds: The Walpole Society, 1986), p. 78. Cf. also Krömer, p. 29.
[247] Joseph W. Donahue, "Joseph Hamilton Mortimer and Shakespearean Characterization", in *The Princeton Library University Chronicle*, 29 (1968), pp. 193-207. Here, p. 200.
[248] William L. Pressly, *The Artist as Original Genius. Shakespeare's "Fine Frenzy" in Late-Eighteenth Century British Art* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2007), p. 41.
[249] Pressly 2007: p. 49.
[250] Ibid.

acclaim.[251] Nevertheless, this individualizing impulse also has a twofold socio-cultural implication: within a wider context of signification, the focus upon a single character of *The Tempest* emphasizes that, at the close of the eighteenth century, there was an interest for the individual rather than society at large, i. e. the latter's composition in general and the interrelation of its individual members. In this context, Caliban's multi-layered and ambiguous character certainly provides the greatest potential for pre-Romantic tendencies of introspection and the search for personal identity. Perhaps it is apt to say that this was the first time in the tradition of *Tempest* illustrations that Caliban began to be perceived as a representative of an entire mode of thinking; within the spectrum of rejection and fear on the one end and fascination on the other, the way his otherness was thought of, then, seemed to be constituted by an emphasis on fascination or even identification with Caliban.

In less abstract terms, the illustration bespeaks Mortimer's more particular interest in Caliban, namely in the context of the artist's earlier visualizations of so-called *banditti*: In 1772, Mortimer began to focus upon these peripheral figures, outcasts of society, and in the following year he extended the subject to a portrayal of these characters in a more domestic context, "including his courtship and family."[252] Mortimer's attention to such outlaw characters culminated, in the years 1774 and 1775, in the production of the series *Progress of Vice* and *Progress of Virtue*. This enterprise recalls Hogarth's social critique in his series of conversation pieces – *A Harlot's Progress* and *A Rake's Progress*. His exclusive focus upon such peripheral characters like the *banditti* and Caliban in the same year, however, emphasizes Mortimer's "humanizing of these figures" as an "early manifestation of the Romantic movement, which gave outcasts and anti-establishment figures a heroic stature and a full, if not over-full, complement of feelings and emotions."[253] The tendency not to, or at least not predominantly, depict Caliban, as the "savage and deformed slave" that Shakespeare intended him to be, but in a human and individual gesture is manifested most conspicuously in the low angle from which character is presented to the viewer. From this perspective, Caliban is bestowed with a certain dignity: although his exterior still has certain animalistic features – long claws clasped around the log, profuse body hair

[251] Ibid.
[252] Sunderland, p. 58.
[253] Ibid.

and canine ears[254] – Caliban looks considerably more human than in any previous illustration of *The Tempest*, anticipating the sympathetic depiction of Caliban by Romantic writers such as Hazlitt and Coleridge.[255] The viewer, it seems is invited to sympathize with Caliban's miserable fate by bestowing the character with human traits. This marks a stark contrast to William Hogarth's moralizing approach,[256] and, in a similar way, to Henry Fuseli's visual renderings of the play. Thus, as shall become apparent in the following chapter, Fuseli employed his figure in order to create an antithetical relation. Instead of making this nexus the basis of social criticism predominantly, however, Fuseli used Shakespeare's *Tempest* as an inspiration for his aesthetic.

[254] Perhaps this feature was inspired by Trinculo's exclamation: "I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed monster." T 2.2.151-152. It has also been suggested, however, that this particular detail may have been derived from Salvator Rosa's etching *Tritons fighting*. Cf. *The Poetical Circle. Fuseli and the British*, Exhibition Catalogue (Florence: Centro Di, 1979), p. 114.
[255] Cf. Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: p. 221.
[256] Cf. Tobin, p. 47.

II.3 Henry Fuseli's renderings of *The Tempest*

When William Hogarth took his turn at illustrating *The Tempest*, as has been noted earlier on in the study, the art market in England still lacked the concerted thrust and lacked those talented individuals that could have promoted the development of an independent branch of native art. Likewise, book illustration developed only by slow degrees, and of those few Shakespeare illustrations that did exist, about half were produced by visiting or immigrated artists, from the European continent. Especially the French artist-engravers continued to constitute the dominating influence on book illustration in the first half of the century.[257] Not only did they thus hold their sway in the English art world of the eighteenth century, also their contribution to the visual arts in England and Shakespeare illustration in particular was indispensable.[258]

Among the most outstanding heads of this cohort of foreign Shakespeare illustrators, there was also a young Swiss, who had been born under the name of Johann Heinrich Füssli. Much has been written about this artist,[259] who eventually abandoned his home country permanently, adopting the more English-sounding name of Henry Fuseli.[260] Our purpose of examining the circumstances of his approach to the illustration of Shakespeare and the way his adaptations attest to a shift in the way the other was encountered will require to take a closer look at the artist's biography and his aesthetic, in particular. Correspondingly, it will be a central implication of the following section that Fuseli's interpretation of *The Tempest* was influenced by an exceptional aesthetic hybridity, that was informed in turn by a fusion of two major strands of philosophical

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[257] Cf. Hodnett 1988: p. 67.

[258] Cf. Paul H. D. Kaplan, "The Earliest Images of Othello", in *Shakespeare and the Arts*, eds. Stephen Orgel and Sean Keilen (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), p. 261.

[259] Cf. Ursula Ditchburn-Bosch, *Johann Heinrich Füsslis Kunstlehre und ihre Auswirkung auf seine Shakespeare-Interpretation*, Diss. (Zürich: Juris-Verlag, 1960); Hans A. Hammelmann, "Eighteenth-Century English Illustrators: Henry Fuseli RA", in *The Book Collector*, 6 (1957). pp. 350-361; Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Hummel, "Johann Heinrich Füsslis Illustrationen zu Shakespeares *Macbeth* unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Kunsttheorie", in *Arcadia: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft*, 20:3 (1985). pp. 225-238; Karen Junod, "Henry Fuseli's Pragmatic Use of Aesthetics: His Epic Illustrations of Macbeth", in *Word & Image*, 19:3 (July-September 2003), pp. 138-150; Carolyn Keay, *Henry Fuseli* (London: Academy Editions, 1974); John Knowles, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, Esq.* 3 Vols. (London: MARA, 1831); Peter Maisak, "Henry Fuseli – 'Shakespeare's Painter'", in Pape and Burwick, op. cit., pp. 57-74; Eudo C. Mason, *The Mind of Henry Fuseli. Selections from his Writings with an Introductory Study* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951); Maria Grazia Messina, "Shakespeare and the Sublime", in *Shakespeare in Art*, op. cit., pp. 61-95; Anita J. Schaefer, "The Shape of the Supernatural: Fuseli on Shakespeare", in *Iowa State Journal of Research*, 56 (1981). pp. 49-56; Sillars, op. cit., Chapters 4 & 8; Peter Tomory, *The Life and Art of Henry Fuseli* (New York and Washington: Prager Publishers, 1972);

[260] Although the painter once admitted that he could express himself the most freely in his own idiom, he tried everything to assimilate himself to the new environment. It is therefore by his anglicized name, that he shall be referred to forthwith.

thought.[261] Likewise, his reading of Prospero's encounter with the other, Caliban, is a somewhat idiosyncratic interpretation aiming for the application of his own aesthetic to the visualization of Shakespeare. In the course of the following discussion, therefore, it will not only become clear that Fuseli's aesthetic hybridity makes him an important representative of a period in the history of ideas, characterized by a transition and an overlapping of two diverse traditions of philosophical currents;[262] the ensuing pages will also elucidate how the tentative developments in the Mortimer illustration were continued in Fuseli's visualizations. Accordingly, Caliban's otherness began to be viewed with different eyes, subjecting the idea of the other to a considerable transformation.

In his adolescent years, Fuseli's artistic development was influenced by his interest in classicism.[263] Soon, he largely abandoned this school of thought, however, and set his mind to theories that were fermenting on the European continent. It were these ideas that were also to become the precursors of Romanticism in England, particularly of those ideas related to the concepts of beauty and the sublime.[264] Fuseli's artistic dedication to evoking intense emotional sensations and the portrayal of elevated states of the mind, it seems, soon became irreconcilable with the formal austerity and cool of classicism. After coming to England in 1764, therefore, he apparently found the appropriate place to fulfil his desire for an unbound liberty of expression. In the same vein, his libertarian spirit led him to utter his contempt for his former idol Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the renowned pioneer of archaeology and art history, when he was already a Professor of Art at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. In one of his lectures he thus rails that,

> Germany owes the shackles of her artists, and the narrow limits of their aim [to Winckelmann]; from him they have learnt to substitute the means for the end, and by a hopeless chace [sic] after that they call beauty, to lose what alone can make beauty interesting, expression and mind.[265]

The core of this invective aims at the classicist tendency to value the strict hierarchization of aesthetic ideals higher than the search for the freest mode of artistic

[261] Cf. Ditchburn-Bosch 12; Hammerschmidt-Hummel 1985: pp. 227ff; Guthke 1957: p. 210.
[262] Cf. Guthke 1956: p. 215; Ditchburn-Bosch, p. 70.
[263] Tomory p. 161.
[264] Cf. Pressly p. 17.
[265] Carol Louise Hall, *Blake and Fuseli. A Study in the Transmission of Ideas* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985), p. 71.

expression. Fuseli's exemplary relevance in the context of the European history of ideas thus can be identified in his increasing tendency to reject the aesthetics of classicism in favour of the individual's inward turn and outward expression.[266] Like Mortimer's *banditti* and the artist's wild fits of fancy, Fuseli's radical break with the precepts of classicism came as a shock to the art world in England,[267] reinforcing Fuseli's pivotal role in the history of aesthetic ideas:

> Simultaneously […] Fuseli met the two men who represented the two poles of European contemporary thought [Rousseau and Bodmer] – the sceptical romantic and the romantic sceptic. In many ways, Fuseli, like others of his particular generation, combined both, like a two-headed Janus – one face turned to the past of the Enlightenment, the other to the future of romanticism.[268]

Therefore, even though, at first sight, it may appear that Fuseli, at a certain point, abandoned classicism irrevocably – he continued to object to what restricted his creative process –, Fuseli's art never ceased to be shaped by an amalgam of theories. This tendency to adopt, adapt and discard from the various theories of literature, philosophy and art was "dictated by a belief in eclecticism for its own sake."[269] As much as this particular tendency poses the considerable difficulty of giving a satisfactory and unequivocal interpretation of his Shakespeare rendering, it also has the certain potential of viewing the Swiss and his art in a new light and of studying the illustration of Shakespeare's work in general.

As for the first part of Fuseli's aesthetic, the hierarchical structure of the concepts artistic expression and beauty, can be identified as an essential constituent. In a descending order, nature, i. e. the material world, thus occupies the highest rung,[270] which is remarkable since this constitutes the same formalism Fuseli inveighed against in his criticism of Winckelmann. Fuseli's postulate manifests itself in his postulate that any artist subject himself to the imperative of developing the most adequate manner of representing nature in what he believed to be its most comprehensive and truthful essence. As a consequence, Henry Fuseli deemed it imperative that the artist did not allow himself to be restrained by any volatile fashion, or the dictates and expectations of

[266] Cf. Cannon-Brookes, p. 88.
[267] Cf. Hodnett 1988: 101; Junod, p. 143.
[268] Tomory, p. 16.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Cf. Ditchburn-Bosch, p. 29.

religion or politics.[271] Art was to serve the one end of being as complete an essence as attainable of whatever object it intended to represent.[272]

The way Fuseli employs the concept of the Sublime is probably the most conspicuous instance of this aspect of his aesthetic. After the publication of Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* in 1756, a noticeable exploitation of this concept for the illustration of Shakespeare can be observed.[273] While the theory is generally constituted by the idea that the Sublime has the potential of moving the reader to terror and thus triggering a cathartic effect in him, Henry Fuseli's notion is slightly more abstract. In a similar fashion, however, he considered the capacity to move the mind to sensations and emotions of the most exceptional kind to be the touchstone of an artist's potential. For Fuseli, this meant that the greater the effect any artist wanted to achieve with his art, the clearer the artistic conception needed to be in its composition. In other words, it required the utmost artistic effort in order to achieve the most unlaboured, but most intense aesthetic effect. Fuseli also deemed it

> [t]he aim of the epic painter […] to impress our general idea, one great quality of nature or mode of society, some great maxim without descending to those subdivisions, which the detail of character prescribes [They paint] the elements with their own simplicity height, depth, the vast, the grand, darkness, light; life, death; the past, the future; man, pity, love, joy, fear, terror, peace, war, religion, government: and the visible agents are only engines to force *one* irresistible idea upon the mind and fancy. […] Such is the first and general sense of what is called the *sublime*, epic, allegoric, lyric substance.[274]

In other words, Fuseli considered it paramount that the artist studied whatever object of the material or immaterial world he wished to represent, extracted its most essential and universal idea, and reduced its composition to these essential aspects in the clearest constellation of its constituents as possible. Very much for the same reason, Fuseli preferred a depiction of the characters as nude figures to their illustration in pseudo-historic costume,[275] similar to a number of his other Shakespeare illustrations. In the eyes of the artist, any other manner of illustration would have meant a subordination of what were, towards the close of the eighteenth century, perceived to be the universal truths of Shakespeare's play to a particular fashion of the day, and thus would have divested Fuseli's artistic conception of its demand to meet the requirement of capturing the

[271] Ditchburn-Bosch, p. 75.
[272] For a more detailed account of this particular aspect of his aesthetics see Ursula Ditchburn-Bosch 7f.
[273] Cf. Sillars, p. 19.
[274] Junod p. 142f.
[275] As a matter of fact, the eighteenth century witnessed a significant shift from the operatic deviations of Shakespearean performances on stage to a great interest in the historical fidelity of such adaptations – "dress'd in the habits of the times." Cf. Donahue 203f; Junod, p. 144.

beauty and wholeness of nature. Calling to mind William Hogarth's desire to counter the exaggerated gesture of operatic stage productions of Shakespeare, Fuseli's approach appears to be a logical consequence: especially the idea of an adequate visualization of the work of Shakespeare as the "poet of Nature" seems to have been fermenting, regarding the reception of Shakespeare since Hogarth's ambition to divest its visual interpretation of anything superfluous – Italianate mannerism in particular. While Fuseli's approach was not so much a nationalist endeavour rather than a token of his peculiar aesthetic stance between classicism and Romanticism, it is clear that the artistic outcome is similar to the way Hogarth adapted the play in his *A Scene from the Tempest*.

Hence, the first constituent of Fuseli's hybrid aesthetics can be summarized as follows: it is dominated, first and foremost, by the idea of representing the world of the interior and exterior, the physical and psychological, in its most essential abstraction, thus manifesting a profound imbuement in classicist thought. Despite his later scorn for Winckelmann, there is also a certain congruence with his hierarchy of genres in one central aspect of Fuseli's aesthetic: this chain can be described as forming a descending order, from history painting to portraits, genre painting, landscapes and still lifes, grading the genres in their grandeur and importance on account of their degree of universal truth and abstraction; history paintings were devoted to biblical, mythological or historical themes, whereas still lifes were more or less frowned upon as having the trivial and transitory as their subjects. Paralleling Hogarth's orientation towards the French *Académie*, this emphasizes the gradual establishment of history painting in English art. Despite Fuseli's eventual rejection of Winckelmann's classicism, this also demonstrates Fuseli's weight in importing those classicist ideas necessary for the development of a genuine tradition of Shakespeare illustration to England and its art circles.

As has already been indicated, Fuseli's aesthetic exhibits some inconsistencies. Likewise, Fuseli discarded the principles of universality to a certain extent, especially the axiom that art was to distil the essence of nature without the interference of fashion or function. Not only does this bring to mind Shaftesburyian Idealism,[276] it also anticipates English Romanticism, as was identifiable in his interest in the Sublime. In a

[276] Cf. Ditchburn-Bosch, p 10f.

very similar manner, the second major strand of his aesthetic partially abandoned the mimetical principle of classicism. According to Fuseli, art – quite in contrast to the hierarchical structure of his aesthetics, governed by the imperative to represent of nature – was to transcend the maxim of mimesis. As demonstrated earlier on, he thought that the artist should also feel obliged to attempt capturing beauty within his creation, even though this may never be entirely achievable.[277] Similar to his conception of nature, then, beauty represents one integral element of his aesthetic theory.

Fuseli's aesthetic can thus be summed up as follows. First of all, it has become obvious that he could never quite dispense with the influences of classicist theory. More importantly, however, he combined these remnants of his earlier interest in classicism with his aim for achieving a certain aesthetic effect, viz. an intensity of feeling evoked by the artist and his work. This aim of achieving the greatest possible effect upon the viewer, in the eyes of Fuseli, could only be accomplished by a certain clarity concerning the interrelation of individual elements on canvas. Influenced by his friend, the actor David Garrick, the painter thus followed the principle of ignoring "everything unnecessary and to concentrate […] on the main characters in order to increase the intensity of the impression."[278] In order to achieve this exceptionality of emotion and expression, Fuseli thought, it was impossible to be restricted to drawing upon the banalities of the quotidian. Despite the classicist ideals manifested in the abstraction of his characters' features, however, Fuseli also deemed it essential that art availed itself of the fanciful resources of the mind, and to resort to "other possible world structures"[279] than the ones of the material world. As was the case with Mortimer and his interest in Shakespeare's most exceptional characters, the artist's capability of invention, therefore, also plays a significant role in Fuseli's aesthetics.[280] Correspondingly, when his designs seem to display this artistic principle with exaggerated vigour, these outrageous compositions betoken his violent reaction against the previous developments in British art:

> A logical consequence of the [*ut pictura poesis*] idea is that painting can become more 'poetic' by straying into the realm of the 'probable' or 'miraculous', that which remains obscure and indistinct to the senses. In the history of British aesthetics, from Shaftesbury to Burke, painting had suffered, more or less explicitly, as the poor relation

[277] Cf. ibid., pp. 9f.
[278] Ibid. p. 61.
[279] Maisak, p. 60.
[280] For a more detailed discussion of this aspect please see Ditchburn-Bosch, op. cit.

> of poetry because it was seen to be chained to the close imitation of nature, to the extent that any representation of the fantastic, terrible or abhorrent was forbidden: Fuseli approached Shakespeare not just as source material to be translated into painting, but as a kind of sparring partner with whom to compete in psychological penetration and dramatic intensity.[281]

Especially in the context of the present study, this bears considerable significance. Despite the fact that Fuseli deemed it essential to refrain from depicting characters in pseudo-historical costume, which in his eyes would have meant an impediment to the most adequate representation of the Shakespearean genius, the artist considered it necessary to lead the visual art out of its bondage to serve only the imitation of nature. It was because Fuseli was aware of the different potentials of the literary and the visual arts that he felt that Shakespeare's originality had always been there as a challenge posed to the visual artist. Accordingly, what has been discussed as one of the difficulties of the visualization of literature allowed Fuseli to escape from visual art's mere role as a mimetical agent. The difficulty of visualizing the invisible – those states of mind and emotions that are so much easier to represent in text – must have meant a challenge for Fuseli's ambitions as an artist. Apparently, his search for the greatest freedom of artistic expression had led him to an artist of equal artistic skill – William Shakespeare. Consequently, Fuseli's aesthetics compelled the artist to focus on those scenes of Shakespeare's plays with the greatest intensity of emotion and psychological impetus. These were the topics that seemed to attract his artistic ambitions: emotions that were ever-recurring and thus had the most universal and essential relevance for humanity – joy, fear, love, hate, jealousy.

Fuseli was well aware of the exigencies of the primarily temporal dimension of literary sources regarding their visual adaptation.[282] While the temporality of drama allows it to generate dramatic tension by heaping action upon action, Fuseli knew that this had to be accomplished in a visualization by employing the interrelation of spatial structures on canvas. It seems to be owing to this aspect that his visualization of act one scene two focuses on the pivotal face-off between Caliban and Prospero, in which Shakespeare outlines the antagonism of the characters. In contrast to other adaptations of *The Tempest*, Fuseli freezes the *kairos* in which Caliban's and Prospero's conflict culminates as a *tableau vivant* instead of resolving it by depicting the known outcome –

[281] Messina, p. 61f. Cf. also Schaefer, p. 55.
[282] Henry Fuseli quoted in Sillars, p. 101.

e.g. Caliban's subjugation. This way, he contributes to the illustration's effect upon the viewer he postulated in relation to his aesthetic theory of the Sublime.

Correspondingly, Fuseli's visualization of *The Tempest* (Figure 12) conveys the two opposed and conflicting standpoints of Caliban and Prospero by relying strongly upon the visual structure of the illustration.

12 Henry Fuseli, *The Tempest*, 1789

Prospero and Miranda are depicted on the left, in their roles of the representatives of the European, and, in their eyes, civilized world. Their pictorial half is juxtaposed to contrast it with Caliban and his realm of the raw, uncivilized and vile. It is obvious that for his rendering, Fuseli had in mind the entire duration of the first encounter, although the accompanying lines only refer to Prospero's initial burst of outrage synecdochically. In the course of this confrontation, Miranda, Prospero and Caliban make numerous claims and allegations that allow assumptions about the underlying value systems of the Duke and his daughter on the one hand, and of Caliban on the other. While Prospero, undoubtedly, is to blame for taking possession of Caliban's command over his island

and making him his slave in the first place, the usurped Duke accuses him for his ungratefulness and his vile nature.

Thus, Caliban emphasizes that he was cajoled into his subjugation by Prospero:

> CALIBAN […]
> This island's mine by Sycorax, my mother,
> Which thou tak'st from me. When thou cam'st first
> Thou strok'st me and made much of me; wouldst give me
> Water with berries in't, and teach me how
> To name the bigger light and how the less
> That burn by day and night. And then I loved thee
> And shoed thee all the qualities o'th' isle:
> The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile.
> Cursed be that I did so! All the charms
> Of Sycorax – toads, beetles, bats – light on you,
> For I am all the subjects that you have,
> Which first was mine own king; and here you sty me
> In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
> The rest o'th' island.[283]

Prospero, however, seems to be entirely ignorant of the injustices he has done to Caliban, since he is too fixated upon the latter's attempted physical transgression against his daughter:

> Prospero Thou most lying slave,
> Whom stripes may move, not kindness; I have used thee
> (Filth as thou art) with humane care and lodged thee
> In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate
> The honour of my child.[284]

Although the complexity of the interdependent relationship of Caliban and Prospero/Miranda has already been indicated in the introduction of this study, it seems worthwhile to recapitulate it briefly for the discussion of the Fuseli illustration. When Miranda indicates that she would rather not visit Caliban,[285] her father emphasizes that "as 'tis, / We cannot miss him; he does make our fire, / Fetch our wood, and serves in offices / that profit us."[286] Likewise, although Miranda would prefer to abandon entirely what seems so repulsive and intimidating to her, she and her father are somehow depended on Caliban.[287] Not only does he execute the offices nobody else would do in

[283] T I.2.332-345.
[284] T I.2.345-349.
[285] Cf. T 1.2.310-11.
[286] T 1.2.311-14.
[287] For a further analysis of this particular aspect of the relationship between Prospero and Caliban, please see Zacharias P. Thundy, "The 'Divine' Caliban in Shakespeare's Postcolonial Discourse: A Re (De) Construction." In *Michigan Academician*, 30.4 (1998). pp. 399-422.

his place. Caliban was also exploited upon Prospero and Miranda's arrival on the island on account of his familiarity the island.[288] Caliban's attitude towards Prospero is similarly complex: quite obviously, he longs to live on his island by himself again, yet there is little he can do since he "must obey; his art is of such power / It would control my dam's god Setebos, / And make a vassal of him."[289]

As the first encounter of Prospero, Miranda and Caliban unfolds, it also becomes apparent, that despite their undeniable interdependence, the relationship is profoundly impaired by a great deal of animosity and frustration. In this context, it becomes apparent that the play attempts to outline the irreconcilability of two clashing value systems. Miranda and Prospero in this regard represent the European world of "civilization". Similarly, in the process of their encounter with the other, Caliban is attributed inferior and immoral, evil qualities. Correspondingly, Miranda's perception of him as a "villain" is emphasized by the names Prospero gives him: all of the epithets "slave"[290], "filth"[291], "tortoise"[292] relate to Caliban's assumed lowliness, and, his inferiority to Prospero in terms of moral standards. These ascriptions relate to the assumption that Caliban, already by birth, is a of a "vile race"[293]. Thus, although Caliban initially complied with Prospero's and Miranda's expectations, he is reproached as being entirely resistant to their endeavours of "bettering" him, as they assume the result of their subjugation would have been. In the same way, Prospero points out that, while he treated Caliban "with humane care", only the opposite treatment, the "stripes" of his whip and the practice of "rack[ing]" Caliban "with old cramps, / Fill[ing] [his] bones with aches, mak[ing] [him] roar"[294] were able to make him subject to Prospero's rule. Caliban was therefore "Deservedly confined into this rock"[295], Miranda claims.

Caliban's standpoint is informed by his anger and frustration with the fact that Prospero has intruded into his island, which is "mine by Sycorax, my mother / Which thou tak'st from me."[296] He also claims to be the rightful ruler of his realm on the grounds of inheritance, implying that what has happened after the arrival of Prospero

[288] Cf. T 1.2.337-9.
[289] T 1.2.373-5.
[290] T 1.2.314, 345, 375.
[291] T 1.2.347.
[292] T 1.2.317.
[293] T 1.2.358.
[294] T 1.2.370-1.
[295] T 1.2.362.
[296] T 1.2.332-3.

and his court have to be considered as merely the consequences of the Duke's initial act of injustice.

As if to emphasize the clear-cut structure, Fuseli's design of his illustration of *The Tempest* manifests, to a certain extent, a shared language of representation and signification, despite the visual and literary arts' different resources of representation (spatial vs. temporal). Fuseli's availing himself of the spatial dimensions of the canvas in order to convey the antagonistic relationship of Caliban and Prospero – positioning the opposing characters in the left and right halves of the canvas – is an act of transforming the play's linguistic structures into those of the visual: thus, in the Shakespearean text, the irreconcilability of Miranda's and Prospero's allegedly good intentions with the supposedly immovable and evil nature of Caliban is reflected in the antithetical structure of their utterances: "I have used thee / (*filth* as thou art) with *humane* care"[297], "But thy *vile race* / (Though thou didst learn) had that in't which *good natures* / Could not abide with."[298] This antithesis of good and evil, which is to some extent also manifested in the syntactical structure of their utterances, then, has successfully been transformed into the spatial dimensions of the visual in Fuseli's illustration: firm and upright as a tree, Prospero is located on the left of the illustration's vertical axis, his muscular body markedly visible through his billowing robe. Similarly, the magus' frontal stance towards Caliban, evidently meant to shield Miranda from the "savage", is the symbolic act of intervention against the attempted rape of his daughter alluded to in the same scene.[299] Indignant at Caliban's moral transgression and his ungratefulness after all the good he has received, Prospero thus sternly points a finger of his outstretched left arm at Caliban in the right half of the painting.

In a similar gesture of reproach but with his left fist clenched, Caliban thrusts his arm towards the former Duke of Milan, interpreted by some commentators as the symbolic act of "violat[ing]/ The "honour of my child"[300], i. e. Caliban's attempted rape of Miranda.[301] The characters' antagonism is emphasized further by Prospero's assignation to the spiritual element of air on the one hand, and Caliban's association with the more bestial element. Analogously, the small butterfly in the trees above

[297] T. 1.2.346-7, emphases added.
[298] T 1.2.358-61, emphases added.
[299] See T 1.2. 349ff.
[300] T 1.2.l. 349.
[301] Cf. Scott, p. 119.

Miranda and Prospero alludes to the human soul[302] and highlights the airy, non-physical nature of Prospero's world. Caliban's natural element, viz. his general association with earth and/or water, is clearly suggested by the lobster and shells in the right half of the illustration. Furthermore, in part, Caliban's animalistic appearance – his barely clothed and excessively hairy body, his claw-like fingers and toes, his bestial teeth, a bulgy forehead, pointed ears and spiky hair – is echoed in the simian creature in the top right corner of Fuseli's illustration as if to compliment his provenance and habitat.

As clear-cut as this opposition of the two antagonists may appear upon first glance, the artist's interpretation of their relationship is more complex and does not solely rely upon the opposition of good and evil, as some commentators suggest.[303] Rather, it seems that it was Fuseli's intention to visualize the intricacy constituted by both, the interdependence and the clashing of two irreconcilable cultural paradigms. This multidimensional design is facilitated by interlacing numerous spatial structures of the illustration.

Likewise, an all too clear-cut good and evil dichotomy is refuted, firstly, by the fact that the conspicuous horizontal axis of the painting is punctured by a structural diagonal – a beam of light illuminating Caliban. Further aspects of the illustration, e.g. the fact that Miranda's and Prospero's gestures and gazes are addressed at Caliban, Ariel's flight in the same direction, as well as the natural sense of "reading" the illustration from left to right, emphasize that Fuseli's main interest lies with Caliban.[304] It comes as little surprise, therefore, that Henry Fuseli's interpretation of this character appears to be considerably more complex than that of Prospero: first of all, Caliban's posture is rather ambiguous.[305] While his right leg and left arm are poised in an aggressive forward movement, the opposite pair of extremities betray his self-reflexive and defensive disposition. Furthermore, his facial expression underlines the ambivalent interpretation of Caliban's character: despite the forceful intrusion into the physical realm of Prospero – he is clearly in command of his daughter's fate after all –, manifested in the way he bends forward and his arm and leg pointed towards Miranda and Prospero, Caliban also betrays, to a certain extent, that he is insecure about his role and the way he behaves. Whereas the full length of Prospero's arm is an unwavering

[302] Cf. ibid., p. 118.
[303] Cf. Schaefer, p. 50; Pointon, p. 109.
[304] Cf. Scott, p. 119.
[305] Cf. ibid.

manifestation of the magus' anger and scorn, Caliban's left stretches out a clenched fist; his action of pointing is also realized by the fingers of his right hand, which are directed at himself. This ambivalence is echoed by Caliban's facial expression – most likely the manifestation of his regret. As for the pose of his right hand, a convincing reading seems to be that Caliban is pointing towards his mouth, alluding to his frustration as the victim of Prospero's benevolent act of civilization:

> Caliban
>
> You taught me language, and my profit on't
> Is I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
> For learning me your language.[306]

Fuseli thus emphasizes that Caliban cannot be blamed for his moral and physical transgressions since it was Prospero who taught him to speak and to think. Indeed, after a second glance, Fuseli's illustration reveals that the antagonistic characters are more similar than the clear-cut opposition suggests upon first glance: likewise, Prospero's stretched-out arm is echoed by Caliban. Correspondingly, the gesture of reproaching for Caliban's moral and attempted physical transgression, is taken up by Caliban's ambivalent posture, accusing the magus of his unsolicited act of attempting to "civilize" him. In this manner, Caliban's deflecting Prospero's reproach at his mouth by pointing his finger turns the accusation against Prospero. Analogous to Hogarth's juxtaposition of Miranda and Caliban, Fuseli thus counterpoints the value systems and schemes of Caliban and Prospero, or the value systems Fuseli associates with them, at least. In the same manner, the clashing of the two irreconcilable value systems described above is integrated into the illustration. This instance of encountering the other, then, implies the artist's uncertainty about two moral paradigms. Underlying the superficially clear-cut visual structure, the manifestation of Henry Fuseli's critical attitude towards the characters' relationship and the inherent conflict can thus be identified: in the process of "civilizing" the "savage", Ariel's position on this diagonal suggests Prospero's agency. The beam of light is thus more than a mere structural or compositional element. In the same manner, it is interesting to take into consideration that Fuseli associated the butterfly, visible in the top left corner of the illustration, with Minerva, the Roman goddess of the arts, medicine and wisdom, among others. In his comments on Rousseau, he equates her role with Prometheus' enlightenment of mankind.[307] Correspondingly,

[306] T 1.2. 364-366.
[307] Cf. Guthke 1960: 21f.

the beam in the illustration recalls the torch of Prometheus that brought to humanity reason, science, and progress, but also its negative consequences, when the idea of man mastering nature by the use of reason is pursued in an unrestrained, heedless manner. This must have triggered some commentators' construing the distinct opposition of the firm and upright Prospero on the left, and the crouched and ambiguous figure of Caliban on the right as a kind of "stand-off between enlightenment reason […] and Romantic rebellion,"[308] emphasizing, once more, the hybridity of Henry Fuseli's aesthetic.

On another, more aesthetic level of meaning, the antagonism made visible in the illustration may also be identified as Fuseli's preference of the unrestrained poetical force of Romanticism over a classicist formalism. In both ways, a tendency in the tradition of Shakespeare illustration to discard Prospero's moral authority and to focus on the ambivalent nature of Caliban becomes apparent in Fuseli's adaptation of the plays.

Seen against a background constituted less by Fuseli's aesthetic rather than the socio-political conditions determining the illustration's production, Caliban's act of pointing the finger at his mouth echoes Fuseli's challenging the rightfulness of Prospero's colonial scheme. Similar to Hogarth's illustration, therefore, Fuseli draws attention to the moral controversy described in the play. Fuseli's approach focuses upon the antagonism of Prospero and Caliban, the intruding Duke and his renegade subject. Prospero's haughty stance as well as his confidently pointed finger give prominence to Miranda's and his conviction of the justification of their quasi-missionary project. From their world of enlightenment and reason they are thus pointing their fingers into the realm of the supposedly base and brutish. This way, they also assert what, in their eyes can be the only legitimate outcome of this conflict – the subjugation of Caliban on account of Prospero's moral superiority. At first sight, such an ideological stance towards this enterprise of colonial expansionism might be surprising, considering that the main driving forces of Fuseli's art were of an artistic nature. Nevertheless, there is sufficient reason to assume such a critical stance behind Fuseli's *Tempest* illustration, inasmuch as it aligns the Swiss with a political discourse that had a lot of sway with the majority of the public:

[308] Cf. Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: p. 228.

> Regarding it as their duty and 'Birthright', as one cleric asserted in 1759, 'to carry, not only Good Manners, but the purest Light of the Gospel, where Barbarism and Ignorance totally prevailed', advocates of Imperial expansion presented these 'barbarous nations' as a wide field of actions for Britons to act as civilizing agents […] Glossing over 'the brutal, exploitative and violent processes of "trade" and colonization (including the immensely profitable trade in slaves)', this commercial vision of the Empire thus treated colonies as 'emblem[s] of English superiority and benevolence' and justified 'British imperial ascendancy as a salvation to the world'.[309]

Apart from his aesthetic, Fuseli was also driven by a strong interest in political issues and a profound libertarian spirit.[310] In this regard, it is more than conceivable that he designed this adaptation of the Shakespearean play as a critique of the British project of colonization in general and of its underlying missionary justification in particular. In Simon's engraving after Fuseli's painting, the illustration is accompanied by the following words:

> For this, be sure, tonight thou shalt have cramps,
> Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up; urchins
> Shall for that vast of night that they may work,
> All exercise on thee: thou shalt be pinch'd
> As thick as honey-combs, each pinch more stinging
> Than bees that made them.[311]

This corresponds, evidently, with the reply Prospero gives when faced with Caliban's rebellious behaviour. From the magus' point of view, of course, his "subject" is the cause of the conflict. There is another correspondence, however, that is more noteworthy in this context. Likewise, the degree of the resemblance of Prospero's penal paradigm and the way seditious slaves were treated in the last decades of the eighteenth century is striking. In this period,

> white master and slaveowning class found itself greatly outnumbered by Africans and their Creole descendants whose sole rationale in life was to labour for their white owners. It was soon apparent that this was a labour force which required a careful and minute regulation and there hence evolved complex social and legal institutions – supported by fearful punishments – to subdue and marshal the alien and alienated black populations.[312]

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[309] P. J. Marshall, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. II: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 219f.
[310] Cf. Sillars, p. 99.
[311] Scott p. 210.
[312] James Walvin, *Slavery and British Society: 1776-1846* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), p. 4.

Although only on a symbolically minute scale, Prospero matches the description of the white slaveowning class conspicuously. Apparently, the missionary subplot of his overall schemes has got out of control: the way Prospero perceives Caliban's role has altered from the deformed savage, incapable of uttering comprehensible sounds to an almost threatening force – endangering the moral and physical integrity of his daughter. This seems a point worth keeping in mind when considering Fuseli's interpretation of the relationship of Caliban and Prospero: to a certain degree, this close resemblance to the way slaves were treated at that time makes the illustration appear as a reproach against the magus's plans, and, in more general terms, an invective aimed at the incompatibility of the spirit of the Enlightenment with the unequal treatment of humans. Indeed, the idea of slavery would almost certainly have collided with Fuseli's views.[313] When asked in 1804 to give his opinion on "the great improvements made to the port of Liverpool", Fuseli thus replied "methinks I every where smell the blood of slaves"[314], emphasizing his attitude towards many Britons' uncritical support of technological progress and supposed civilizational superiority, especially if it meant that others were exploited at the same time. It is however not unequivocal whether the stance Fuseli takes in the interpretation of *The Tempest* might not to be of a more academic rather than a genuinely political kind, as Tomory points out:

> While it is thus true that the artist was not a tardy supporter of Abolition, his attitude remained that of the Enlightenment generally towards slavery, which was not so much concern for the cause of the African, but a sense that such a bondage was a blot on the escutcheon of liberty.[315]

Whether his interest in the moral rightfulness of slavery was an academic one or whether Fuseli's sympathy was heartfelt, his visual interpretation of *The Tempest* certainly includes the artist among the growing number of enlightened Britons who began to challenge this central element of the national economy of the time. Fuseli painted his version of *The Tempest* only a short while before the outbreak of the French Revolution and at a point in the development between "the eve of American independence, [when] few could contemplate British life without the slave empires of Anglophone America and […] 1832, [when] British slavery was doomed."[316] Despite

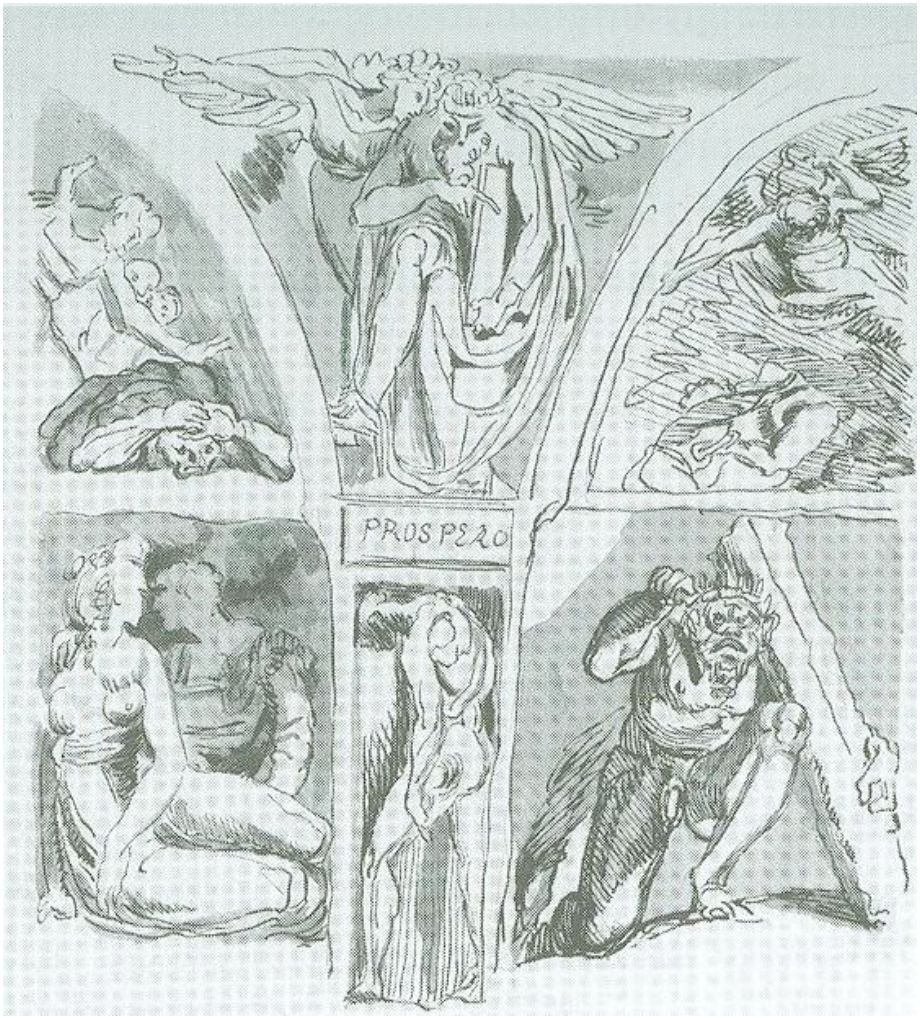
[313] Cf. Tomory, p. 20.
[314] Cf. Sillars, p. 113.
[315] Cf. Tomory, p. 20.
[316] James Walvin, "Slavery", in *The Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture 1776-1832*, Eds. Iain McCalman et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 58.

the general prosperity and the private benefits the slave trade promoted, it was already in 1787, two decades before the official banning of slave trade in Britain, that the considerable number of 400,000 people in Britain petitioned for its abolition.[317] Even before this year, slavery had entered the public conscience: it played a role in the radical transformations in Europe but also led to the emergence of the United States as a nation based upon the principle that all men are created equal.[318] Fuseli's stance, then aligns him with the international sway of this spirit, indicating that his ambition extended a mere exploitation of the Shakespearean original as a source for realizing his aestheticist ambitions; As shall become apparent at a later point in this study, this awakening of the public consciousness concerning the issue of slavery and colonialism, was to develop to a serious threat to the integrity of British national identity. Concerning the illustration of *The Tempest*, Fuseli's stance towards this questionable branch of British commerce is patently entangled with the application of its aesthetic hybridity. This is also the reason why this ideological critique is by no means an unequivocally identifiable theme in this visualization. As much as it is clear that Fuseli invested considerable thought and artistic energy into the formal composition of this illustration, therefore, there are also conspicuous features that invite a discussion of the moral and political scope of his *Scene from the Tempest*.

Quite in contrast to this ambivalent approach to Shakespeare's play, then, his investment in this issue of slavery is unmistakable in another illustration of *The Tempest*, a sketch he designed for a never realized project modelled after the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel (Figure 13). During his Italy years in the 1770s, Fuseli devised a scheme intended to align the universal humanity he ascribed to the work of William Shakespeare with that of Michelangelo,[319] also including sketches based on the plays *Twelfth Night, King Lear* and *Macbeth*. His sketch of *The Tempest* manifests the Romantic tendency to depict Caliban in a more humanized manner,[320] as already seen in the Mortimer illustration, corresponding, of course, with the Romantic influences in Fuseli's artistic theories. In the sketch that was created between 1777 and 1778, the ambiguous antagonism of Caliban and Prospero of the Boydell illustration is depicted as a clearly hierarchical relationship: accompanied by the main sources of his power – his

[317] Cf. ibid., p. 62.
[318] Walvin 1982: p. 6.
[319] Cf. Sillars, p. 109.
[320] Cf. ibid.

book and Ariel, commissioner of the Duke's schemes –, Prospero visibly commands the scene. His superiority is emphasized by his likeness to God from the Sistine 'Creation of Adam.'[321]



13 Henry Fuseli, *The Tempest*, 1777-8

Also Fuseli's interpretation of Caliban's role is more evident in this version of *The Tempest*. While the space Prospero takes up in the sketch is less confined by the pictorial dimensions, Caliban is forced into submission, a kneeling position, governed by the horizontal plane upon which his master rests – both, literally and figuratively speaking. His status is emphasized by his relegation to the lower half of the sketch. What clearly draws attention to Fuseli's concern with the Caliban's miserable position is overlooked in many analyses of this visualization, if taken into consideration at all:

[321] Cf. ibid.

the wooden burden, which is depicted as a bundle of wood in a number most *Tempest* illustrations, calls into mind the Cross of Jesus Christ:

> […] Caliban [is] shown kneeling and bearing a baulk of timber, in extension to his frequent depiction as log-bearer from the references in 1.2. But the wood that he carries is far larger, and the resemblance is to quite another image, that of Christ falling under the weight of the cross in a Renaissance *via dolorosa*, the link strengthened by the thorns. This is a parody of Christ, but one close enough to rekindle ideas of the noble savage with which Fuseli was familiar from his study of Rousseau. In visual opposition to the lovers, it offers a version of compassion from the least expected quarter that sets the concepts of authority, colonisation, and redemptive love in a powerfully new frame.[322]

As with the clash of his aesthetic with Winckelmann's rigorous classicism, it may well be, then, that Fuseli had difficulties to reconcile his Humanist libertarian beliefs with the idea of individuals traded as goods. His earlier sketch of *The Tempest* illustrates, however, that in addition to this rather academic attitude towards the issue, Fuseli's attitude towards the individual dimension of Caliban's fate, determined by his subjugation, was one of considerable compassion. Seen as an ensemble, then, Fuseli's illustrations of *The Tempest* affiliates him with important ideas of the burgeoning Romantic movement of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Conclusively, it can be observed that from the time when Hogarth painted his *A Scene of the Tempest* until the creation of Fuseli's visualizations, a considerable development had taken place in the tradition of Shakespeare illustration: from the peculiar focus upon Miranda, and Prospero as her father and the instigator of the schemes revolving around her, the focus has thus shifted to a more clear-cut opposition of Prospero and Caliban. While the general eighteenth-century interpretation of their antagonism was in favour of the magus' intellectual and moral superiority,[323] Henry Fuseli's visualization would leave a variety of questions unanswered if this interpretation were to be upheld. Caliban seems to emerge, as it were, from the wings of William Hogarth's theatric rendering on canvas to the centre of the audience's attention. In this context, it remains unclear admittedly, whether Fuseli merely employs his odd amalgam of idealism and classicism on the one hand, and burgeoning Romanticism on the other, or whether he actually seizes the opportunity to make his art a political statement; to criticize the immoral economic basis of his exile home-country. Undoubtedly, however, Fuseli had a strong

[322] Cf. ibid., p. 112.
[323] Cf. Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: p. 83f.

awareness of and a passionate interest in questions bearing on liberty and human equality. Correspondingly, in his *Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J. J. Rousseau*, Fuseli thus shows himself akin to the Genevian philosopher's ideas, following his footsteps in attempting to trace back the origins of the inequality of men:

> [Rousseau] traced man to the nipple of nature, found him wrapped up in instinct,—taught his lore by appetite and ear – harmless because content—content because void of comparative ideas – solitary, because without wants, snatching the moment on the wing, from the past and future ones.— […] With the lapse of times, a chasm beyond the span of Chinese chronometers,—the spreading race, assailed by diversity of foils, climates, seasons—received their first lesson of reason from necessity—and then employed art, as nature slid or thundered the means of sustenance into their hands.—Once roused the mind goes on.—Struck with an infinity of objects round him, man found himself conform to one, and of superior disparity with the rest:—hence his first lesson of society and pride—wit and industry went hand in hand,—here was perhaps the origin of families, property, war.—Cohabitation inspired with conjugal and parental love,—and the effects of united power exceeding their simple wants,—affluence produced leisure, and the yoke of necessity was shook off for the heavier one of luxury. The revolutions of the globe formed what we call nations and idioms. From climates, aliments, and familiar habits of life, unity of characters and manners, beauty and merit, become favourite sentiments, and moral love blazes in all its chasms and all its terrors.[324]

Thus, in a similar attempt of tracing the origins of the inequalities of men, Fuseli's Boydell illustration shows his focus on the moment that separates the brutish from the learned Caliban; the instant in which the "savage", "void of comparative ideas" receives his "first lesson of reason from necessity". Especially in connection with the fact that Caliban's finger is pointed at his own face self-reflexively, this might indicate that Fuseli used his illustration as a reflection on what separates man and animal: not only does this draw the viewer's attention to the character Caliban, it also gives prominence to his mouth and thus the fact that he has learned how to speak (and as a consequence, how to think and process the world into something meaningful as well). Langugage, then, is presented as the quality that sets humankind apart from animals. In this regard, it must be emphasized as well that it is also owing to Shakespeare's complex character Caliban that this figure remains susceptible to re-interpretation until the present day. As impenetrable and inconsistent as Fuseli's unusual adaptations of this play may seem, they provide valuable insights into the artist's day, his aesthetics, as well as the philosophical, political and cultural developments of this era. Fuseli's visualizations are certainly the most idiosyncratic of those illustrations analyzed in the course of this study, but there are many discourses of his day that have left traces upon these works of

[324] Karl S. Guthke (Ed.), *Henry Fuseli. Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J. J. Rousseau* (Los Angeles, CA: The Augustan Reprint Society, 1960), pp. 25ff.

art, allowing for tentative approaches to Fuseli's assessment of the encounter with the other. By tracing the sources of the inequality of men, Rousseau attempts to refer to the very origins of the human race in order to arrive at the conclusion that it was personal property that laid the germ. In a very similar fashion, Fuseli presents the symbolical moment of enlightening the savage in order to contemplate mankind and its nature between reason and emotion, deliberated thought, i. e. the capacity predicated upon the knowledge of language, and impulsive action. In this regard, Caliban's attempted violation of Miranda's physical integrity points towards the latter constituent of human nature, while the former is represented by Prospero's rationality, his strategic and deliberate intervention on behalf of the well-being of his daughter and, eventually, the accomplishment of his personal goals. In Henry Fuseli's illustration, therefore, Caliban's otherness gives occasion to ponder over the nature of man; his moral potential to do good and to refrain from doing evil, but also his rational capabilities, as indicated by Caliban's gesture at his own mouth; and, ultimately, the necessity of seeking to combine the two. At the outset of the Romantic age, therefore, this manifests a visible tendency to employ otherness as a concept that permits the individual's inward turn – its self-reflexive search for its own essence and nature.

II.4 Illustrations of *The Tempest* in the Romantic period

It has been observed that the origins and the conceptual adequacy of the term *Romanticism* are two somewhat complex issues.[325] The most prominent arguments of this debate warn that the ascription of this label to individual representatives of the years between 1780 and 1830 might lead to confining oneself to the more prominent artists, while at the same time excluding others from further consideration; more importantly, it seems, such a classification may convey the specious impression that there was a monolithic unity of some sort, a collectively shared creed, or an hegemonic mechanism that inevitably transformed instances of artistic activity into recognizably Romantic works of art. Although these are, of course, valid points of criticism, the following discussion will need to have recourse to the term, conscious of the pitfalls of the simplifying effect of generalization. Doing so aligns the analysis of the illustrations of *The Tempest* produced during these particular years with Alan Richardson's practice, to which he resorts

> in part simply because 'late eighteenth and early nineteenth century' becomes, after a very few repetitions, such an unwieldy phrase. More substantively, [he] agree[s] with Jerome McGann that one can productively employ the term 'romantic' to characterize the canonical group of male writers most often associated with it (Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, De Quincey, Byron, Shelley, Keats) without either ignoring the differences among them (particularly the generational differences) or losing sight of these contemporaries who cannot be considered "romantic" even in this cautious sense.[326]

The usage of the term *savage* is a case in point. Although the fascination with the "savage" remained a constant throughout the entire eighteenth century,[327] it was during the Romantic period that a shift in this moralizing evaluation occurred. This shift was constituted by such distinctive features that make it recognizably Romantic. Likewise, instead of looking down on Caliban as an uncivilized creature and, consequently, Prospero being taken as the moral, intellectual and cultural authority, many of the age's

[325] Cf. Abrams et al. 1; Alan Richardson, *Literature, Education, and Romanticism. Reading as Social Practice, 1780-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 3ff.
[326] Richardson, p. 4.
[327] Cf. Pears, p. 38.

great representatives took a more sympathetic stance, emphasizing the human traits of the subjected indigene.[328]

This tendency to consider Caliban as a member of "the brotherhood of men,"[329] so to say, was reinforced by the Romantic fascination with the concept of the *noble savage*. The idea of this popular image was that, in contrast to European society, the "savage" did not bear the burden of the undesired excrescences of civilization. A central transformation underlying the tendency to humanize Caliban was, in other words, the change from perceiving him as brutish and bestial to considering him as something whose being was unspoiled and unrestrained by the ills of modern society. It was also at this stage, that Britain's encounter with the other was constituted by a distinct contrast: those aspects of society that were felt to be defective all of a sudden appeared as the desirable but regretfully unattainable qualities in the formerly bestial and despicable character. William Hazlitt's observations upon Caliban in "Characters of Shakespear's Plays" are a case in point, constituting probably the most prominent voice representative of the Romantic reception of the Shakespearean figure:

> [Caliban] is one of the wildest and most abstracted of all Shakespeare's characters, whose deformity whether of body or mind is redeemed by the power and truth of the imagination displayed in it. It is the essence of grossness, but there is not a particle of vulgarity in it. Shakespear [sic] has described the brutal mind of Caliban in contact with the pure and original forms of nature; the character grows out of the soil where it is rooted, uncontrouled [sic], uncouth and wild, uncramped by any of the meanness of custom. […] Vulgarity is not natural coarseness, learnt from others, contrary to, or without an entire conformity of natural power and disposition; as fashion is the common-place affectation of what is elegant and refined without any feeling of the essence of it.[330]

While the most conspicuous traits of Caliban were employed to contrast them with the noble and refined manner of the other characters in the previous decades of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare's description of the character as "*de*formed", at this point, had apparently changed into the epithet "*un*formed"; his being void of any particular form was esteemed, then, as a being untainted by the dictates of custom or fashion. In this context, there was a greater interest in the individual than in society as a whole. Correspondingly, there was a stronger focus on the constitution of the individual's essence, made up by "pure and original forms of nature", rather than on the representation of sociocultural patterns. This is also apparent in Samuel Taylor

[328] Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: pp. 102f. and p. 220.
[329] Ibid., p. 102.
[330] William Hazlitt quoted in Krömer, p. 161.

Coleridge's emphasis in one of his lectures that "Caliban is a noble being"[331] and in the way William H. Oxberry considers him "but an ill-used gentleman."[332] Especially the latter description is revealing since it underlines the radical shift of the interpretation of Caliban by outstanding representatives of this age: not only was the indigene character assigned the feature of nobility. By some, apparently, he was even counted among the highest ranks of society.

Bearing in mind the socio-psychological processes at work when encountering alterity, it does not seem entirely illogical that this way of perceiving Caliban's otherness began to be accompanied by an unconscious tendency to manipulate and appropriate this other. Accordingly, in the Romantic period, this superficial impulse to fraternize with Caliban rarely went without the accompanying tendency of a benign form of paternalism.[333] This must be considered not as the "downside" of this shift in the esteem of the other, but as simply another aspect of the same process of making contact with it: correspondingly, the other was not only taken as a mould in which the desirable object was to be shaped, it was also increasingly subjected to the endeavours of compensating for the deficiencies of the self. The small difference in the prefixes of "*de*formed" and "*un*formed" in Hazlitt's description of Caliban thus betrays the ambivalent re-interpretation of the Shakespearean character during the age of Romanticism. The voidness of shape, then, triggered the desire to fill it with something new, to inscribe own ideas on an empty canvas. The negative prefix "un-" in the ears of the Romantic period almost inevitably entailed the idea of "not *yet*". Similar to the way Mortimer and Fuseli's ways of encountering otherness, therefore, Caliban now had become an inspiration for the artists of the Romantic age, giving them an opportunity to get to the bottom of human nature and to find ways of expressing their artistic individuality.

Seen against the background of a more global framework of ideas, this concept of the yet-empty vessel – the associations of Caliban with brutishness, uncivilizedness and so forth – opens the view upon the situation in the British dominions overseas: in the same way that these territories provided a supposedly empty projective space for the implementation of unrealized ideals and social schemes, Caliban had developed a

[331] Samuel Taylor Coleridge quoted in Vaughan & Vaughan 1991: p. 103.
[332] Krömer, p. 162.
[333] Cf. Ashton Nichols, "Mumbo Jumbo", in *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture, 1780-1834*, ed. Allan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996). pp. 94f.

considerable potential. He radiated the appeal of an unshaped character; a sort of void receptacle, waiting to be engrafted with the utopian thoughts of British society. It is for this reason that the tendency to acknowledge Caliban's humanoid traits during the Romantic age needs to be understood as chaperoned by this tenet: in this context, Caliban also began to be perceived as a creature in need of moral custody, lacking the intellectual capacities to achieve the status of a human being entirely. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's illustration exemplifies the ambivalence with which Caliban began to be encountered during the Romantic period.

II.4.1 Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's 1809 illustration

Created only five years after Henry Fuseli's comment bearing on the doubtful exploitation of slaves for the benefit of Britain's territorial expansion and economic growth,[334] Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's illustration (Figure 14) constitutes another noteworthy landmark in the development of Great Britain's encounter with the other. In contrast to Henry Fuseli's carefully composed version from the year 1789, depicting the opposition of Caliban and Prospero, or the complex figural constellation William Hogarth's *A Scene from the Tempest* relied upon, however, it is apparent that Sharpe opted for a very different focus in his approach to the play. Not only does his selection of Miranda and Caliban as the only characters portrayed in his illustration imply a refraining from depicting the opposition between Caliban/Prospero or Caliban/Ariel common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[335] Sharpe's rendering is also exceptional inasmuch as it is based upon the play's narrative past – an unusual approach to the illustration of a Shakespearean play that will reoccur in relation to the Othello visualizations. Such deviations from the original, also if only very slight, have a considerable potential in any cultural analysis carried out in the fashion of this study. Likewise, they manifest a deliberate interpretive act on the part of the visualizing artist.[336] It therefore seems reasonable to assume that Sharpe's intention went beyond the conventional attempt at an accurate representation of *The Tempest*, its characters, its action, etc., implying, a conscious act of interpreting the Shakespearean source within a nineteenth-century framework of ideas. Likewise, the illustration makes reference to an act of teaching, a focus that shall also be the present chapter's centre of attention.

Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's illustration, subtitled "Miranda teaching young Caliban to read", thus, tellingly focuses upon Miranda's and Prospero's project of "civilizing the savage". Despite his obvious complicity in this enterprise, Prospero, is left out of the illustration entirely, making Miranda the only character depicted with Caliban. The stage in Caliban's life, predating the actual dramatic action, is referred to by Miranda in the following lines:

[334] Cf. Sillars, p. 113.
[335] Cf. Krömer, p. 160.
[336] Cf. Hodnett, p. 3.

MIRANDA Abhorred slave,
Which any print of goodness wilt not take,
Being capable of all ill; I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other. When thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes
With words that made them known. But thy vile race
(Though thou didst learn) had that in't which good natures
Could not abide with;[337]

This quotation makes Miranda's annoyance understandable, considering her hopes of having a companion modelled upon her own conceptions. Similarly, this extract from Shakespeare's *Tempest* draws attention to the tacit conviction, motivating Miranda's effort in the illustration: the idea that Caliban did not know his "own meaning" before Miranda taught him how to speak, and furthermore, assisted him in getting acquainted with his environment. In other words, both, his identity and, to a considerable degree, the purpose of his existence are presented as being contingent upon the lessons Caliban has learned. "Without my efforts", Miranda might have added, "you would not live a conscious existence; without me, it would be as if you did not even exist." Bearing in mind the outcome of this educative project in the play – Miranda's hopeful effort to instil her values in Caliban's mind –, this creates a distinct contrast between the illustration and the Shakespearean original. Likewise, in Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's visualization, young Caliban is depicted at a struggled attempt of learning how to read and write. Caliban is characterized by the usual features that mark him as the "savage and deformed slave" as Shakespeare describes him in the *dramatis personae* – claws on feet and hands, his ears slightly out of proportion in comparison to the rest of his head. It almost goes without saying that the contrast between Miranda's nobility and Caliban's bestiality is made reference to by the former's visualization in a dress and wearing a necklace, while the latter only has his legs to cover his nakedness; the mere sounds he was once able to make – void of linguistic form – are echoed in the way his body lacks the clothes that would help to bridge the civilizational gap between him and Miranda. Furthermore, the difficulty Caliban's act of learning seems to cause him is manifested in his left hand holding his head, in his wry mouth, and in his knitted eyebrows.

[337] T 1.2.352-361.

14 Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, *Miranda teaching young Caliban to read*, 1809

In order to elaborate on the observation made earlier that Sharpe's topical choice is a telling one, several aspects need to be considered more thoroughly: first of all, it is striking that Caliban is depicted as a child. This is fairly obvious from the illustration, the illustration's title, and the context of the topical tie with the Shakespearean original. It is tempting to take this aspect as an invitation to focus upon such associations that

were fermenting, predominantly, during the Romantic age, as Bärbel Krömer did in her approach to the illustrations of *The Tempest*.[338] Her interpretation of this watercolour consists mainly in the attempt to align Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe with the Romantic tendency of emphasizing the human rather than the bestial traits of the interpretation of Caliban – despite his strikingly animalistic exterior. Consequently, Krömer comments upon the character's childishness and innocence, identifying both aspects as concepts that had positive connotations during the Romantic age, and inferring his developmental potential.[339] Krömer goes on to point out that this ostensibly benevolent representation of the savage, nevertheless, must be seen in relation to Miranda's status: indeed, Caliban's nakedness cannot conceal that this act of benign generosity is only effected in the context of Prospero's colonial project and does not *per se* imply a relationship of mutuality. This is made equally clear in the corresponding passages of the play.[340] Following Krömer's interpretation, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's illustration, then, betokens that, during the Romantic age, the image of the colonial other was rather ambiguous: while there was a noticeable impulse to acknowledge the "savage's" human traits, the British ideology of Imperialism tended to obscure this aspect and emphasized its inferiority. In the words of Homi Bhabha, then, this manifests the workings of the prevailing colonial discourse, whose

> object […] is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, to justify conquest and establish systems of administration and instruction.[341]

In the context of the Sharpe illustration, it is conspicuous that this aspect of Colonialism enters an intimate connection with the cultural practices of Romanticism. Revealingly, then, in the visualization of Caliban, the prototypical colonized, is embedded in an iconographic framework of another subject/object relationship – that of elder sister and younger brother, of teacher and disciple.

In the context of this study, such hierarchical relationships, as encounters with the inferior other, are best viewed against those social, economical and cultural circumstances determining the illustration's production. As is well-known, the first decades of the nineteenth century were formative in the development of the ideology of

[338] Krömer, op. cit.
[339] Cf. Krömer, p. 168.
[340] Cf. T 1.2.352-361 and 1.2.345-349.
[341] Bhabha, p. 70.

British colonialism. Likewise, it was around the turn of the century that slave trade, the most pivotal element of colonialism, began to be seen with increasing disapproval. Although the decades of the most aggressive and extensive expansion of the Empire still lay ahead,[342] the anti-slavery campaigns and the resulting abolition of slave trade constituted an important turning point in Britain's encounter with the other. Especially when the cause of anti-slavery activists was paralleled by increasing difficulties in the administration of the plantations, a broader public had occasion to become more and more aware of the controversial nature of the underlying ideology. For instance, it were the events related to the impeachment of the Governor of Bengal in 1788, "the first powerful manifestations of colonial guilt at the centre of British political life"[343], that contributed to this awareness, and the memories of them were still vivid images in the mind of the public. These were slow developments, however, and so the growing comprehension of the injustices committed against the colonized subjects had to compete with a sense of continual irritation at its ill-guided effort. Likewise, there were issues at home that were perceived to be more pressing.[344] As desirable and self-evident such efforts may seem from today's standpoint, the discussion of abolishing slavery altogether and, after 1807, renouncing the British economy's reliance on it, were thus developments whose ineluctability was far less unequivocal two hundred years ago. Likewise, since the economic basis of British prosperity was at stake, many commentators thought this debate misplaced, especially when a number of national conflicts were thought to be more urgent issues. But the outrage at such missionary schemes went even further than that, as an excerpt from the *Edinburgh Review*, issued only shortly before the publication of the illustration "Miranda teaching young Caliban to read" demonstrates: thus, in the *Edinburgh Review* from July 1806, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe surely must have been able to read about the indignation at

> the 'misplaced expense' and 'mistaken zeal' involved in 'preaching the most abstruse mysteries of our holy religion, to tribes of [Hottentot] savages who can scarcely count ten'.[345]

[342] Cf. Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism. Race, Femininity and Representation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 12f.
[343] Peter J. Kitson, "Races, places, peoples, 1785-1800", in *Romanticism and Colonialism. Writing and Empire, 1780-1830*, Tim Fulford and Peter J. Kitson (Eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 15. See also Makdisi, pp. 111f.
[344] Cf. C. Duncan Rice, "The Missionary Context of the British Anti-Slavery Movement", in Walvin, op. cit., pp. 150-163. Here, p. 151f.
[345] Ibid. p. 152.

Assuming Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe should have missed this particularly vitriolic piece of criticism of the ongoing missionary efforts, his steady engagement in public and private discussion still would have brought his attention to the controversial reception of such projects. The rift running through British society at this time, thus, was marked by the ambivalent attitude towards its colonial other. On the one hand, there were serious developments towards a more critical evaluation of the justifying slavery, on the other, this debate was attacked for being beside the point and superfluous. The debate surrounding the rightfulness of the colonial project was still young, and it was still fraught with great controversy. Nevertheless, it is clear that, already at this stage in British history, there awakened an awareness that the course it was taking, a politics based on the superiority of the English race and the providential calling to subjugate the colonial other, was somehow in variance with the nation's enlightened views about the liberty and equality of man.

In this context, then, the depiction of the hierarchical relationship of Caliban and Miranda as well as the subject of teaching and learning can be identified as spelling those ambivalent attitudes, beliefs and values that were forming during the time of the production of Sharpe's illustration of *The Tempest*. Similarly, there were considerable efforts related to the abolition of slavery, the "blot on the escutcheon of liberty"[346], in both, a concerted as well as an individual manner.[347] Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, too, joined in these activities: his decision of selecting the particular moment of Caliban's private instruction by Miranda, preceding the actual events of the play, appears to spring from his desire to contribute to the general reception of *The Tempest* by his personal standpoint: instead of focusing on the traditional representation of Caliban and Prospero's antagonism, this choice consists in coupling the supposedly base and brutish figure of Caliban with Miranda, the character carrying, already in her name, the token of her miraculous virtue. As a response to the political and social discourses of the day, this interpretation would also emphasize Krömer's view – that there was a tendency in the Romantic age to depict Caliban in a more humane manner.

To be sure, an interpretation of Sharpe's modelling his Caliban upon the Romantic concept of childish innocence constitutes a valid reading of the illustration. There is,

[346] Tomory, p. 20.
[347] Cf. Walvin 1982: p. 59.

however, also a considerable risk inherent in this approach: likewise, Krömer's analysis of Sharpe's illustration apparently fails to acknowledge the seemingly accidental parallel of the developments during the period of Romanticism in a very general sense, and those crucial decades in the history of the British Empire between the loss of the American colonies and the official abolition of slavery. In relying solely upon ascribing those long-standing attributes in the evaluation of Romanticism to the figure of Caliban, Krömer's analysis is unable to account for the complicity of the aesthetics of Romanticism and the ongoing project of colonialism. This is hardly surprising, since it is not uncommon in Romantic scholarship that

> [t]he considerable effect of these vast social and geopolitical developments upon romantic-era British literature remains largely unanalyzed, despite longstanding associations between romanticism and literary exoticism, primitivism, and Orientalism. Romanticists have similarly failed to examine the widespread use in this period of many written forms—from epic poetry to exploration narratives—in defining and justifying (when not decrying) the empire for a growing bourgeois public. These are serious oversights.[348]

Richardson and Hofkosh's study, from which this quotation is taken, relates these "oversights" to literary forms, but they are equally relevant for the purposes of this study. The years that are conveniently – and, to a sufficient degree, appropriately – referred to as the age of Romanticism, i. e. the last decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century are, in fact, formative years for a number of discourses: cultural, political, and ideological. In addition to Krömer's valid observations – Caliban's association with innocence, childishness and a potential to grow and to develop –, it is necessary to contemplate Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's illustration in the circumstances of the years preceding and following the date of its publication in the year 1809. Likewise, the date of the production of this watercolour parallels the developments within British culture at whose end the "concept of the 'colonialist' changed"[349]: after the impeachment of Warren Hastings and the anti-slavery campaigns of the beginning nineteenth century, the colonial impulse veered from an open ideology of territorial expansion to a more latent exploitation and extension of the conquered territories, facilitated by the structures of imperial superiority.

[348] Richardson and Hofkosh, p. 3.
[349] Kitson, p. 13.

> This realignment of the colonial project, which involved the redeployment of military forces, bureaucrats, and capital investment, marks what Vincent Harlow has termed the shift from the first to the second empire. The geographic shift of the British colonialism from the New World to Asia was accompanied by a corresponding ideological shift. In India, colonialism, no longer simply a matter of domination, was wedded to notions of duty, honor, Christian zeal, cultural superiority, and imperial magnanimity.[350]

The cultural by-products of this ideological shift from the "first to the second empire" was a kind of 'anti-colonialist' literature that was at the same time able to conceal its actual underlying colonial purpose, paradoxically.[351] For instance, the way the British encountered the Tahitians reveals that there was a new colonial self-image that influenced the missionary activities of British settlers. In this regard, the encounter of the Old World upon the territories of the New was marked by the feeling of British cultural superiority and the need to "liberate" the indigenous population of their supposed primitive civilizational status.[352] Similarly, Reverend Cox's accounts of his missionary activities in Jamaica manifest a tendency to encounter the inhabitants of new territories with a mixture of benevolence on the one hand and the intention to subjugate them on the other. In his reports, Reverend Cox was

> at pains to quote the testimony of negroes to demonstrate their loyalty and affection to the English. Negroes were thus constructed by the missionaries and their friends, both for themselves and for an English audience, through the filter of a set of assumptions as to what post-emancipation society should be like – a set of assumptions which seesawed on the ambivalence of racial difference: blacks were, and were not, equal. Black inferiority was further encoded in the language of the family. Blacks were the 'sons of Africa', 'babes in Christ', children who must be led to freedom, which meant adulthood. The missionaries were the parents who would act as their guides, teaching them, admonishing and reproving them, congratulating them, when they did right.[353]

Conspicuously, this quotation calls attention to the vocabulary of 'babes', 'sons' and 'adults', similar to the depiction of Caliban in the illustration. His childhood, the stage in his life pre-dating the actual action of the play, might easily be supplemented by the circumstances the above quotation describes, e. g. Miranda's acts chastisement and appraisal. Sharpe's illustration, therefore, may be taken as a (deliberate or accidental) pictorial account of the shift the colonial project made at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this context, it also manifests the imperial enterprise and relating its ideology of Providence, i. e. its self-perceived role of having to educate their colonial dominions

[350] Tobin, p. 5.
[351] Quoted ibid., p. 13f.
[352] Cf. Kitson, p. 30.
[353] Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 236f.

in moral and religion. In keeping with the theory of cultural materialism, then, the ideology of colonialism, by means of Althusser's "expressive causality"[354] is observable in the culture of the Romantic period, manifested, in this case, in Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's illustration. Its emphasis, then, seems to be predicated less upon the infantile innocence of Caliban and his commendable traits bearing on his potential development, as Krömer argues in her study, rather than upon the portrayal of Miranda's ostensibly benevolent act. This highlights the complicity of Romantic thought on the one hand and the tendency to assert Britain's superiority over those people encountered upon the colonized territories on the other. Parallel to the political framework Sharpe's illustration refers to, it has been maintained, an alliance was forged in the course of these crucial decades of the British Empire, between the colonial project of submission and control on the one hand and certain strands of Romantic literature on the other.[355] Likewise, the British Empire set out in many overseas dominions to hold sway over their subjects "under the guise of a liberal education."[356] Many writings of this period, prose and poetry, serve as cases in point, but the most famous examples of the close ties of literature and the colonial enterprise, in this context, are William Wordsworth's criticism of "the traffickers in Negro blood" in *The Prelude* and William Blake's "Little Black Boy". A perhaps less prominent collection of prose writings related to the issue of slavery is James Montgomery's, James Grahame's and E. Benger's volume *Poems on the Abolition of Slave Trade* from the year 1809. One of the illustrations accompanying the volume (Figure 15) calls to mind the iconographical structure of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's *Miranda teaching young Caliban to read*, emphasizing the dominance of this ideologically charged mode of cultural production.

[354] Jameson, p. 24.
[355] Cf. Allan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh, *Romanticism, Race and Imperial Culture, 1790-1834* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996).
[356] Cf. Fulford and Kitson, pp. 3f.

15 Illustration from James Montgomery, James Grahame, and E. Benger, *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (1809)

In this illustration, a woman can be seen interrupting her reading in order to draw a dark-complexioned figure's attention to the sky. This black man, dressed in only a swaddling garment around his waist, is kneeling in front of the female figure. His face is not visible in the illustration, but the way he has both arms raised to the sky gives the impression that he is in awe of what he sees. In this fashion, the illustration establishes a connection between the contents of the book of the female figure – the Holy Scriptures, by all probability – and her left hand pointing towards the sky. It is clear that the illustration intends to convey that the black man's posture is elicited by the behaviour of the female figure. Consequently, the rays of light illuminating the two figures seem to imply that the Gospel's enlightening strength will liberate all of mankind in the way the

man is affected by it in the moment depicted in the illustration. Considering the volume's publication date and title, it is surely not too audacious to conclude that the benign woman allegorizes Great Britain; likewise, her facial expression echoes the magnanimity with which the country saw herself in its loving care of her colonized dominions. The connection of slavery and the benevolent missionary act of liberating the slave was a familiar discourse. As Brantlinger points out, such

> Abolitionist portrayals of Africans as perhaps noble but also innocent or simple savages were patronizing and unintentionally derogatory. Nevertheless, such portrayals were both more positive and often more open-indeed than those from about 1840 to World War I. Ironically, the expansion of the slave trade had required Europeans to develop more accurate knowledge of Africans—both those Africans with whom they did business and those who became their commodities. Many factors contributed to a period of relative sympathy in writing about Africa between 1790 and 1830, among them the satiric tradition of the noble savage, turned to effective popular use in 1688 in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko; or, The Royal Slave* (and later by many abolitionists);[357]

Brantlinger thus emphasizes the parallel of the sympathetic, humanized perception of Caliban and certain positive ascriptions to slaves in general. On the other hand, however, Sharpe's illustration manifests the dubious complicity of Romanticism and colonialism. In this regard, it is certainly remarkable that Sharpe should have focused on an episode of *The Tempest* which does not form part of the dramatic action *per se* during these critical decades of the British Empire. Although it is difficult to be sure whether this demonstrates the concealed colonial impulse mentioned by Kitson, it certainly gives to think that of all the character constellations conceivable, Sharpe selected the dissymmetric relationship of Miranda and Caliban – colonizer and colonized. Especially the fact that their supposed civilizational disparity forms the central aspect of this illustration must be contemplated in temporal contiguity with Romanticism and the most transformative phase of the colonial enterprise. Thus, Caliban at first seems to epitomize the Romantic ideal of childish innocence, until Miranda, in her role as teaching the colonial other the language of the oppressor, is comprehended as positioned at the spearhead of British imperialism, in a manner of speaking. In this context, it is no coincidence that the illustration shows Miranda in the quasi-divine act of bestowing the *logos* upon the savage Caliban. The action depicted in Sharpe's illustration echoes, at the same time, the colonizer's claim to the rightfulness and necessity of his mission, while assuring himself of his cultural/civilizational

[357] Brantlinger, p. 176.

superiority by dint of contrasting it with the other, represented by Caliban. Sharpe's 1809 illustration thus exhibits how Britain's encounter with the colonial other came to function as a considerable determinant of national identity. As long as Caliban can be perceived as the weak and vulnerable other, the Britons were able to think of themselves as the moral and cultural superior. The colonial other, it was thought, needed Britain's strong arm of political guidance in order to lead the way into the state of civilization. What the Britons seemed to be unaware of was, however, that they, too, were in need: without their colonial other, the nation would have a lacked the opportunity to homogenize their identity, gathering in unity for the one goal of their civilizational mission.

"Teaching Young Caliban": Romanticism, Education, and Childhood

The previous chapter gave opportunity to look into the ideological ties the culture of Romanticism had with the socio-political developments pertaining to Britain and its economic and political enterprise overseas. Adding to this dubious complicity of seemingly isolated developments, implied by Sharpe's conspicuous focus on the relationship of Miranda and Caliban, the words "teaching" and "young", call attention to two further issues. Were there reason to believe that the illustrating artist had only a passive role in the process of visualizing this particular scene from the *Tempest*, thus merely translating the literary into the visual without alteration, it would seem satisfactory to assume that education and childhood were two discourses that were simply adapted from the Shakespearean original. Since it appears to be more plausible, however, that the production of the illustration was accompanied by a combination of the external influences of the prevailing discourses of his time upon the creative process, and the artist's own deliberation, it seems worthwhile to analyze the words "teaching" and "young" with regard to their historical context.

First of all, Sharpe's focus on the depiction of Caliban's childhood is in itself noteworthy, considering Richardson's claim that the actual concept was invented during the age of Romanticism: since the past 150 years led to a great familiarity with this idea – a fixed interval leading into a period of adolescence and adulthood –, it may seem surprising today that the concept of childhood did not simply emerge out of nowhere, without further external incentives. Childhood had to be, as it were, "put on the map" of late eighteenth-century culture by a deliberate effort. Consequently, even though it cannot be held that there was "one dominant 'Romantic image of the child"[358], childhood became a category that was somewhat paradigmatic of the age:

> Across a variety of representational conventions […] the child took on a virtually unprecedented significance. What one historian of the child-figure in Western literature calls the "classical silence" on childhood is barely troubled until the Reformation; in the England of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries childhood is more noticeable, but for the most part as "a state to be endured rather than enjoyed." […C]hildhood becomes central as a literary preoccupation only in the last two decades of the [eighteenth] century.[359]

[358] Richardson, pp. 9f.
[359] Cf. ibid.

In this context, both, Jean Jacques Rousseau's reflections on education as well as their reception in England play an important role. As has been apparent in the context of the Fuseli illustrations, the work of the Genevian philosopher had one pervasive idea: liberty and its links with social institutions and practices. Consequently, his *Emile* deals with the necessity for those responsible of children's education to provide specific surrounding conditions during childhood. Therefore, in contrast to the way children were brought up in the eighteenth century, the Swiss emphasizes the necessity that any child develop its faculties in an environment of outwardly unrestricted freedom. In this manner, the infant is expected to learn from the experiences occurring during its daily routine under the close surveillance of its tutor. Of course, it turns out in Rousseau's *Emile* that the tutor himself has to ensure that none of the events that are expected to trigger the infant's developments skills and personality are a matter of coincidence. Instead, the events follow a deliberate stratagem, devised by those responsible for the child's education. This careful scheme of influencing the process of cognitive and social maturation demonstrates the emphasis that began to be laid upon childhood in the second half of the eighteenth century. Motivated by the assumption that children are the agents of cultural reproduction, i. e. the idea that influencing their behaviour at this early infantile stage might affect the state of society in the future, then, received Rousseau's particular attention. In contrast to the centuries of the Renaissance, childhood in the last decades of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth centuries was seen as a preparatory phase regarding the individual's future, i. e. its identity and its skills. Richardson emphasizes these intricate connections of the Romantic period, childhood and education:

> The notion of the child, not simply as distinct, but as somehow unique, qualitatively different from (and in some senses superior to) the adult becomes prominent only with Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), and it is to a large extent through romantic literature that childhood has gained the central position it continues to hold in the Western cultural tradition.[360]

It was thus Rousseau's *Emile* that brought the discourse of childhood into a wider social circulation, marking only the beginning of an important development, observable in most European countries.

[360] Ibid., p. 9.

This concept is almost inseparably related to the second aspect implied in the title of Sharpe's illustration: the attention childhood received during the last decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century must be seen in direct connection with the insight that the transformations deemed desirable by state and society were best to be brought about by institutionalizing these formative years of any of the members living therein. For most Britons, the years between 1780 and 1830 were experienced as an overwhelming metamorphosis. Internationally, this transformative process was determined by the revolutions in America and France. English society itself had to manage the transition from an economic structure based predominantly upon agriculture to a modern industrial nation.[361] If England was to persist during times of change, it was felt, arrangements had to be made in order to be prepared for future developments. It must also have been in this context that childhood was discovered as a crucial stage in life, determining the future being of any individual. Subsequently, it awakened the interest of many to employ this potential for their particular purposes. In this regard, the first decades of the Romantic age were also the starting years of the education of the public:

> The 1780s […] have often served as a starting point in studies of British education because so much begins to change so quickly in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. These years saw the effective beginning of mass education with: the Sunday schools movement, the first attempt to legislate schooling for lower-class children, the rise of a children's literature geared for instructional use at home and in the schools, the first experiments in didactic "popular" fiction, the practical working out of Locke's educational methods for use in the middle-class home, the popularization in England of Rousseau's educational theories, the publication of the first major feminist critiques of education, and the adumbration of a romantic response to a number of these developments in poems by Blake and Wordsworth.[362]

Although it was only in 1870 that a law was passed in Parliament dealing with national education,[363] such endeavours of extending literacy positively gained momentum for the first time during the Romantic period. Naturally, this development did not only open the view for many unused potentials and resources for social and political change. It also heralded a great number of issues that suddenly presented themselves for discussion. Before it became a matter of debate how a higher level of education was to be achieved precisely, issues of greater importance were whether the expansion of what had been accessible for a larger number of people within the wealthier circles of society actually

[361] Cf. Abrams at al., p. 2.
[362] Richardson, p. 3.
[363] Ibid., p. 44.

implied advantages for society at large, or whether such efforts had, in fact, harmful effects for its stability. Especially the idea of generalizing education widely enough to make all classes benefit from it, was viewed with unease:

> The rise in literacy among the poor was significant enough to strike contemporary observers with emotions ranging from pleasing wonder to something like terror. The self-educated bookseller, James Lackington, delighted to remark in the 1790s that "all ranks and degrees now READ," while a writer in the *Anti-Jacobin Review* noted more nervously in 1800 that "Those taught to read, to write, to reason, we now see grasping with curiosity every pernicious treatise within reach."[364]

While the *Anti-Jacobin Review* was certainly among those voices of late eighteenth-century English society who commented on new developments with a particularly strong form of scepticism, the main fear of making education accessible to a general public consisted in the assumption that it might eventually result in a revolution similar to or worse than in France. Rousseau's contributions to both the French revolution as well as important developments in the field of education are by no means coincidental, in this regard. Correspondingly, wherever institutionalizing education was considered as having a potential for a favourable transformation of social structures, unsurprisingly, the argumentation was marked by a common consensus: making education accessible to a more general public could only be realized in a very controlled fashion.

> More conservative forces in British society generally came round to the view that the spread of basic literacy could have a stabilizing (if not anaestheticizing) effect on the mass of population, by facilitating the inculcation of moral homilies based on orthodox Christian dogma, but this strategy entailed strict control over reading and teaching practices. Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer, as well as involving themselves in Sunday school schemes and programmes, produced a plethora of exemplary tales and exhortatory Cheap Repository Tracts to counteract the influence of more fanciful, ribald, or satirical brands of popular and children's literature. Some deeper-dyed conservatives so feared the effects of undirected literacy in encouraging appetite for seditious or salacious books that they urged that classroom reading, where it was to be countenanced at all, be restricted entirely to the Bible.[365]

The great caution these approaches are marked by and their deliberation and planned nature illustrate how important an issue education had become at this time. At this point in history, the economic, political and social profile of British society was facing yet another great process of transformation. For that reason, there was also a considerable uncertainty about the degree and direction of this project, even though the beneficial

[364] Richardson, p. 46.
[365] Ian Britain, "Education", in *The Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture 1776,1832*, eds. Iain McCalman et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 161-170. Here: pp. 161f.

influence of education and literacy was widely agreed upon. But the concrete shape this debate on education took also gives prominence to the eagerness of those in political and economic responsibility to avail themselves of this instrument. Education was acknowledged as a powerful tool that needed to be controlled for one's own purposes, especially by the influential elites of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century society. In turn, this was also the reproach that many critics made:

> [R]adical writers also voiced suspicion concerning the education and reading of the poor, such as Cobbett's remark concerning Sunday Schools that "Society is in a *queer* state when the rich think, that they must *educate* the poor in order to insure their *own safety*: for this, at bottom, is the great motive now at work in pushing on the education scheme," or his condemnation of "'*religious Tracts*,' which would, if they could, make the labourer content with half starvation."[366]

If the accessibility of education was an issue of considerable controversy, so was the manner in which education was to be institutionalized: should schooling consist of the rigorous inculcation of curricular contents to be learned by all students, or was it more desirable to assist those going to school in developing certain faculties that, in turn, would empower them to participate in all kinds of interactions with society and the world in general? Again, the range was considerably ample, extending from the a more or less unconcealed desire to transform the individual into a "functioning" member of society, to the idealistic ambition that consisted in enabling the child to develop its social, cognitive and creative capacities. During this period in the late eighteenth century, in which developed a growing awareness of the importance of education for social change, "cramming" and rote learning were the most common methods of coerced instruction. Soon, however, this approach was undermined by a growing awareness that neither the use of coercion alone, nor teaching certain supposed "truths" were adequate. Especially the latter concept – that education was a process merely consisting in imparting certain facts assumed to represent specific "truths" – was soon discarded with the rapid changes education methods underwent in the Romantic period. In this regard, catechisms were a target of criticism and ridicule for relying on simulating an open dialogue where, in fact, the didactic questions had only one valid answer – the ones forming part of the ideas parents and teachers intended to deliver.

Such mechanical methods of teaching were also exposed to the criticism of Samuel T. Coleridge and William Wordsworth. The latter's "Anecdote for Fathers"

[366] Ibid., p. 46.

ridicules the catetchist practise of pretending to engage in a quasi-Socratic dialogue with the ostensible intention of "giving birth" to the "truth" in a concerted effort, while at the same time manipulating the child for the parents' own purposes. Wordsworth's assault on outdated modes of education reveals the Romantic concern with childhood and, at the same time, the desire to have children shielded from the pernicious effects and demands of society. Considering the centrality of the concept of childhood for the aesthetic of Romanticism, this is certainly an aspect worth to keep in mind. Somehow, the Romantics were afraid that pragmatic approaches to institutionalizing education endangered the space they had cleared for their artistic expression. While Wordsworth's "We are Seven" makes a similar effort, criticizing catechism as a "fundamentally closed travesty of discursive exchange"[367], his "Anecdote for Fathers" inverts the hierarchy of parent and child, implying the superiority of the latter on account of its natural wisdom untainted by the deforming effects of parental and institutional education. In compliance with the Romantic concept of the "noble savage" and childlike innocence, therefore, the child's otherness is perceived as at the same time superior and in need of protecting it from the totalitarian demands of early nineteenth century society. What makes this parallel to Sharpe's illustration even more cogent is the aspect that the way Caliban, the child, is portrayed corresponds with Wordsworth's intention of inverting the hierarchy of parent and child.

> [I]n these anti-didactic lyrics […], the child's authority rests on an idealized notion of childhood. Both the boy (who is five) and the girl (who is eight) are presented as naturals, primitives: Edward "graceful in his rustic dress" and the "little cottage girl" "wildly clad" with a "rustic, woodland air." These noble savages are naturally resistant to the adult attempts to form (or deform) them; their mentalities are rooted in a transcendentalized nature rather than being culturally produced.[368]

Once more, this attests to the prominence of education and childhood in the Romantic period. Childhood forms the main focus in this regard, and Wordsworth's passionate endeavours of defending this relatively new category of systematizing social experience, i. e. the reactions English society made over against the transformative processes in the decades between 1780 and 1830, emphasize the general struggle of Romantic society to accommodate childhood and education to one's individual purposes. In this regard, Wordsworth's direct and indirect mentioning of exceedingly coercive and mechanical methods of availing oneself of the amenable nature of children

[367] Ibid., p. 70.
[368] Ibid., pp. 71f.

aligns him with many other representatives of Romanticism. Similarly, this may have been the starting point for the thoughts accompanying the creation of "Miranda teaching young Caliban to read." In this regard, Caliban's typical role of the savage, the *de*formed slave, seems to have become superseded by his not *yet* educated, i. e. Hazlitt's *un*formed, and infantile status. Perhaps Caliban's strained attempt of obeying Miranda's methods of teaching echoes the uncertainty that prevailed in the Romantic age concerning how much liberty and how much coercion the education of children should involve. In line with the associations the Romantics are generally said to have made with regard to the concept of childhood, and keeping in mind Wordsworth's idealized interpretation of this stage of life, Sharpe's illustration takes a critical stance against exploiting the "innocent" child for accomplishing those transformations that the late eighteenth-century society in Britain needed. Perhaps it was also Sharpe's intention to express that even the most savage individual is capable of and deserves acknowledging his potential, being assisted to develop his faculties for his greatest benefit. It is also conceivable that his illustration witnesses the desire to shield childhood from the onslaughts of modernity. Likewise, it has been mentioned that it was in the age of Romanticism that education became an issue of public concern. At the same time, childhood continued to be an ideal that formed part of the core of the Romantic aesthetic. Similar to the concept of the "savage noble", therefore, it is imaginable that Sharpe was among those artists who expressed their concern that the rapid developments of the industrialization might deprive the individual of its last bit of private space. If childhood was continued to be seized for the purposes of modernizing, re-organizing and re-developing society, therefore, it was feared that the state might expand its totalitarian grip on all spheres of life, even the most private realm, in which the individual sought to express itself to the fullest extent possible. Otherness in Sharpe's illustration, therefore, can be observed as considerably different from the way it was manifest in previous renderings in this study: in this context, Caliban's unformed nature, as Hazlitt describes it, makes him appear as the other that is threatened by the totalitarian demands of society. The industrialized society can thus be observed as palpably encroaching upon the sanctuary of the Romantic period, i. e. the sphere of the individual. Thus, the way otherness is encountered in Sharpe's illustration – in the infantile depiction of Caliban – epitomizes the last resort in which the individual of the Romantic age could take refuge. It is this otherness that Sharpe apparently wishes to defend in his illustration.

II.4.2 David Scott's *Ariel and Caliban*

With regard to Mortimer's and Sharpe's illustrations, it became apparent that the changes in the way the *Tempest* was illustrated during the course of the last decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth century were paralleled by a shift from the portrayal of a whole constellation of the play's characters to only one or two of them. Almost like in a movie, it thus seems that the camera perspective changed from long shot in order to zoom in on the individual. In contrast to the first half the eighteenth century, therefore, questions concerning the individual now manifested themselves in how the Shakespearean plays were interpreted visually: its capabilities and limits, its physical transcendence on the one hand, promised by the Christian doctrine of salvation, and its corporeality on the other thus acquired central significance.

This form of Romantic introspection and concern with the individual's physical and mental dimensions, so typical of the age's literature,[369] can also be identified as an important driving force of David Scott's artistic activity. Especially the aspect of the supposedly unlimited flights of the mind, promised by the doctrine of transcendence, and the factual limits demanded by its physicality, deplored by many representatives of the Romantic period, forms an integral facet of his artistic activity.[370] Although there are variations in emphasis, none of his creative achievements would have been realized without this particular interest in the human race and its destiny – caught between the poles of physicality and transcendence.

Of course, distinct periodization is always a difficult enterprise, and must be handled with a sufficient sense of caution about its scope. It is, however, a fairly safe claim that the production of David Scott's *Ariel and Caliban* (Figure 16) and its publication in 1837 occurred at a time when the most incisive cultural, economic, political and social transformations that came to be constitutive of the concept of the Romantic age had already taken place.[371] Especially after the extension of Enlightenment patterns of thought to all areas of life – public and private – had relegated the individual's existence to a mere rationalized and demystified object,

[369] Cf. Abrams, p. 14.
[370] Cf. Nicola Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 60ff.
[371] Cf. Abrams et al., p. 1044.

obeying mainly the paradigms of a more and more industrialized social context,[372] many Romantic discourses were responses against such transformations: regarding the predominant mode of thought in the Romantic period, the individual was viewed as longing for the recuperation of an existence prior to the separation of body and soul. Consequently, the Romantic enterprise, to a certain extent, must be seen against the backdrop of the individual's yearning to regress into a mystified past.[373] The time when Scott made his illustration was thus

> a decade of transition […,] a fallow interval following the exhaustion of the romantic age's energies and awaiting the fresh invigoration that would soon come as new, identifiably 'Victorian' voices were heard.[374]

Since the progression of certain periods in the history of thought is always marked by an overlapping of philosophical ideas, it is also necessary to consider Scott's illustration against the backdrop of the subsequent age of Victorianism, albeit beginning officially only with Queen Victoria's enthronization in 1837. This year marks the start of a period known for its technological progress and its consequences similar to those described with relation to Romanticism or may in fact be considered as a continuation of them. Likewise, in an age in which science and technology marginalized the belief in the immaterial and inexplicable, those metaphysical discourses that promised a life beyond the limits of the physical and temporal had lost its force, leaving the individual unable to imagine itself beyond these boundaries of its earthly existence.

This also explains why in the Victorian period there was such a remarkable increase in the popularity of fairies. Likewise, there was a longing for a world beyond, one that could do without the solid steel constructions of their technological age:

> The Victorians desperately wanted to believe in fairies, because they represented one of the ways they could escape the intolerable reality of living in an unromantic, materialistic and scientific age. We tend to think of the Victorians as stern and moralistic, starting grimly out at us from early photographs, in their black top hats and frock coats. But Dickens was right in his perception that underneath their deceptively utilitarian surface, the Victorians yearned for 'some great romance'.[375]

In this sense, David Scott's creative work must be considered within a framework of thought constituted by both, belated Romantic as well as pre-Victorian ideas.

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[372] Cf. Sarah Hatchuel, *Shakespeare, from Stage to Screen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 10.
[373] Ibid.
[374] Altick 1973: p. 2.
[375] Christopher Wood, *Fairies in Victorian Art* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2000), p. 8.

Scott's work received its first forming influences in his childhood years, when his father, himself an engraver, was an original subscriber to the graphic works of William Blake. Later, the artist had immediate access to the intellectual circles of Edinburgh, and his connections to the intellegentsia of the leading academic representatives in Cambridge gave his aesthetics the distinct Romantic hue. While there is no necessity to label the older brother of William Bell Scott in any way, in this study's approach to his illustration of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, consequently, it seems apt to take into consideration those aspects in particular that are generally considered as constituting Romanticism.

16 David Scott, *Ariel and Caliban*, 1837

That said, it can be observed that David Scott's rendering constitutes a distinct opposition to the majority of the previous illustrations of *The Tempest*, inasmuch as it is

marked by a tendency of Romantic introspection.[376] In the same manner, Scott's *Ariel and Caliban* is less a manifestation of a moralizing or ideological impulse than a meditation on the human condition. Quite similar to Henry Fuseli's version, then, David Scott's design invites the viewer to reflect upon the opposition of two of the principal characters of *The Tempest*, a dyad described by William Bell Scott as representing "the two poles of human nature; the ascending and descending forces of mind and matter."[377] In contrast to Henry Fuseli's antithetical depiction of Prospero and Caliban, however, David Scott's visualization is predicated upon the opposition of *The Tempest's* supernatural characters Ariel and Caliban.

First and foremost, this contrast is established by employing the typical imagery of the characters' disparate natures and their opposite realms. Caliban is depicted in the anthropoid shape that could already be observed in other *Tempest* illustrations created during the Romantic period. Despite the character's thick lips, flat nose, clawed toes, and hairy body, his physique is visualized in clearly less bestial a manner than in for example William Hogarth's illustration. His association with the element earth, evidence of Caliban's physicality, is accentuated by a variety of symbols: the snake in his left hand, the mushrooms in the right corner of the illustration, and the toad in the centre emphasize that Caliban's place is destined to be upon the ground and that he will never be able to escape this location to ascend to Ariel's realm. Not only does he lack Ariel's wings, also his whole build is clearly too heavy for the purpose of flying. Likewise, the emblematic bundle of faggots, which has found its way into most illustrations of *The Tempest* in one way or another,[378] draws attention to Caliban's toilsome existence and recalls his subservience to Prospero. The materiality of his earthly condition is manifested further in Caliban's posture: he is thus depicted crawling like an animal and bent under the load he has to carry. Owing to his predicament, he appears to be longing to escape from his misery, to prevail over his heavy physicality, and to join Ariel's effortless flight in the air.

In contrast to Caliban's earthly attributes, Ariel's airy immateriality is emphasized by the light colour of skin, the transparent wings and the nearby butterfly. Furthermore, while Caliban seems to be struggling under the task he has been assigned, Ariel's seems to live a carefree existence as indicated by the lute – an instrument that

[376] Cf. Henri Peyre, *What is Romanticism?* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1977). pp. 118f.
[377] William Bell Scott quoted in *Fairies in Nineteen-Century Art and Literature*, op. cit., p. 60.
[378] Cf. Vaughan and Vaughan 1991: pp. 215-251.

signifies leisure and at the more sophisticated kind of music –emphasizing William Bell Scott's evaluation that Ariel's is the sphere of the mind.

At first sight, the underlying impulse of this illustration might be dismissed as yet another moralizing antithesis of good and evil if it weren't for David Scott's imbuement in the philosophy of the Romantic age. Thus, the artist's visualizations of Shakespeare,

> *Puck fleeing before Dawn* and *Ariel and Caliban* […] are consonant with preoccupations which lasted the duration of Scott's career, for they clearly allude to his themes of materiality and transcendence of the body.[379]

The underlying impulse of creating *Ariel and Caliban* was thus an act of introspection into the binary nature of Man. Caliban's crawling movement and Ariel's swift and uninhibited flight manifest Scott's acknowledgment of the hybridity of the human condition – caught between the material and short-lived burden of physicality on the one hand, and the fanciful flight of the mind on the other. In the same way, the snake Caliban is holding on to recalls the event of the Fall of Man – his banishment from the Garden of Eden, triggered by his doubting nature, constantly spurred by the Promethean longing to go beyond the place he has been assigned in the world. Escaping the individual's predicament was thus a common aspect of the prevailing mode of thought:

> The other writers and philosophers of this period understood that the regeneration of man as a spiritual animal taking over the spiritual future of humanity had to take into account all the elements of an animal and even a monster in person. Their angels shed tears over the condemnation of the Prince of Darkness. Shelley, in many a poem, rehabilitated the serpent, exiled from paradise. Hugo reserved his poetic tenderness for the worm, the toad, and the donkey: he punished the wicked by metempsychosis which turned Verrès into a wolf and another criminal into a strange carnivorous beast. In the long chain of creatures, the human being is connected with the animal kingdom; his merit will be all the greater then in reaching out for the divine.[380]

Likewise, it seems that it was David Scott's intention to depict Caliban as the representative of the material nature of mankind in its postlapsarian state, forever doomed to ache under the burden of physicality. Scott's rendering of *The Tempest*, then, exhibits a profound Romantic yearning for the liberation of the individual from the fetters of materiality into a transcendent sphere without limits, thus following Ariel's flight. In this regard it is remarkable that Scott's illustration presents to the

[379] Ibid., p. 59. Cf. also James Fowler, "David Scott's *Queen Elizabeth in the Globe Theatre*", in *Shakespeare and the Victorian Stage*. Ed. Richard Foulkes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 23-38. Here: p. 26.
[380] Peyre, p. 118.

viewer no longer the bestially deformed figure of earlier illustrations but a decidedly humanized Caliban, as if intending to facilitate the spectator's identification with the supposedly savage character. In an act of Romantic introspection, this reveals[381] Scott's lifelong obsession with the human predicament so characteristic of the Romantic age – caught between the limits of materiality and striving for the boundless sphere of the transcendental. Scott's *Ariel and Caliban* manifests the artist's acknowledgement of the bipolar nature of man: Caliban's otherness, then no longer epitomizes the idealist counter draft or the moralistic deterrent. In a Romantic act of self-introspection, it is acquiesced, instead, as the ineffaceable stain upon the face of mankind. For the first time in the history of the illustration of *The Tempest*, then, a tendency to incorporate the other into the Romantic personality can be observed, revealing a profound uncertainty about the self. Thus, Scott's interpretation of *The Tempest* manifests his affiliation with predominant modes of thought in the Romantic period: in contrast to earlier visualizations of the play, Scott does not employ the character of Caliban in a gesture of moral preaching or self-elevation; the depiction of a lowly and struggling Caliban serves, in his case, as a reminder of the human condition – his limits of materiality and his yearning for transcendental liberation.

For a further analysis of Scott's *Ariel and Caliban*, it is insightful to take into consideration Nicola Bown's argumentation, which emphasizes the intimate connections of the industrialization of English society and the late eighteenth-century "invention" of the winged fairy. Accordingly, before the advent of the nineteenth century, she explains, fairies lacked the wings that form part of today's prototypical image of it. It was, however, only around 1790 that fairies began to be illustrated with this superhuman pair of extremities, and if we contrast Ariel of Scott's illustration with the marginalized appearance of the spirit in Hogarth's *A Scene from the Tempest*, it can be observed that while the latter is painted in the style of the *putti* in Renaissance and Baroque paintings, the former clearly resembles the manner in which fairies came to be depicted in the late nineteenth century: correspondingly, Scott's Ariel is portrayed in the physique of a young, slightly androgynous woman, with long curly hair as well as a pair of wings that resemble the delicate, transparent wings of insects. This emphasizes that the Romantic desire to escape from the transformative processes of modernization was

[381] Cf. Abrams et al., p. 14.

continued in the Victorian age in the tendency to seek comfort in myth and folklore, particularly in the shape of fairies:

> The Victorians' recourse to sentimentality in the face of the brutal and deadening rationalism of modern forms of thought, technology and social organisation was an extreme response to an extreme situation. Confronted with the vast, even overwhelming, power of modernity, they escaped into the past and took comfort by dreaming of fairies who were tiny. The excess of feeling for which the Victorians sought an outlet found a perfect vehicle in fairyland, precisely because it was such a trivial object for these emotions. The small, inauthentic, inadequate fairy was the perfect figure to conjure up dreams of escape from the intolerable present and a perfect vehicle for longings for the past, because it was a smaller, more fragile, more magical version of themselves; they found in fairyland, a land that never was, the perfect escape from their own country. Though sentimental, the magic of the fairy was not easy magic, because what it stood for was the difficulty of being human.[382]

In this context, it is interesting that the figurative 'flight of the mind'[383] began to be superseded by the idea of actually flying, becoming the Victorians ultimate fantasy of escaping the scientific materiality of modernity. This was facilitated by the invention of the hot-air balloon in the year 1783. If Scott therefore uses Caliban's otherness in order to throw into relief Ariel's airy existence by availing himself of the nineteenth-century iconography of the fairy, it has to be kept in mind that the prominence of this creature at the time was closely connected with the invention of the hot-air balloon.[384] This invention made the age-old dream of flying come true for a large number of people. By many, the ascent into the air was experienced as an escape from the physicality of earthly existence and the opportunity of seeing the threatening features of modernity from loftier heights and from a greater distance. Thus, in his

> *History of the Balloon from its Discovery to the present Time* (1839), Robert Beavan states that the euphoria of the ascent and the sensations of peace and calmness in the air were universally experienced by balloonists: 'This happy state is in no wise restricted to solitary cases, or dependent in any way on the physical or mental constitution of the parties.' […] Another account confirms that while suspended in the air the balloonist is particularly susceptible to visions and daydreams: 'there might one revel in all the delights of the imagination, with not the ruffling of a butterfly's wing to put your fancies to flight'. Leaving the ground as was accompanied by the dream-like sensation of leaving the body behind; to convey this feeling, balloonists turned to images of wings, butterflies, phantoms and fairies.[385]

[382] Bown, p. 11.
[383] Cf. Bown, p. 50.
[384] Cf. ibid.
[385] Ibid., p. 54.

This account emphasizes the connection between the material possibility of flying, facilitated by the invention of the hot-air balloon, and the popularity of fairies in the Victorian imagination. For what could better incorporate the experiences made high above the ground, unburdened of the heavy materiality of the body, than the dainty and winged creatures of fairyland? Similarly, Robert Beavan's account emphasizes the nineteenth century's familiarity with such binary oppositions as physical-transcendental, earthly-airy, or the contrast between physical struggle and the flight of the imagination. Especially the proximity of the discourses of flying, facilitated by the invention of the hot-air balloon, and the omnipresent one of fairies reveals how sceptical the certain consequences of the industrialization upon the individual were viewed.

In this regard, the intimate connection of these discourses reveals an ideological blind spot. The general enthusiasm about technological developments impeded the awareness that it was this industrializational progress that came to create such a desire for escaping its unwanted side-effects. Ariel's flight and the way it is contrasted with Caliban's physicality, therefore, is a manifestation of this contradiction. While emphasizing the age's desire to find some kind of escape from the present, it confesses, at the same time, that it was this age that gave hope to finding such resorts in technological progress. In this regard, this peculiar blend of an elevated desire to escape the present, regressing into the mystified past of fairies and folklore on the one hand, and the enthusiasm about progress on the other constitutes the Victorian age's schizophrenia: Scott's *Ariel and Caliban* reveals that many of his contemporaries were afraid to usher in a new era of technological evolution, despite being infatuated with the promises of technological progress.[386] In this illustration, therefore, the other is no longer encountered in the figure of Caliban itself. Instead, Ariel and his limitless flight are included into the concept, to establish a binary opposition of ambivalence: a yearning for progress on the one hand, and a fearful impulse of regressing into a bygone past. Otherness thus manifests itself in the guise of an imminent and inevitable future, with which the late-Romantic and pre-Victorian society has to come to terms with.

[386] Cf. ibid., p. 45.

III. Illustrations of William Shakespeare's *Othello*

III.1 The Socio-Political Context of the Victorian Age

Already during the discussion of the Hogarth illustrations, it became clear that it was the French rival on the continent that was the most predominant constant Britain's encounter with the other. This rivalry played a crucial role in the country's forming of national identity.[387] Protestantism, then, epitomized what were perceived as the constitutive features of Englishness.[388] Contributing to the notion that Britain was unified in its commitment to personal freedom and general progress and prosperity, something the French were believed to lack, strengthened the belief in the superiority of Englishness. Especially the years from 1790 to 1815 contributed to this rivalry: as much as the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 allowed for the threat of a French invasion to decrease, France remained one of England's defining others until well into the nineteenth century.[389] The most prominent example of this sustained opposition is probably Charles Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), in which the (Pre-)Revolutionary activities in France are juxtaposed with developments of British society that bear disquieting resemblance to its cross-the-channel neighbour.

That said, it is also true that in the first half of the nineteenth century the climate of international relations was undergoing significant changes. Likewise, after the Congress of Vienna had – or created the impression of having done so, at least – restored order and stability to post-Napoleonic Europe, Britain was soon able to invest the energies that had gone into the conflict with France into her colonial projects overseas. Although it took until the second half of the century that the expansionist policy had reached its zenith, it was the Concert of Europe, also known as the Congress System, that allowed for the imperialist enterprise to pick up full momentum.[390]

Consequently, this expansion of the imperial enterprise began to alter the way the racial other was encountered. Of course, the most important instances of these developments were the anti-Slavery campaigns during the Romantic period, the abolition of slave trade in 1807 and of slavery itself in 1833. Soon, however, the initial

[387] Cf. Baucom, p. 30.
[388] Cf. Colley, pp. 32f.
[389] Cf. Buzard, p. 443.
[390] Cf. Brantlinger, p. 158.

benevolence and – if paternalistic – compassion with the lot of the colonized peoples gave way to a new attitude of the Britons towards their colonial other.[391] Starting in the late 1850s and early 1860s, therefore, there developed a new form of racialism. Especially the blacks were no longer seen as the "man and brother" of the anti-slavery slogans,[392] but they were increasingly demonized, even used as the projective space for inner social conflicts. Correspondingly, it became more and more legitimate and widespread to deduce assumptions and prejudices from racial otherness and to use this assumed difference as a justification for the Britons' subjugation of the people encountered in the colonies.[393] Somehow, the way the racial other in the colonies was viewed in the Victorian age had come to supersede the notion of alterity constituted by the French in the eighteenth century.[394] In the period during which the *Othello* illustrations were created, therefore, France was no longer Britain's most important other.[395] Of course, the threat that was represented by racial otherness was considerably less serious than that of the resurgence of Catholicism in the previous century. This new emphasis on another variant of otherness, however, was substantial enough to polemically charge the ongoing debates of the early Victorian years.[396]

But the relevance of this new emphasis on racial otherness extended beyond exploiting it for public discussion. Of course, the expansion of the territories overseas and the end of military struggles on the European continent provided considerable benefits for the Victorians. What is more, the political dimension of the imperial mission entered an intimate connection with the national public at home. People became avidly interested in anything related to foreign countries and the colonies – consumer products, pictures, printed reports. Similarly, the Grand Tour continued to be a common activity for aspiring members of the upper middle- and ruling classes. Especially travellers' accounts and travel writing in general became immensely successful in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was therefore in the decades from about 1830 to 1880 that this form of literature climbed to unprecedented peaks of popularity in Britain.[397] The imagined proximity of the world overseas and the possibility of travelling there not only increased the Victorians' fascination with accounts from these

[391] Cf. Dentith 1998: p. 164 and Hall 1995: p. 249.
[392] Cf. Hall 1995: p. 208.
[393] Cf. Gikandi, p. 59.
[394] Cf. ibid., p. 55.
[395] Cf. Mandler, p. 53.
[396] Cf. ibid., p. 60.
[397] Cf. Tim Youngs (Ed.), *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century. Filling the Blank Spaces* (London, New York, Delhi: Anthem Press, 2006), p. 4.

new territories, it also made travelling itself more popular than ever. Therefore, the first half of the nineteenth century saw the advent of mass tourism very similar to the form with which we are familiar today,[398] a development that was also facilitated by extended hours of leisure time and new technologies of transport.[399] Similarly, there was an increasing number of people in the Victorian age that had the financial resources and leisure necessary to be able to benefit from the nation's economic prosperity and political dominance. In addition, Thomas Cook's "invention of the 'package tour' […] powerfully encoded the idea of a British collective body able to travel untouched and at will through alien territories", and "[t]he Consular Act of 1825, which unified and professionalized the system of British consulates around the world, offered a similar guarantee"[400]: travelling thus became a safer and a more popular entertainment than it already had been in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and, as only one result, accounts from foreign countries and the colonies also appear in the adventure tales and novels of the day.[401]

As enthusiastically as the majority of the public welcomed the benefits of travelling, however, there were also the warning voices of those who were afraid encounters with the colonial other might have a detrimental effect on the supposed superiority of the English race and Great Britain's cultures and manners. Tours on the Continent and abroad were thus feared to be corrupting the morals and potentials of those young Englishmen who were expected to assume responsibility in the public service. Especially the female population of the Empire was addressed in a considerable share of travel literature, lest their exchange with foreigners should lead to similar events with outcomes harmful for individuals and the nation. In hindsight, this has been analyzed as a "foreshadowing of empire's fixation on the necessity of sequestering the British woman from the contaminating touch of the colonized man", referring to the fear of interracial rape, "as if the vulnerable British woman might suffer a literal reversal of what Britons were metaphorically doing to the cultures they ruled"[402]. In the context of the Victorian age, the threatening potential for the identity of the self that is frequently perceived during encounters with the otherness, was therefore constituted by the threat of a physical transgression on the part of the racial other.

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[398] Cf. Buzard, p. 448.
[399] Youngs, p. 6.
[400] Buzard, p. 448.
[401] Cf. Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness. British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 12.
[402] Buzard, p. 448.

The period during which the illustrations that are to be discussed in this section were created was to prove that these fixations and fears were not without justification. Likewise, the colonial upheavals, in which also a series of rapes were reported to have occurred, emphasized drastically that the Empire's aggressive expansion might, in fact, meet the undesired response of this kind.[403] Britain's new other in the Victorian period, then, was more than an abstract concept that could be scapegoated for social troubles. It transpired to be an autonomous entity that was, as it was feared, able to react and retaliate.

[403] Cf. ibid.

III.2 The Illustrations

Considering the circumstances determining the production of the *Othello* illustrations, it is possible to make one relatively objective observation. Both, the number and the scope of the scenes that were chosen for visualization are considerably more narrow than in the case of the *Tempest* illustrations. Thus, although with a number ranging between fifty to one hundred illustrations, the group of artists who chose *Othello* as a subject for illustration is still comparatively large, their quantity still falls behind the illustrations of *The Tempest* by approximately a hundred. With respect to Shakespeare illustration in general, a corresponding phenomenon is constituted by the fact that, while many scholars have written about the *Tempest* illustrations, only few have taken the development of the visualization of *Othello* into more careful consideration.[404] Likewise, as for the selection of scenes and characters, the great diversity of the illustrations for William Shakespeare's last play by far eclipses the rather limited range of *Othello* illustrations. In the previous section, it was thus possible to draw on this variety in order to demonstrate the shifts that occurred in their development over the centuries, ranging from character constellation to perspective, from scenery to topic. Certainly, this must also be attributed to the *Tempest*'s potential in terms of visualization, not only on canvas but also on stage: it were two aspects that

> recommended [the play] to theatrical producers and painters: its opportunities for music and spectacle. […] It was no accident that the highlights of the production, which received rave notices and ran for eighty-seven nights, corresponded with the subjects most favored by the painters of the period. Indeed, one might say that in this extravaganza of shipwrecks, pageantry, banquets, "Visions," and transformation scenes, replete with animated scenery and props, lighting tricks, fountains, dancing naiads, fauns and satyrs, Kean moved the walls of the annual exhibitions to the Princess' Theatre. His stage pictures were, in effect, a montage of the scores of *Tempest* scenes already painted (some 200 in all recorded).[405]

These observations call to mind the discussion of the difficulties and challenges arising from the task of visualizing literature. While both, the literary and the visual arts to a certain extent share a common language of representation, it could also be observed that there are restrictions concerning the topical choice concerning the moment that is to be

[404] Cf. Altick, p. 306ff.; Barbara Melchiori, "Undercurrents in Victorian Illustrations of Shakespeare", in Werner Habicht et al. (Ed.), *Images of Shakespeare* (London: Associated University Press, 1986); Bate 2000; Ziegler;
[405] Altick, p. 326.

depicted. Thus, although it is certainly true that the resources of the illustrator are his imagination, the canvas and his paint, the stage history of *The Tempest*, as quoted above, indicates the great appeal this play has always had for any form of visual adaptation. In contrast to these vast resources of music, dance, setting, Prospero's magic, the intriguing nature of Caliban, and so on, *Othello*'s focus on the inner psychological conflicts of Desdemona and Othello, and the Protean nature of Iago – similarly difficult do visualize –, then, must have made it much less inviting for artists to visualize the play.[406]

This is also the reason why this section, dealing with the illustration of *Othello*, is considerably shorter in relation to the one dedicated to the *Tempest* renderings. The range of the *Othello* scenes depicted is simply more limited, and the way Othello' is portrayed has significantly less potential for an analysis of the way the design of his otherness in the play was perceived and interpreted visually. This quantitative lack, however, is compensated for by one considerable advantage. Considering this rather limited range of interpretive approaches, therefore, it seems all the more revealing to contemplate those aspects that particularly intrigued the illustrators of *Othello*. Correspondingly, when the illustrating artists were confronted with the choice of having to visualize primarily verbal and rational concepts, such as the relationships among the characters, or the jealousy and rage of Othello, the way they emphasized individual facets constitutes a convenient starting point for reflecting upon what motivated the artists to make their decision. In this regard, it seems to be not entirely coincidental, that the most frequently depicted scene[407] alludes to an event in the play's past:[408] in his most famous monologue, Othello defends himself against Brabantio's accusations of having used witchcraft in order to woo Desdemona successfully. In essence, this story implies that it was a combination of Desdemona's sympathy and her fascination with Othello's intriguing "story of his life" that attracted her to him.[409] Although Othello's accounts, to be sure, would have represented a tempting source, i. e. an invitation for most illustrators to creatively adapt for their illustrations some of the more graphic and spectacular aspects – depictions of the exotic and wild, accounts of beasts and strange lands –, not a single visual rendering of the play avails itself of his experiences directly.

[406] Cf. Oppel, p. 76.
[407] Cf. Altick., pp. 306ff and Adrian Poole, *Shakespeare and the Victorians* (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), p. 41.
[408] Cf. Bate 2000: p. 54.
[409] For the entire monologue cf. O 1.3.129-170.

Instead, the very act of relating these to Desdemona and Brabantio appears to have been the most intriguing aspect of this scene. Consequently, there are three very similar illustrations of this event (Figures 17-19), created by Charles West Cope (1873), Heinrich Hofmann (1876) and Alexandre Cabanel (1857). This apparent focus permits the assumption that, among other aspects, in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a certain fascination with story-telling, especially if these stories were the narratives of the unknown and the distant. The encounter with the other in the Victorian period, then, turns on the age's desire to hear sensational or fantastic stories that marked a distinct contrast to the everyday life in the Victorian period. For this reason, a closer look at the habits of story-telling shall be taken, especially with regard to the apparent focus of the *Othello* illustrations on the particular scene that does not form part of the play's stage action *per se*. Before focusing on these circumstances, it is necessary to take a closer look at a more prominent feature of these illustrations: all three of them have an almost identical iconography.

III.2.1 Iconography

17 Charles W. Cope*, Othello relating the adventures to Desdemona*, 1873

18 Heinrich Hofmann, *Othello impresses Desdemona and her father with his eventful life-story*, 1876

19 Alexandre Cabanel, *Othello telling the story of his life*, 1857

The most prominent aspect of the illustrations' shared iconography is the nexus between fore- and background: Othello, Desdemona and her father Brabantio are positioned against a background that creates the illusion of being able to look past the characters and into the distance. Likewise, approximately one half of the space of these illustrations is taken up by the vast void of the sky, only interrupted in some places by faint clouds and the silhouettes of Venetian buildings (not in the Hofmann illustration). The nearness of the displayed figures in the pictorial plane and the distance of the roofs of Venice in the hazy background form a noteworthy relationship in the illustration, marked by the proximity of the interior and the remoteness of the outside world. As will become apparent at a later stage in the discussion, this relationship bears a particular relevance in the socio-cultural circumstances during the time of the illustrations' creation.

Furthermore, all of the illustrations depicting the events in act 1 scene 3 contain a framing element, which contributes to the establishment of this clear-cut opposition between inside and outside the citadel. If we consider e. g. the illustration of Cope the

two pairs of columns create the impression that the characters are the audience – witnesses to what is going on in the distance, visible behind them. Their heads are not turned towards this "stage", and so this aspect suggests that it is Othello's narration that enables his listeners to see these events before their inner eyes as if they were the audience sitting in front of a stage. In a way, the story he narrates opens the door to another world, as if opening the curtains to the stage of Desdemona's and Brabantio's minds. The Hofmann illustration virtually displays these curtains, thus contributing to the theatricality of the scene. In all of the visualizations of the scene, it is Othello's narration that opens this stage to Desdemona and her father. Desdemona's inclined posture in particular portrays her as if the narration of her future husband's "adventures" left her spellbound, quite literally. Similarly, this is the defense Othello makes on his own behalf: also in the illustrations of this scene, the accusation he attempts to refute – his supposed "witchcraft"[410] – consists merely in his experiences in foreign lands and the skilful way of presenting his adventures to Desdemona.[411]

The second feature concerning the illustrations' iconographic structure is constituted by the aspect that, in the same way that Othello refers directly to a place and time outside of the play's reality, almost all images depict this indicative gesture in one way or another. It therefore seems worthwhile to call to mind, once more, the formal limitations of the visual arts in relation to the literary, as pointed out in the third chapter of the first section of this study: the central aspect of this scene is Othello's narrative, an aspect to which the very titles of the illustrations of Cope and Cabanel refer to explicitly. *The Tempest* may have attracted a greater number of illustrating artists. However, it is all the more obvious that the main fascination for those who did take on the task of visualizing *Othello* seems to have lain with the fact that Othello's narrative extends the spatial dimensions of the frame by what Meisel refers to as the *modifying agent*.[412] Cope's illustration, e. g., thus shows a bearded Othello in sumptuous military apparel, both hands raised in front of his face, commanding Desdemona's and Brabantio's attention in two ways: his left hand displays an outstretched thumb and forefinger, demanding the listeners' attention and credence. The irony of his appeal to accept his words as the truth has already been pointed out with respect to the illustrations' textual source. Othello thus urges them to rely on his narrative account,

[410] Cf. O 1.3.129-170.
[411] Cf. O 1.3.129-61.
[412] Meisel, pp. 20f.

although he accepts only ocular proof to believe Desdemona in the fifth act of the play. His right hand shows the same fingers but the point of reference lies outside of the space of the illustration: Othello thus refers to the distant lands he once left. The depiction of his pointing the finger therefore at the same time serves to depict Othello's account of his origins as well as to allow the illustrators to include additional temporal frames into the scope of the pictorial instant. In the same way as the Shakespearean character, therefore, the illustration invites the spectator to call to mind the notorious story of the "antres vast and deserts idle"[413], while allowing his or her eyes to range over the empty space in the distance. The visual and the literary thus form a narrative whole, evoked by the interplay of Othello's telling his adventures, the viewers' imagination, and the empty background, framed theatrically by the columns. Seen in relation to more recent results of visual theory, this emphasizes that "there are no purely visual media because meaning is constituted necessarily through an interdependence."[414] This calls to mind what could be observed in relation to Hogarth's and Fuseli's illustrations. Likewise, while the former is still known today as the artist who specialized in the serialization of his works and the use of symbolic structures in order to make reference to an illustration's future and past, it has been shown earlier on that Fuseli's illustration for the Boydell Gallery made use of a "visual language" similar to some of the verbal structures of the Shakespearean original. The second iconographical feature the illustrations employ, thus, is constituted by the fact that Othello's accounts, which cannot be represented *per se* within the limited space of the visualization, are alluded to by his gesture of pointing outside of the frame of reference of the visual plane of the picture.

Lastly, the illustrations' likeness in iconographical structures evidences how the pictorial space of illustrations does not necessarily need to be confined to a single moment. Likewise, the illustrations by Cabanel, Cope and Hofmann all refer to Brabantio's initial reluctance to dismiss his daughter into Othello's custody, on the one hand, as well as the instant when Desdemona is actually won over on the other. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the focus of the illustrators does not only conspicuously lie with a scene that is not part of the dramatic action itself, it also focuses on a scene of typically Victorian domesticity.[415] Brabantio's protective attitude towards his daughter

[413] O 1.3.141.
[414] Renate Brosch (Ed.), *Victorian Visual Culture* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2009), p. 8.
[415] Cf. Bate 2000: p. 54.

is noticeable in his physical closeness to her. It is an apparent feature of all the illustrations in discussion that the tragedy of Othello is reduced, solely, to his wooing of Desdemona. In the Victorian age, illustrations of

> [Shakespeare's] tragedies tended to be "novelized". An especially notable example is the frontispiece to *Othello*, by Charles West Cope. […] The *Times* of 30 April 1859 lauded him as the chief painter of modern domestic life. *Othello* is undoubtedly the most domestic of Shakespeare's tragedies, but it is also a work of great political and civic scope. In Cope's hands, however, it becomes merely domestic: […] "Othello Relating his Adventures" [is] painted as an interior of family life, with the civic context of Renaissance Venice removed to the background. This is a picture not of a mercenary general but a man seeking the hand of a well-to-do woman, knowing that her father is the key player in the transaction. In accordance with the norm of the age, Othello himself is represented as a noble figure of mildly Oriental demeanor, not a threatening out-and-out Blackamoor. But the most striking thing about the illustration is that what it is visualizing is not actually a scene in the play. Othello does not relate his adventures on stage. That has happened before the action begins. He *recollects* that relation in act one scene three, as part of his "trial" […] before an audience of duke and senators. Cope is illustrating not the play as staged, but the world of the play's action as it might be imagined by a public for whom the novel has become the most influential mode of artistic representation of reality.[416]

Bate thus seconds the view that it is no coincidence that the artists' chose to visualize as a scene of Othello's wooing Desdemona in the presence of her father – a strikingly Victorian interpretation, at odds with Othello's military apparel. Similarly, Bate indicates there is a connection between the iconography of the Cope illustration and the audience it was addressed to. Likewise, in the same way that Othello is asking his audience to follow his lead, picturing his adventures before their inner eyes, the illustrations rely heavily on the Victorians' imaginative capability: in fact, *image* and *imagination* were as akin in this age as their lexical similarity implies. This will become clear in the following section.

[416] Ibid.

II.2.2 Interpretation

If the socio-political context that influenced the creation of the *Othello* illustrations had changed in the Victorian period, this is all the more valid regarding the way its culture was transformed. In stark contrast to the logocentrism that could be observed in the early eighteenth-century period, it seems no exaggeration that the Victorians had a veritable obsession with seeing and watching. It was in this century, after all, that the technologies of visual reproduction progressed so rapidly that the Queen whose name stands for a whole era became the first British monarch of whom there are photographs.[417] The very act of perceiving visually became a behavioural pattern typical of this age's everyday culture:

> This preoccupation with the visible, recordable world on the part of many Victorians has been continually remarked upon in recent years. […] The period witnessed […] 'something of a geographical extension of the field of the visible and the representable: by journeys, explorations, colonisations, the whole world becomes visible at the same time that it becomes appropriable'.[418]

Immediately, the illustrations of Desdemona and Brabantio as the representatives of the spectatorship described here come to mind: while Othello's account is, of course, of a primarily verbal nature, the inclined heads and bright eyes of his listeners reveal their curiosity and fascination with picturing the other in front of their inner eye – hearing about the "unfamiliar", as Flint describes it. Furthermore,

> David Spurr, too, writing about the part the gaze comes to play in colonial discourse generally, pertinently reminds one that 'The gaze is never innocent or pure, never free of meditation by motives which may be judged noble or otherwise. The writer's eye is always in some sense colonizing the landscape, mastering and portioning, fixing zones and poles, arranging and deepening the scene as the object of desire.'[419]

The fact that it is hard to disentangle the mere fascination with the visible, and the implication that the very instance of looking is never an innocent act of perceiving is not only a corollary of visual theory's recent insight that there is no "innocent eye"[420], i. e.

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[417] Cf. Abrams, p. 1044.
[418] Kate Flint, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 2f; cf. also Dennis Kenney, *Looking at Shakespeare. A Visual History of Twentieth-Century Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 26f.
[419] Cf. Flint, pp. 2f.
[420] Nelson Goodman, "Reality Remade" in *Philosophy Looks at the Arts. Contemporary Readings in Aesthetics*. Revised Edition. Ed. Joseph Margolis (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1978), pp. 225-248. Here, p. 227.

that the moment of perception is inseparable of the cognitive acts of information processing and interpretation; the entanglement mentioned here also gives prominence to the complicity of visual culture and another constant of the Victorian period in particular: not unfrequently, the gaze was directed, during this period, at what was deemed desirable, and wherever it came to rest, in turn, an act of appropriation was imminent.[421] Considering the Victorians' fascination with foreign lands and travel literature, thus, it is certainly no wonder that, in this age of the commercialization and expansion of the visual culture, seeing, frequently became the symbolical act of possession. Books of travel accounts and novels dealing with foreign countries as goods for private use were soon supplemented by illustrations and photographs. This complicity of seeing and making possession is also emphasized by the colonizing nation's fondness of exhibiting tokens from their (newly) conquered territories to a wider public. London, unsurprisingly, became the world's capital of exhibition in this period.[422] In the nineteenth century, fares and exhibitions not only realized the function of comparing the technological and civilizational advancedness of the individual nations of the Western world. They were also a popular means of parading the acquisitions of the nation's colonial project to a greater domestic public.[423] Such exhibitions were important agents in the colonial enterprise: gazing at the display made the citizens of the Empire its accomplices, the gaze being intended to facilitate the ideological justification of the colonial project.[424] Accordingly, the acquisitions laid out in front of the eyes of the curious spectators tacitly invited them to identify with the colonial mission by an act of visual appropriation. Each instance of exposing objects of this kind to the public's scrutinizing gaze, therefore, were a contribution to incorporating them and a certain awareness of the rule over the domains of their origin into its national identity. In other words, territorial expansion and the resulting economic benefits in the Victorian period became part of the experience of being a citizen of the colonial empire. Visitors to Britain also affirmed how this visual appropriation altered the habits of seeing and watching. The curious gaze in the eyes of the beholders of the panorama of imperialism was frequently identified by visitors from the Orient as a phenomenon typical of the representatives of European imperialism:

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[421] Cf. Flint, pp. 285f.
[422] Cf. Blanchard, p. 6.
[423] Cf. Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order", in *The Visual Culture Reader*. Ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 293-303.
[424] Cf. Mirzoeff, pp. 282f.

> 'One of the characteristics of the French is to stare and get excited at everything new,' wrote an Egyptian scholar who spent five years in Paris in the 1820s, in the first description of nineteenth-century Europe to be published in Arabic. The 'curiosity' of the European is encountered in almost every subsequent Middle Eastern account. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, when one or two Egyptian writers adopted the realist style of the novel and made the journey to Europe their first topic, their stories would often evoke the peculiar experience of the West by describing an individual surrounded and stared at, like an object on exhibit.[425]

Calling to mind Tolkemitt and Wohlfeil's observations at the beginning of this study, the way the illustrations portray Desdemona's (and Brabantio's) reactions to Othello's accounts make them identifiable as the historical documents of this phenomenon: not only do Desdemona's and Brabantio's gazes exhibit their reactions to his tales of the exotic and foreign, they are also representative of the fascination that accompanied the age's encounters with the colonial other, telling the "story of his life". The fact that Othello is in the awkward position of being accepted to Venetian society only to a certain extent also recurs in the symmetrical structure of the illustrations. Correspondingly, Desdemona and Brabantio are positioned before Othello as the Victorian visitors of a museum would be in front of a show case. His presence in the scene depicted in all of the illustrations seems artificial and unnatural, and his only restricted social acceptance is emphasized by the distance between him and Brabantio and Desdemona. This also ensures that the distinction between the Victorian self and its colonial other is retained during this encounter: Othello remains the ambassador of the unfamiliar and the foreign without being accepted as Brabantio' and Desdemona's peer. It seems worthwhile in this context to recall the increasing sophistication and systematicity the colonial enterprise developed in the early Victorian age.[426] At the same time, Othello's role facilitates Desdemona and Brabantio's immediate access to his fascinating otherness, contributed to by the narration of his exotic adventures. The relationship between the distant and the near, established by the empty space in the background, the framing columns behind them, and the foremost pictorial plane, in this regard betokens the fact that it is by means of Othello's presence that Desdemona and Brabantio, but also the spectators of the illustration, are able to encounter the foreign from the comparatively safe realm of the domestic sphere. Only two decades prior, it has to be kept in mind, the Consular Act of 1825 greatly facilitated a wider public's

[425] Mitchell, pp. 295ff.
[426] Cf. Buzard, p. 448.

access to the colonies. This way, Britons could leave their home country in order to encounter the foreign within a relatively safe network of consulates, "secure 'little Englands' abroad".[427] Correspondingly, this highlights the intimate connection that had been established between the spheres of the private and the public during the most successful years of the colonial project. Quite similar to what has been observed with regard to the exhibitions in public, such images of the foreign and exotic became the commodities that could be relished in the safe domain of the domestic; thus contributing equally to ideologically welding together the realms of the Victorian home and the politics of imperialism. Othello's role in the illustrations as an ambassador of the foreign territories thus emphasizes the fact that the

> […] tendency towards the (imaginary) domestication of the other constitutes a central pillar in the modern ideologies of empire […] In this sense, the "civilizing mission" of modern British imperialism can be seen as one of planetary "domestication," through which England's unfolding domestic sphere could be extended to the entire world – or rather, through which the entire world could be absorbed into the bosom of gentle English domesticity.[428]

In contrast to the way racial otherness was associated with a self-allegedly benevolent missionary zeal at the outset of the nineteenth century, therefore, this shows how the developments of the early Victorian period were followed by a tendency to appropriate otherness into the safe and controllable sphere of the British Empire. Therefore, in the same way that the illustrations serve as the historical documents of this fact, today, in the Victorian period, they became the accomplices of the colonial enterprise, very similar to the exhibitions of the age: the way they exploit the Victorian audience's fascination with the other – especially if constituted by the colonial experience – and their culture's focus on the visual underlines the illustrations' dependence on the entanglement of Victorian visual culture and imperialism. Desdemona's and Brabantio's curious eyes thus reveal the Victorian audience's well-learned routine of visual perception so characteristic of the visual processes described here. Othello's presence bridges the gap between the open space in the background, and the domestic scene in the foreground of the illustration. Likewise, it is solely thanks to his agency that Desdemona and Brabantio are in the position to appropriate the exotic into their world order, and to emphasize their own identity by means of contrasting it with the

[427] Buzard, p. 448.
[428] Makdisi, pp. 118f.

colonial other,[429] in the same way the Victorians would have been able to recognize the patterns of "self" and "other" in the illustrations. Such visual tokens of foreign territories, e. g. the superficially apolitical illustration of a Shakespearean play, especially when they facilitated an act of appropriation, then, served as a way of allowing the self, i. e. the members of the Victorian spectatorship, to situate itself in the colonial order.[430]

Seen against the backdrop of the visual of Victorian culture, the interpretation may be taken one step further. It has been observed that Othello in the Cope illustration assumes the role of the messenger/ambassador of a distant culture whose narrative satisfies Desdemona's "greedy ear"[431]. Correspondingly, the design of this visualization manifests the confidence of a nation whose territorial expansion was more aggressive than ever before; an empire that was, in a manner of speaking, on the lookout for the open spaces into which the borders could be pushed.[432] In the ever aspiring project of colonialism, it seemed, only the line of the horizon could serve as the imagined limit, its the terminal point. What were the rivers an mountain ridges in the belligerent eighteenth century of the burgeoning national state, thus became the symbolical line of territorial and political demarcation in the age of Imperialism. There seemed to be no limit and only one direction in these politics of territorial expansion, and so the horizon also came to stake out the empty space onto which the dreams and ideologies, the unwritten travels and conquests of the British Empire could be projected. One of the most famous paintings striking the pose of this imperialistic spirit was made by the Pre-Raphaelite John Everett Millais (Figure 20). In the context of this study and with regard to the three *Othello* illustrations in discussion here, it is a noteworthy parallel that he should depict the gesture of pointing against the background of a line of the horizon. Although the title of the painting and the portrayal of what would have constituted a decisive moment in the life of the soon-to-be explorer Raleigh at first seems glorify his later career, there remains a considerable amount of ambiguity. Somehow, the boys' different ways of responding to the sailor's narrations appear to represent two conflicting attitudes towards the colonial enterprise. However Millais' stance may be interpreted in this

[429] Cf. Lewis, p. 13.
[430] Cf. Mirzoeff, p. 282.
[431] O 1.3.150.
[432] Cf. Lewis, pp. 12f.

context, it seems, the artist could rely on his audience's recognizing the iconographic structures of the painting, viz. the horizon and the finger that is pointing in its direction.

20 John Everett Millais, *The Boyhood of Raleigh*, 1869-1870

Horizon lines in images dating from the Victorian era are frequently identifiable as the projected extension of the British Empire:

> The horizon, in other words, marks not just the edge of the visible, but suggests futurity, the space into which the imagination and inner vision may travel: it connotes expansiveness. The horizon suggests empty space: that which, as Henri Lefebvre puts it in *The Production of Space*, 'unleashes desire. It presents desire with a "transparency" which encourages it to surge forth in an attempt to lay claim to an apparently clear field.' The existence of the horizon brings together space and temporality: the reach of the gaze and the desire to see beyond its physical limitations.[433]

Correspondingly, the seaman's finger is located just above the line of the horizon. Similar to Othello's gesture in the illustrations, he is pointing beyond the limits of his standpoint, while his other hands demands the boys' attention. Especially the aspect of

[433] Flint, pp. 285f.

bringing "together space and temporality" this implies seems to be of particular significance with regard to those aspects highlighted in the context of the relationship of the visual and literary arts. Likewise, it highlights the entanglement of Victorian visual culture – its fascination with the workings of the eye documented by the significant increase of publications in paint and print[434] – with the prevailing ideology of imperialism: as has been discussed in the *ut pictura poesis* chapter of this study, one strategy of confronting the limitations of the predominantly spatial dimensions of the visual arts is to extend these limitations by serialization or by *modifying agents*.[435] Whereas it was William Hogarth's choice to tell his stories of the *Rake* and the *Harlot* in a series of paintings, the adaptations of *Othello* analyzed here can be identified to compensate for the spatial limits of the illustration by the interplay of the temporal and the visual: in this context, Othello's story-telling is depicted in a manner that seems to appeal to the Victorian spectatorship – an audience well-practised in those processes appertaining to visual perception – to project onto the empty space in the background its desires of an expanding empire, triggered by Othello's adventures. The designs thus cater to an audience well familiar with the beliefs of the colonial enterprise, in the same way Othello satisfies the "greedy ear" of Desdemona and Brabantio. The vastness of the open skies outside of the citadel thus radiate the confidence that it will be long before the colonial project – despite its rapid acceleration during the Victorian age – will come to an end. Correspondingly, this illustration manifests the ideological forces of a society in which the politics of imperialism were deeply inscribed in the very act of seeing:

> We may suggest that from this perspective, ideology is not something which informs or invests symbolic production; rather the aesthetic act is itself ideological, and the production of aesthetic or narrative form is to be seen as an ideological act in its own right, with the function of inventing imaginary or formal "solutions" to unresolvable contradictions.[436]

The illustrations are, therefore, more than solely the reflections of certain political, cultural and social conditions, such as e. g. the expansive impetus of imperialism. They manifest what is subsumed in this passage by Jameson under the term "ideology". At a closer look, then, the illustrations extend beyond being the mere witnesses of an imago-centric culture; one that used its pictures, photographs, paintings and illustrations as the

[434] Flint, pp. 2f.
[435] Meisel, pp. 20f.
[436] Jameson, p. 65.

latent suprastructure of the ideology of empire. Following Jameson's line of thought, a valid interpretation of the latent conflicts underlying the present illustrations might be that they are the expressions of a profound insecurity constitutive of the Victorians' cultural and national identity at the time of their production. This might seem surprising, at first, since one would expect that, in the process of the Empire's steady expansion, its self-awareness as the world's moral, political and economic leader, too, would have resulted in a perfectly stable national identity. However, as could be observed with regard to the earliest stages of colonialism, it has to recalled that such "ambitions are often generated by anxieties about national identity."[437] The open spaces behind the silhouettes of Othello, Desdemona (and Brabantio), therefore, might bespeak the unfulfilled longings and yearnings, even the insecurities of a nation at the height of its political and economic power;[438] an insecurity about the path the imperial nation should pursue in the future, perhaps even about the rightfulness of the colonial project itself.[439]

[437] Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 200), p. 13.
[438] Cf. Abrams et al., p. 1052.
[439] Cf. also Blanchard, p. 10.

IV. Conclusion

This study was mainly concerned with the way British society reacted towards otherness in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For this purpose, a small number of illustrations was analyzed that were inspired by either William Shakespeare's comedy *The Tempest* or his tragedy *Othello*. The theoretical foundation this survey of otherness deployed was mainly derived from the literary theory of *cultural materialism*, an analytical approach marked, in the main, by two central assumptions: firstly, that it is impossible to divorce the literary text from its social, political, cultural, economic and historical context. Second, that such cultural artefacts obtain their value in cultural studies for being charged with the contiguous circumstances informing this context. In addition, some of the work of Brigitte Tolkemitt and Rainer Wohlfeil was adduced in order to highlight the hermeneutical value of illustrations as historical documents. In this regard, it was emphasized that the assumptions of cultural materialism not only apply to literary texts but also to cultural artefacts in a more general sense – the illustrations of William Shakespeare's plays, in particular.

At first, the focus lay on one of the most singular figures of the illustration of Shakespeare and English art – William Hogarth. Being the outstanding figure in the context of the early eighteenth century's social and cultural developments that he was, the complexity of the way otherness is manifested in his visualization is not entirely surprising. Accordingly, already from Miranda's central position in his painting it became clear that Hogarth did not take a primary interest in Caliban, the almost prototypical figure of alterity,[440] but rather in Miranda in her role as the chaste eighteenth century female. Why this character and the avowal of her chastity figure so prominently in the Hogarth rendering became apparent in relation to the eighteenth century concept of female otherness, which was then undergoing a process of considerable transformation. In relation to female otherness as well as the often prurient iconographical details and sexual allusions in Hogarth's work, it appeared to be a convincing interpretation that his *Tempest* adaptation satirizes the moral ambivalence of the eighteenth century image of women. At the same time, it has to be conceded that

[440] Cf. Krömer, pp. 134f.

there remains a considerable uncertainty as to whether Hogarth's rendering is moralizing in the same way as the literature on female conduct in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Accordingly, perhaps Hogarth, follows the didactic train of thought of these works, and his interpretation may be taken as aiming at the decaying morals of his day. In this case, the illustration's treatment of alterity would have to be reconsidered as well: if we may assume that the Shakespeare adaptation reflects the threat the English moral system was perceived to be exposed to, it is Caliban's otherness, his lecherous presence, that invites the attentive spectator to engage in a discursive encounter with the validity of these values. His intrusion into the idyllic scene, then, would have come as a warning to the young women of his day, implying the centrality of moral conduct for living up to the intention of remaining on the path of virtue. It is a likely conclusion, therefore, to ascribe this residual ambivalence to Hogarth's own uncertainty about the validity of the concept of female otherness in general. Likewise, his visual approach might thus document the instability of this concept during the time of the illustration's production. Female virtue in particular, but also the values that were thought to constitute Englishness in general, may be identified, therefore, as being menaced by the tenebrous presence of Caliban looming over the ostensible harmony of *A Scene from the Tempest*.

During this period, English society was confronted with another, even more formative concept of alterity – the French rival on the Continent. This reading of the *Tempest* required a more abstracted application of the concept of alterity. Likewise, the contrast Hogarth attempted to establish in his approach was related to its iconographical allusiveness rather than any individual figure in particular. Correspondingly, this study illustrated the structural resemblance of Hogarth's painting and continental high art, indicating the dilemma in which English culture was in the early eighteenth century: on the one hand, Hogarth aimed to free the English art scene from the influence of French and Italian Renaissance and Baroque art in order to establish an English national culture in its own right by replacing it with an all-English subject, i. e. that of William Shakespeare. On the other hand, this struggle also implied that those values determining the formation of Englishness were not predominantly the values perceived as typically English, ironically. Instead, it was the strong influence the French other continued to exert on English national culture, and therefore those aspects that were thought to constitute the French other against which national identity was formed, predominantly.

Marking a phase of transition in the illustration of Shakespeare and the English history of ideas, John Hamilton Mortimer and his singular approach to the depiction of the character Caliban followed in the analysis. The features of Mortimer's work foreboding the developments of the Romantic period could be identified in his emphasis of the individual. Likewise, his illustration revolves solely around the outcast Caliban, portraying him from a low angle, thus humanizing him, lending him the grace absent from the visual encounters with his otherness so far.

With regard to the way the illustrating artists relate to Shakespeare and his plays, Mortimer's approach also highlighted that the playwright began to be perceived as an adequate inspiration for their artistic expression. This emphasizes the artistic dimension of Shakespeare illustration with the *caveat* that while it is clear that there are no artefacts devoid of the traces of the social and political determinants of cultural production it also would mean going to extremes if certain intrinsic qualities of an illustration would be ignored entirely. Correspondingly, Mortimer's illustration of Caliban also serves to emphasize that an analysis of illustrations on the basis of cultural materialism cannot be an hermeneutical free-for-all. With regard to the theoretical framework of this study, it cannot be overstated, therefore, that examining Shakespeare illustrations as historical documents is an insightful and rewarding approach to analyzing the context of their production, as long as speculation does not gain the upper hand in this analysis. Instead, it is crucial to regard these works of visual art as *one* form of a historical document, and to analyze the instances of this kind by carefully incorporating them into the study of other cultural artefacts – in order to remain in the terminology of cultural materialism. In the same manner, the way Caliban's otherness can be encountered in Mortimer's illustration, needs to be ascribed to the exceptional originality of the artist's approach.

This transitoriness manifested by Mortimer and his illustration became clearer in the discussion of Henry Fuseli and two of his *Tempest* visualizations. Fuseli's illustration for the Boydell Gallery illustrated the hybridity of his aesthetic, constituted by the remnants of his youthful interest in classicism and his increasing association with the pre-Romantic ideas fermenting on the European continent. Caliban's ambivalent otherness, constituted by his inner conflict, it was argued in this context, was employed to be counterpointed with Prospero's unwavering claim for moral superiority. Adhering to his creed of creating the greatest effect on the viewer, a sign of Fuseli's early-

Romantic stance, the moment of encounter is visualized by Fuseli as an unresolved clashing of two extremes. Similar to Mortimer's interest in the individual, Fuseli's *Tempest* painting attests to the shift in the perception of otherness in the context of Shakespeare illustration. In the same way, a juxtaposition of some historical evidence of the political commitment of Henry Fuseli and the day he lived in indicated that the artist related to Caliban's otherness with a certain sympathy for those figures marginalized, outcast and suppressed by English society, similar to the way manifested in the Mortimer illustration. This compassionate concern for Caliban's subaltern otherness became particularly evident in the *Tempest* sketch for his never realized frescoes: similar to his depiction in the religious paintings Hogarth so urgently wanted to turn his back on, Caliban thus reappears Christ-like, suffering under the cross of oppression and unfreedom of mind. Likewise, at this point in the study, the political dimension of this marginalizing of otherness emerged from the moralizing and aesthetic deployments of the concept. Correspondingly, both of the Fuseli adaptations in discussion found fault with Great Britain's politics of colonialism and its engagement in the slave trade, both constituting an essential characteristic of late eighteenth British century economy. Like most of the works discussed in this study, the illustrations of Henry Fuseli, the Swiss who left his home country in the pursuit of unrestricted freedom, exhibit the turbulences and frictions that informed the process of Great Britain's forging a national identity.

Subsequently, a thorough scrutiny of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's 1809 illustration yielded similar results concerning the formation of British national identity. The discussion differed, however, in demonstrating that, as much as cultural artefacts are always the instances of certain communicative processes, the voices that speak to us through this channel may sometimes attest to the prevailing ideology more than they would like to admit. Correspondingly, Sharpe's other is portrayed as the pitiably subaltern, but with a latent paternalist tendency that also underlay the missionary projects of the early nineteenth century. Caliban's otherness, therefore, is not, or at least not primarily, employed to appeal to the viewer and his compassion, like in Fuseli's fresco sketch. Instead, its depiction manifests a considerable complicity of Sharpe's illustration in the colonial project at whose heart, at this phase, had developed a form of benevolent racism, discernible e. g. in the missionary projects that were accompanied by the paternalistic conviction that the colonial other was in need of protection and moral guidance. Correspondingly, Caliban's otherness in the Sharpe illustration manifested

the interdependence of the self and the other. At this stage of British history, the country's national identity could be observed to be predicated to a considerable extent upon the alienness of the people encountered in the colonies. As a result, the Britons were able to conceive of themselves as the benevolent agents of their providential mission.

Subsequently, Sharpe's unusual focus on the concepts of childhood and education gave rise to another reading. On the one hand, the illustration's depiction of Caliban's otherness turned out to be indicative of the ongoing debate about the role education was supposed to play in early nineteenth century society. Correspondingly, the way Miranda holds the vulnerable other in her custody, while looking at the viewer confidently, betoken the growing awareness of the need for systematic approaches to education. In a similar fashion, Miranda's protective attitude towards the infant and vulnerable other are a sign of the Romantics' well-known fascination with the child and childhood itself. Correspondingly, this study argued that Caliban's depiction manifests that the evolution of otherness, which had begun in the Mortimer illustration, now had developed to perceiving it as a refuge for the Romantic individual of some kind. Likewise, Miranda's direct gaze at the viewer and her protective attitude towards Caliban's patent vulnerability may be read as a fear about the transformative processes in the years of Romanticism. Similar to Fuseli's 1789 illustration, otherness was thus employed for purposes of a distinctly artistic and philosophical kind. Caliban's alterity expresses the Romantic concern that the onslaughts of the industrialized modern society would deprive the individual of its personal space and its resources of self-expression.

Completing the analysis of otherness in the illustrations of *The Tempest*, David Scott's *Ariel and Caliban* was interpreted as an elaboration of the Romantic concept of otherness by the means of establishing a binary opposition. In this context, the juxtaposition of Caliban and Ariel manifested Scott's lifelong interest in the human condition and its ambivalent standing between physicality and transcendence. Manifesting a philosophical act of introspection common in the Romantic period, the other in this illustration is no longer the opposite pole against which identity is marked out. Instead, it became apparent that, for the first time regarding the visual approaches to *The Tempest* that have been discussed so far, the Romantic individual felt that it was itself/its self it was able to encounter: selfhood was thought to be inscribed in the binarism informed by Caliban's physicality and Ariel's disembodied being.

Elaborating the discussion of this Romantic act of introspection, Ariel's depiction, conspicuously different from previous illustrations, identifiably manifested its indebtedness to the late eighteenth century "invention" of the winged fairy and the popularity of this fairytale figure in the Romantic age. This popularity, in turn, was then juxtaposed with the technological developments in the early nineteenth century. The hot-air balloon and the popularity of the fairy thus manifested the age's profound yearning to transcend the Victorian material reality, escaping from the steadily encroaching industrialization and its bleak, technological outlook. Scott's reflection upon the human condition and the standing of the individual in the late-Romantic, early-Victorian world revealed that the transition of English society into a new age of science and technology had caused a somewhat collective state of schizophrenia. One eye regressively turned to a no-longer existing, mystified past, one eye welcoming the promises of a new era of civilizational advancement, English national identity, a supposedly homogeneous concept, once more betrayed the cracks and chinks recurring when a society has to withstand the impetus of transformative processes.

After the discussion of these *Tempest* illustrations, the analysis of the *Othello* illustrations was dedicated to the mid-Victorian years. Not only did this mark a contrast to the antecedent section, in which the development of *Tempest* illustration was charted over a period of a hundred years. This focus on Shakespeare's *Othello* was also different in taking the striking iconographical similarity of a number of illustrations as the starting point. It has been remarked at the very beginning of this study that the way the central figures of otherness are encountered by the characters of *The Tempest* and *Othello* constituted a distinct contrast. Othello is superficially accepted to Venetian society and even holds the office of a military general, while Caliban is an unequivocally outcast, irrevocably marginalized persona. Consequently, the way the "Moor's" otherness features in the illustrations is marked by his closeness with Desdemona and Brabantio. This rapport is thrown into relief with the background's distance, to which Othello refers in all of the visualizations by a gesture of pointing. The main line of argumentation was established by juxtaposing these striking similarities of the illustrations with related facets of mid-Victorian society, i. e. its politics and culture, predominantly. As a result, it could be demonstrated that the visual approaches to *Othello* manifest a particular connection of two characteristic features of the historical condition determining their production. The proximity of the scene's

interior and the distance of the open space behind the characters in the illustration was thus ascribed to the close bond of the Victorian realms of the private and the public. Likewise, there was a strong interdependence in this period of the ideology of empire on the one hand and Victorian culture on the other. In the aggressive territorial expansion and the subjugation of the encountered others implied by Imperialism, therefore, the Victorian public became a crucial accomplice. In this context, the imperialist ideology held sway over the lives of most Britons' on an exceptionally totalitarian scale. Even the most private branches of Victorian culture manifested the dominance of Imperialism. Similarly, the illustrations document how Victorian society could access the new territories from the safe realm of the domestic, physically but also in the world of their imagination. It was thus identified as one of the most striking characteristics of the *Othello* adaptations that they permit to encounter the often strange figure of otherness as a figure of insouciant familiarity, "domesticated" in the safe setting of the Victorian home.

Elaborating on this twofold connection, the study concluded with exploring the excessively visual nature of Victorian culture. This permitted to focus on one of the period's most important discursive strategies of the colonial enterprise:[441] likewise, visual documents were identified as a crucial element of the empire's expansive and hegemonic politics inasmuch as they made an overwhelming majority of the Victorian public the accomplice to the processes of ideologically appropriating and subjugating its colonial other. Accordingly, the *Othello* illustrations manifested that the encounter with the foreign from the safe realm of the domestic allowed the public to reassure itself of the colonial order and the superiority of the self over against its colonial other. It was in this age of progress and epistemological systematicity, after all, that it was possible to attenuate the threatening force constituting otherness by the pseudo-scientific act of "explaining" these racial differences in the context of ideology-based assumptions, thus justifying the rightfulness of imperial politics.[442] In the same way, it could be demonstrated that the degree to which Victorian culture was permeated by the discursive strategies of Imperialism was so considerable that they even affected the most basic mechanisms of cultural activity: the very act of seeing, it could be observed, was thus inseparably entangled in the imperial impulses of appropriation and expansion.

[441] Cf. Bhabha, p. 66.
[442] Cf. Mirzoeff, p. 282; Hallam/Street, p. 3.

Throughout the entire study, otherness was operationalized as a socio-psychological category of personal/communal identity and social perception. Accordingly, its hermeneutical value were its indicative properties predominantly. From the way the self reacted to confrontations with otherness, this facilitated an analysis of those processes pertaining to the formation of both, the individual as well as the collective self. Soon, it became clear that the specific dimension of such encounters may range from the relatively limited realm of the domestic and national to the more global domain, consisting in Great Britain's contacts with their colonial other. Hogarth's *Tempest* illustration, e. g., exhibited the early eighteenth century's uncertainty about the validity of its moral system. In a period in which national identity was in the process of becoming one of the most dominating conceptual category of social experience, this emphasized England's anxious self-reflexivity, especially with regard to the powerful rival on the European continent. As for the *Othello* illustrations, the encounter with otherness revealed a similarly self-conscious condition of Britishness. In contrast to the developments in the early eighteenth century, however, the direction of national politics, the rightfulness of the colonial project, and the means with which it was pursued became an increasing issue of nineteenth century public debate.

As various as these encounters with otherness turned out to be, they all coalesce in one manifest tendency: after a short stage of scrutinizing the nature of this otherness, they ultimately and inevitably culminate in an act of self-questioning.[443] In this process, the self thus attempts to demarcate its identity, i. e. what it assumes to be the essence of its being, from all those aspects that constitute the reality that surrounds it. As much as the other may appear to question or even threaten the self, therefore, it is also clear that the self would not be able to exist without this other. Experiencing the other's difference is therefore always an instance of reassuring the self of its integrity and validity.[444]

Selfhood and otherness therefore transpired to be the poles between which the encounters that were discussed in this study occurred. Especially the process of England's/Britain's becoming a nation was predicated to a remarkable extent upon the way alterity encroached upon supposedly homogenous and stable notions of national identity. For the most part, the Britons' collective awareness turned out to either have been prompted by or entirely dependent on the perception of its other. Without it,

[443] Blaicher, p. 27.
[444] Christ, p. 16.

perhaps this process would have lacked the necessary momentum to support those branches of British politics – nationalistic and imperialistic predominantly – which were based on the strong cohesive forces a stable and homogenous national identity generally constitutes for a society. Let us take the development of English national culture in the eighteenth century, for example: had the French other on the European continent not continued to exert its influence upon English culture so strongly, it is doubtful whether Hogarth would have felt the same compulsion to work towards an emancipation of the English art market from foreign influences. In a similar fashion, it is to be assumed that, if Shakespeare had not been perceived to epitomize the Englishness of English national culture, Shakespeare illustration would have succeeded in establishing itself as such a central force in the promotion of the English visual arts only with great difficulty. In this manner, it also became clear that such ideologies as nationalism, in order to be able to exert its force, depend heavily on an antithetical reductionism. Linda Colley's words may be recalled at this point, that the British nation was "invented" at some point in the eighteenth century, as a result from the constant political and military confrontation with the French other.[445] The collectivity of this process was exemplified in a similar fashion by the Sharpe illustration. When his visualization "Miranda teaching Caliban how to read" was created in 1809, the providential self-image manifested in the missionary endeavours in the colonies was an integral element of British national identity. As long as there was the colonial other against which it was possible to assert the superiority of Britishness, this identity remained in a stable condition. Little surprising, therefore, if the emerging controversy on slave trade was sought to be stifled as being ill-guided and misplaced. This highlights the indispensability of British Imperialism's totalitarian grasp, a result of the reductionist paradigm of "self" and "other". To stabilize the integrity of the national self against the threats arising from the encounters with the colonial other, therefore, became the ideological imperative the nation had to follow in the decades that were to open the long century of colonialism.

Admittedly, an overwhelming profusion of historical insights and perspectives to be gained from only a handful of visualizations of Shakespeare's *Othello* and *The Tempest*. It may be surprising, in the terminology of the text-image-nexus, that these works of art, in contrast to the sheer temporal limitlessness of texts, despite their spatial constriction,

[445] Cf. Colley, p. 5.

are charged with what Greenblatt once termed "social energies" – the traces of the historical, social, cultural, political and economic circumstances determining the production of the illustrations; that the gesture of pointing should be the germ cell for an examination of cultural practices in the Victorian period; that a little medallion portraying Caliban may be the spark that allows to unfurl an entire discussion of the Romantic concern with the individual and its introspective tendency. It was also in the final analysis of this illustration, however that the *caveat* was given that only a solid theoretical groundwork, such as theory of cultural materialism, allows to embed the discussion and, at times, speculative interpretation of the works discussed in this study within a safe network of texts. If this *caveat* is borne in mind, there is good reason to hope that the field of cultural studies will acknowledge the value of illustrations as historical documents. In this case, a great abundance of illustrations is waiting for careful examination, and juxtaposing them with other texts will prove that illustrations may serve as more than the term implies.

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