Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century
Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text

Edited by

Christina Ionescu
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INTRODUCTION

TOWARDS A RECONFIGURATION OF THE VISUAL PERIPHERY OF THE TEXT IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ILLUSTRATED BOOK

CHRISTINA IONESCU

The history of the book is necessarily a diffuse subject that calls into question such categories as authorship, publishing, reading, and material culture; it is, therefore, both a useful interdisciplinary category and a loose and baggy monster that often consumes the very field of study it is meant to constitute.2

The sort of reader for whom Aesop’s Fables, Pilgrim’s Progress, Robinson Crusoe, Don Quixote, Gulliver’s Travels, The Vicar of Wakefield, and “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard” were written is more likely to welcome pictures of characters and settings “the way they really looked” than the way they might have appeared to Pablo Picasso.3

Over the past decade, studies on eighteenth-century book illustration have increased exponentially, feeding this “loose and baggy monster” spotted by Christopher Flint. Stimulated by a newly found fascination with

1 I wish to thank Christina Smylitopoulos for her insightful comments on preliminary drafts of this introduction.
the book as a material object and cultural product, and supported by the increased availability of image databases and digitalised editions, this field has grown into a bona fide enterprise. In spite of their much-criticised overspecialisation, scholars of a new generation, who have experienced firsthand the full-fledged effects of globalisation and the power exerted by images in today’s world, are perhaps more willing to venture across disciplinary boundaries and to undertake intermedia research projects. This generation, to which most if not all the contributors to this collection belong, is fully invested in visual and material culture. As such, it is attuned to the art of the illustrated book and shows a genuine interest in images as artefacts embedded in a system of representation, images as epistemological and historical documents, and images as sites of interpretation and critical response. It is perhaps now safe to assume that the study of eighteenth-century book illustration will be more than just a transitory trend in scholarship, leading instead to projects that have the potential to leave their mark on the history of the book.

This renewed interest in book illustration, however, comes not only from researchers but also from publishers who are beginning to recognise as both relevant and remarkable the complementary presence of images in first or other editions judged important for editorial purposes. What does it mean when, at the suggestion of the translator, the publishers of Oxford World’s Classics accept to include inside a new paperback translation the two frontispieces that originally accompanied Françoise de Graffigny’s Lettres d’une Péruvienne in the 1752 revised, expanded and illustrated edition?4 What is the significance of a document entitled “Arrêt sur images”, posted on the Bibliothèque de la Pléiade’s website, in which the unnamed author argues persuasively that in this authoritative and esteemed collection illustrations are not added to the text or considered to be ornamental in nature and function: instead, if they were taken from the edition on which the text is based or in cases of authorial involvement, they are inserted parallel to the text?5 As contemporary readers now find

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5 “Arrêt sur images”, La Lettre de la Pléiade 27 (February-March 2007), available online on the Gallimard website (http://www.la-pleiade.fr/La-Pleiade.-Accueil/La-vie-de-la-Pleiade/Les-coullises-de-la-Pleiade/Arret-sur-images; accessed in May 2010). It is a surprisingly revolutionary meditation on the importance of illustration in the establishment of an edition. The Œuvres of the Marquis de Sade in three volumes (published in 1990, 1995 and 1998), edited by Michel Delon, are a
themselves confronted with the presence of illustrations in their reading process, will literary criticism take a pictorial turn?

I. Theoretical and Methodological Context: Reference Points and New Directions

i. Preliminary Remarks

The study of eighteenth-century book illustration is not a recent endeavour. In fact it has an established tradition whose roots can be traced back to the nineteen century. The history of illustration, the aesthetic qualities of illustrative images and the techniques of bookmaking are the dominant threads in these early efforts to grapple with the complexity and expanse of the eighteenth-century illustrated book. Most of these projects had an antiquarian or bibliographical orientation. During the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the following century, Henri Béraldi, Emmanuel Bocher, Henri Bouchot, Henri Cohen, François Courboin, Lady Emilia Frances Dilke, Jules and Edmond de Goncourt, Pierre Gusman, Paul Lacroix, Roger Portalis, Seymour de Ricci and Vera Salomons were among those who collected, classified and even commented on precious information pertaining to the French illustrated book and the artists involved in its production. In 1928 Louis Réau entitled his study of eighteenth-century illustrative engraving La Gravure d’illustration, singling out this segment of print production as a genre in its own right.6 On the English side, similar projects were undertaken from the 1840s on by Michael Bryan, William Andrew Chatto, Walter Crane, F. J. Harvey Darnton, Austin Dobson, Algernon Graves, and Samuel Redgrave, to mention just a few names, but in their studies on book illustration preference was given in general to the Victorian period and illustrated children’s books.7 One of these endeavours merits special attention

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because it focuses on both English and French books, thus symbolically legitimating a creative exchange that would no longer be recognised in future specialised studies: J. Lewine’s *Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Art and Illustrated Books* (1898). Today scholars working on eighteenth-century English illustration have the advantage of being able to access a wealth of documentation on booksellers and publishers, a significant part of which consists of records kept by publishing houses and of biographical accounts written by members of the book trade during the first decades of the nineteenth century, both of which document the rise of the image and its immediate impact on book production. It is important to add that similar inventorying, classifying and descriptive activities were carried out throughout Europe, but their foundations did not extend beyond national borders. It would be too ambitious, however, to attempt to focus in the present study on more than England and France.

The project to catalogue and describe this important component of book production, eighteenth-century illustrated books, advanced throughout the twentieth century with the help of bibliophiles and collectors. T. S. R. Boase completed Hanns Hammelmann’s *Book Illustrators in Eighteenth-Century England*, which gives a basic account of artists involved in illustration and a chronological list of the books illustrated, with relevant bibliographical information; Jean Furstenberg provided a sumptuously illustrated inventory of his extensive collection of French books, adding descriptive and critical commentary in French and German; and Gordon N. Ray, who catalogued for the most part his exceptional collection in view of two separate exhibits at the Pierpont Morgan Library, discussed formal and iconographic characteristics, artistic invention and aesthetic appeal of English and French illustrated books. David Adams has

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remarked that “the subject [of book illustration] probably has a longer pedigree in France than elsewhere”\(^\text{10}\), but it now appears that the other side of the English Channel is on its way to catching up while it takes advantage of online resources with a historical orientation. Electronic projects such as the University of Birmingham’s *The British Book Trade Index* and Ian Maxted’s *Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History* will prove to be invaluable to future generations of researchers, and their online format is advantageous in that it allows the updating of content. In these projects, however, there seems to be less of a focus on the illustrated book itself and more on the book as a material object, as well as on aspects such as the trades involved in its production, the established networks of publication and distribution, and the sociology of reading. From the beginning of the 1990s on, the subjects of print production and distribution as well as book illustration have been surfacing with an increased frequency in specialised journals dealing with book history and print culture. If collective enterprises such as the Publishing Pathways Series edited by Robin Meyers and Michael Harris (and more recently Giles Mandelbrote), or the Print Networks Series, initially edited by Peter Isaac and Barry McKay, are indicative of a change in book history, it would appear that the tide is now slowly turning towards the visual.\(^\text{11}\) Let us not forget as well that digital databases, such as the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO) and *Gallica*, are making it easier to consult editions in their original format, although the quality of the reproduction of illustrations is not always satisfactory; certainly, these digital editions will never replace the original books, but they are enabling researchers to establish a more extensive iconographic corpus on their subject of interest and conveniently allow for comparison with material on hand.

The current interest in the topic of eighteenth-century book illustration, in conjunction with increasing access to electronic catalogues and digital


\(^{11}\) For example, David Alexander’s “‘Alone Worth Treble the Price’: Illustrations in 18th-Century English Magazines” (in *A Millennium of the Book: Production, Design & Illustration in Manuscript & Print, 900-1900*, ed. Robin Meyers and Michael Harris [Winchester: St. Paul’s Bibliographies/Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 1994], 107-33) traces the shift in periodical publishing from the restricted use of a few engravings commissioned to enhance the text to the establishment of magazines whose selling point was their specially commissioned illustrations. See also *Images & Texts: Their Production and Distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St. Paul’s Bibliographies/Oak Knoll Press, 1997).
editions, make it possible to envisage the establishment of a comprehensive database of books published in Europe during the period, along the lines of the one originally described by Edgar Breitenbach in 1935, which now appears to be at once visionary and achievable:

The bibliography of book illustration in the sense intended here should, then, enumerate all illustrated editions of an imaginative work, arranged according to period and country, subdivided according to authors and works and again according to groups of illustrations. Works often illustrated should be preceded by a short survey by which the student can easily inform himself how many independent sequences of illustrations exist for that same work, which editions contain direct copies of older patterns and which freely elaborate older patterns… The prototype of such groups of illustrations should be treated in greater detail with regard to its pictures, but all dependent editions as briefly as possible. Works only once or rarely illustrated should only be dealt with at length if the quality of the illustrations justifies this. Such editions as are not illustrated by sequences of pictures but only by a frontispiece, vignettes and so forth should be mentioned briefly.  

Although his directions certainly do not need to be followed to the letter, and the internet would undoubtedly be the most appropriate venue for this pan-European project, Breitenbach’s outline signals the still much-felt absence of an indispensable resource: a database of illustrated editions properly catalogued and described in their material aspect, its records stretching across geographical boundaries.

ii. The Beginnings: Book History

First and foremost, the study of book illustration in general has greatly profited from the institutionalisation of the history of the book within the realm of academia, a formal recognition which finally consecrated this discipline as a vibrant and rich field of enquiry. The foundational works of Lucien Febvre and the two generations of scholars who succeeded him (including Henri-Jean Martin, Donald McKenzie, Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier) delineated the parameters and objectives of a social and

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Nonetheless, a thorough understanding that not only the printed text but also the illustrations often accompanying it in its material presentation played a significant role in shaping culture and society did not develop in these early stages. Illustration was not fully integrated into the history of the book as championed by these historians, and studies on the subject were conducted parallel to this new field, not from within, as one would expect.\(^\text{15}\) It is as if book historians did not claim the illustrated book as their own, deciding instead to leave it in the care of literary scholars and art historians, who seemed to have a clear stake in the study of this bimodal product. As a matter of fact, illustration is not even listed as a step in Darnton’s communications circuit.\(^\text{16}\) It is true that D. F. McKenzie discusses “the book as an expressive form”, but he deals with this aspect from the perspective of bibliography, focusing on matters directly related

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\(^{15}\) In this respect, the tripartite division of the special number of *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (14:3-4 [April-July 2002]) devoted to *Fiction and Print Culture/Genre romanesque et culture de l’imprimé* is revealing of ingrained faults that still divide the field: “Author and Book”, “Book Illustration”, and “The History of the Book”. This number is prefaced by David Blewett.

\(^{16}\) Darnton actually notes parenthetically that “manuscript books and book illustrations will have to be considered elsewhere” (“What is the History of Books?”, 11) but does not indicate exactly where this discussion should take place. This essay first appeared in *Daedalus* 111:3 (Summer 1982), 65-83, and is reprinted in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 9-26, cited here.
to typography and book design. For the most part, these new historians of the book focused on the text and the context of its publication and reception, considering a number of aesthetic matters and contextual variables, but they did not take into account what I will call the visual history of the text—that is, the visual complement of or supplement to textual matter, designed as part of the material presentation and packaging of various editions throughout the publication history of a text. The study of the visual history of a text, however, must encompass not only typography and book design but also illustration. In recent years, the state of affairs has somewhat changed; for instance, scholarship on the book trades has taken into consideration the artists involved in illustration just as much as it has the other agents. Even so, a comprehensive history of the production, dissemination and reception of the European illustrated book in the Enlightenment period is yet to be written, and given the complexity of the task, it will likely be a collaborative enterprise to be undertaken by a team of researchers. In the meantime, the absence of a compendium on approaches to the study of book illustration is deeply felt and to my knowledge not on the horizon.

This history of the book deliberately distanced itself from the Anglo-American tradition of analytical bibliography and textual studies, which focuses on the descriptive and material analysis of books as physical objects. Papermaking, book design, printing, illustration, and bookbinding are all primary concerns of what is also known as the history of printing. In addition to the attention given to the material aspect of the book within these fields, a considerable body of knowledge has also been gleaned from archival materials and primary sources on the agents of production involved in bookmaking: suppliers of material (i.e. paper, ink, and type),

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printers and publishing houses, editors and binders, as well as draughtsmen and engravers responsible for the illustration of books. It is important to note that recent studies, such as *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* and *Prints for Books: Book Illustration in France 1760-1800*, which show a true interest in the materiality of books, signal a move towards a methodology that renews or reconciles these two approaches to the study of the book, approaches that are not mutually exclusive but, as they are currently practiced, appear definitely independent of each other. Nonetheless, more and more researchers are rediscovering texts as they were formatted, presented and packaged in books during the Enlightenment, but they are perhaps less inclined to see the value of providing descriptive analyses of editions in the tradition of physical bibliography for absence of interest in such detail and possible lack of knowledge on how to do it. The renewed interest in the material presentation of the text, however, is palpable. Janine Barchas, for example, speaks passionately of “the rambunctious materiality of eighteenth-century texts” and suggests that “attention to that materiality can breathe new life into a literary reading”. She argues persuasively that:

An “anatomically correct” study of the novel’s appearance as a printed book discloses the interpretive function of, to tweak Swift’s metaphor, a mass of neglected organs and appendages, forcing an expanded redefinition of the genre’s textual body. A formal study of the novel as book also impacts on our understanding of the genre’s evolution writ large and … may even wholly reshape our local interpretations of specific narratives.

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20 Antony Griffiths, *Prints for Books: Book Illustration in France 1760-1800* (London: The British Library, 2004; The Panizzi Lectures 2003). As Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum since 1991, the author brings in his knowledge of print materiality and supplements it with a knowledge of book materiality. His brief preface to this study can be particularly helpful to those interested in the subject matter.
A challenge lies ahead though for scholars drawn to this integrative approach: courses on traditional bibliography have all but disappeared from graduate programmes or are gradually phased out to make room for those which address the history of the book essentially modelled upon Darnton’s communications circuit\textsuperscript{23}. As such, the creation, publication, distribution and reception of texts, and in particular the social, political, economic and cultural context in which books are written, published and consumed, have become the primary concerns of a discipline in full vigour, one which still assigns, however, an undefined space to book illustration.\textsuperscript{24}

As recently as 2003, during the Panizzi lectures delivered at the British Library, Antony Griffiths, referring specifically to book illustration, noted the divisions in scholarship on the subject and situated it in a no scholar’s land:

I think it is in general true to say that art historians usually ignore prints, print historians usually ignore books, while book historians rarely seem able to cope with the prints that appear on their pages. The world of books is far larger and its scholarship far more sophisticated than that of prints, but there are surprising gaps. Historians of the eighteenth-century book today seem to be pre-occupied with the commonplace and ignore the great books of the period; bibliography seems to have driven out bibliophily. Somehow these marvellous books, in which contemporaries took great pride, have fallen through the gaps in modern appreciation.\textsuperscript{25}

We can add literary scholars to this list, who were not trained to analyse images and, until most recently, focused almost exclusively on the text. Furthermore, Griffiths’ valid implication that masterpieces of eighteenth-century book illustration are being neglected in favour of the ordinary products conceived in their time for a general readership is particularly disconcerting if we were to consider the inter-iconicity of engraving during this period—the visual links that connect images and affect their signifying power. Nonetheless, the curiosity aroused by “the commonplace” is perhaps not just a reflection of the general interest of book scholars in the popular culture of the Enlightenment but also a reaction to the fact that

\textsuperscript{23} Robert Darnton outlined his model of a “communications circuit” in his seminal essay “What is the History of Books?”, cited above.

\textsuperscript{24} The courses still given at the Rare Book School of the University of Virginia and the teaching seminars offered by the Institut d’histoire du livre in Lyons are options worth exploring by those interested in knowing more about the technical side of illustration and book production.

\textsuperscript{25} Griffiths, \textit{Prints for Books: Book Illustration in France 1760-1800}, x.
(art) historical accounts of eighteenth-century book illustration have always dealt with the exceptional. Within the conventional classification system that still defines art history to a certain degree, this category of aesthetically valuable illustrated books was implicitly placed in an intermediary zone of material for reflexion, which was deemed to be somehow salvageable. It should be added that, as a diminutive form of art designed to be reproduced, engraving was perceived as having less aesthetic appeal than painting, and generally its commercial value was greatly inferior to that of the products of the major arts. Because of the overall appreciation for the artists commissioned to design and engrave images for these deluxe editions (some of them were renowned painters in their time), this category of illustrative engraving was not relegated to the bottom of the hierarchy of the arts, which was occupied by popular forms of illustration. As disconcerting as the shift in interest from the exceptional to the commonplace may be, especially for its impact on image analysis and its contextualisation, it is no doubt understandable to see great potential in the mass of images at the bottom of the hierarchy, for they have not been acknowledged as worthy of interest in the past and constitute for the most part unexplored territory.

During the 1970s and the 1980s, the illustrated book was the object of a few sporadic conferences, which led nonetheless to some noteworthy collective reflections.26 The 1980s also saw the publication of a number of important monographs on English illustration (most notably from Richard Altick, Catherine Gordon, Edward Hodnett, and Peter Jan de Voogd27). Their immediate impact, however, appears to have been largely subdued. Recently, the subject has started to gather momentum and to extend from


case studies, which dominated the 1990s, to full-length monographs.\textsuperscript{28} In what can be seen as a symbolic decision on the part of the editors of the monumental undertaking *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, the volume dealing with the period 1695-1830 recognises the illustrated book as a subject worthy of attention in its own right.\textsuperscript{29} The editors followed in the footsteps of their French counterparts responsible for the *Histoire de l’édition française*, who had recognised earlier on the illustrated book as an integral component of eighteenth-century print culture.\textsuperscript{30} A number of recent special numbers of journals have also contributed to the renewal of interest in this subject: “Text and Image: Studies in the French Illustrated Book from the Middle Ages to the Present Day”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 81:3 (Autumn 1999), edited by David J. Adams and Adrian Armstrong; *Fiction and Print Culture/Genre romanesque et culture de l’imprimé*, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 14:3-4 (April-July 2002; mentioned in footnote 15); “Le livre

\textsuperscript{28} Barchas’ *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel*, which analyses the visual components of the book during the Enlightenment, perfectly exemplifies this shift in direction. Barchas, however, deliberately sets aside illustration, but she does examine in detail the illustrative frontispiece.
