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The Visceral Novel Reader and Novelized Medicine in Georgian Britain Monika Class

Readerly pleasures and reading disorders complement each other in the early history of European novels, like two sides of a coin. Cervantes's Don Quixote, published in the early seventeenth century, created a highly influential prototype of the novel reader by combining romance reading with apparent mental disorder.¹ The hero, a modest Spanish noble landowner, takes his guidelines for life from his avid reading of outdated romances of chivalry. Don Quixote's way of reading is embodied; he constructs vivid sensory experiences in his mind and, concomitantly, becomes emotionally absorbed into the narrated world. So immersed is he in his reading that he lives through and even re-enacts the books of romance that he has perused: "For every hour and minute of the day, his imagination was engrossed by those battles, inchantments [sic], dreadful accidents, extravagant amours and rhodomontades, which are recorded in books of chivalry."² These fantasies lead him, for instance, to mistake two flocks of sheep for an approaching army; another time, the giants he charges turn out to be windmills. On the one hand, Don Quixote seems to suffer from a semiotic disorder: by conflating fact and fiction, he commits what we have come to see as a basic mistake in "judicious reading."³ He is incapable of distinguishing the printed text from the world around him and applies the same codes of behavior to both worlds.⁴ One the other hand, Don Quixote is an embodied reader par excellence: his experiences constantly challenge the dualism between body and mind, reality and fiction, literal and metaphorical.⁵ His body plays an active part in shaping this aesthetic experience.⁶

Don Quixote personifies a phenomenon of novel reading that I call the "visceral novel reader." The term connotes a particular reader response to novels in which fact and fiction overlap cognitively: the mental rehearsal of the activity of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching while reading novels and, vice versa, the mental rehearsal of novels in the act of perceiving the real world.⁷ Visceral novel reading is always embodied. As an immersive activity it tends to elicit strong emotions. At the same time, it has the potential to affect one's behavior in real life. Genres other than the novel can also engender such visceral responses, yet those solicited by novels played a particularly important role in eighteenth-century discourse about reading, morality, and health in Europe.

Personifications of the visceral novel reader are numerous in fiction, and many of them are female, like Gustave Flaubert's Emma Bovary;⁸ they permeate eighteenth and early nineteenth-century English novels, of which Catherine in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* and the eponymous hero of Walter Scott's *Waverley* are two well-known examples. These Quixotic figures can be understood both as a reminder of the fundamental difference between fiction and life, and a warning that novel reading runs the alleged risk of escapism (the distraction from what normally should be endured) and even of addiction.⁹ We nowadays no longer consider novel reading as on a par with alcohol and drug abuse. Nevertheless, the interplay of the spheres of world and text, life and reading remains a topos of contemporary novels, and is the subject of recent investigations in, and positive reevaluation through, the cognitive sciences.¹⁰

This essay traces cultural attitudes towards readerly viscerality in Georgian Britain by investigating the relation between the implicit evaluations of novel reading found in early novels written by Charlotte Lennox and Tobias Smollett and the perceived health risks of novel reading described in the medical literature of their time. It draws on the studies that locate the early history of novel reading in media history,¹¹ and combines them with burgeoning research on (novel) reading and the body.¹² In the face of the growth of so-called "unlearned" audiences, questions of how to exert control over reading practices preoccupied physicians, natural philosophers, and men of letters alike. This article proposes that in eighteenth-century Britain reading practices became a testing ground for the professionalization of physicians, natural philosophers, and men of letters; an area where disciplinary rivalries erupted, balanced each other out, or subsided.¹³ To different degrees, the "learned" professions constructed novel reading in various ways as a bottomless container for readers' pathological imaginations.¹⁴ It was in the professionals' common interest to implement protocols that taught readers to separate body from mind, fact from fiction. Prose fiction came to stand for "debased" (that is, visceral) reading. Eighteenth-century novels inverted these external notions by stigmatizing their own genre. In doing so, novels became an important player in the ongoing construction of disciplinary boundaries. Pathologization, the process of attributing abnormality to something hitherto seen as normal, was a significant factor in the institution of novels in Georgian Britain. The very stigmatization of the genre helped to pave the way for the rise of novels in a dialectic process that Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of "novelization" captures.¹⁵

However, the successful campaign of the eighteenth-century novel came, as I propose, at the expense of readerly viscerality.

Integrating Novel Reading in Media History

Charles Sanders Peirce's theory of signs distinguishes icon, index, and symbol with regard to their underlying relation of signified and signifier. The term "icon" presupposes some kind of similarity in this relation, "index" designates a trace connection between signifier and signified, and "symbol" an arbitrary relation.¹⁶ Expanding Peirce's theory, Aleida Assmann examines the relation between fundamental semiotic patterns in human life and the evolution of writing and print in the West from antiquity to the present.¹⁷ Building on Foucault's The Order of Things, Assmann's *longue durée* history of reading analyzes the correlation of changes in writing, including the transition from pictographic to phonetic systems and the invention of the printing press, with the prevalent function of signs. One such significant development is the emergence of the break between reading and life, which can be described as a shift away from the *iconic* sphere in which the entire world (comprising world, text and reader) consisted of legible signs (as they arguably do for Don Quixote), towards the symbolic sphere of modernity dominated by the technology of print and the epistemic propositions of the ontological difference between text and world; the awareness of the arbitrariness of signs; as well as skepticism.¹⁸ The present article draws on Assmann's cultural theory of reading as a conceptual frame and combines it with recent studies of novels that enhance our dialectic understanding of early English novels with regard to literacy rates as well as the media specificity, production, circulation, and consumption of printed texts.

While the printing of books devoted to prestigious scholarly practices (such as religious, philosophical, legal, moral, and medical ones) began in the fifteenth century and gained momentum in the sixteenth, it was arguably not until the late seventeenth century that fictions, novels in embryonic form, started to make up a small percentage of the overall production of printed books.¹⁹ This development coincided roughly with the first steep rise in the number of literate people. By 1800, "a vast majority of adult males could read and write, whereas two centuries earlier only a select minority could do so."²⁰ Besides the critical mass of readers, several other factors helped to promote reading prose fiction, among them lower printing costs; an infrastructure of booksellers, printers, and logistic

means; the lapse of the Printing Act (1694) and the development of the provincial press; the passing of the first Copyright Act (1709) granting authors ownership and relative independence from patrons; and the rise of leisure activities and consumerism.²¹ Over the course of the eighteenth century, the number of novels published in Britain increased in stages. After the first surge in publication of new British novels in 1720–40, the total of novels rose sharply again around the turn of century.²²

Irrespective of whether the increasing number of novels in the eighteenth century brought about a complex shift in reading practices or vice versa, it seems fair to speak of a "crisis in early modern reading" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²³ Reading in English came under general suspicion. Traditionally, Latin had played a predominant role in literate culture. Boys' early reading and writing experiences were usually performed in Latin and not their mother tongue.²⁴ Due to the centrality of Latin in traditional schooling, reading was detached from the sphere of the mother tongue, and the realm of early childhood experiences. Indeed, one of the perceived disadvantages of English was a higher affective charge due to the vernacular affinity to the unbridled unconscious.²⁵ Reading such an unruly thing as prose fiction (devoid of poetic diction) required special protocols and moral justification. In turn, novelists tried to elevate the profile of their productions by promoting morality through lessons in reading. "What started as a promotional campaign for the reading of moral and didactic books," William Beatty Warner observes, "ends up as a culture war about the pleasures and dangers of novel reading.²⁶ Yet, more profound than a dispute over pleasurable instruction and pure entertainment,²⁷ the controversies about novel reading concerned the construction of meaning and knowledge.²⁸ Many proponents of erudition feared that the impact of the material body might hamper the reception process. The exorcism of visceral reading practices was in the interest of professional stratification, wherein men of letters, medical practitioners, and other savants intermittently shaped linguistic strategies (in English) in order to demarcate and distinguish the standards of learning in the emerging literary, medical, and scientific professions. In other words, the repression of visceral reading tendencies played an important role in the consolidation of erudition in the vernacular language.

Novelization and Medicalization

For Bakhtin, novelization creates a unique contact zone with "still-evolving contemporary reality (the openended present)."² Intent on disconnecting the notion of literature from elitism, Bakhtin's essay "Discourse in the Novel" presupposes that discourse depends on social verbal conventions: "form and content in discourse are one, once we understand that verbal discourse is a social phenomenon-social throughout its entire range and in each and every of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning."³¹ Central to Bakhtin's philosophy of language is the conception of "dialogue" and "dialogization," designating the processes when words, discourse, language, or culture become relativized, aware of competing definitions for the same things.³² Bakhtin notes that "[t]he dialogic orientation of discourse is a phenomenon that is, of course, a property of any discourse," but he locates a particularly high propensity to dialogue in novelistic discourse.³³ One kind of "novelization" is the mixing of at least two different linguistic consciousnesses ("hybridization"), for instance, the language of everyday life, such as private letters, with the professional language of lawyers, doctors, businessman, politicians, and so on.³⁴ If the novel as a genre is an internal stratification of various discourses within one particularly heterogeneous discourse that has the tendency to modify norms, novelistic discourse plays a part in professional stratification, too. Novels played a role in the professionalization of doctors while novelists adopted medical concepts and medicalized novels.³⁵ By the "medicalization of novels," I mean the rhetorical strategy of assimilating prose fiction for the sake of enhancing medical authority. Not only did this medicalization of novels help to elevate the status of novels and their audiences, it also supported the common cause in scholarship to control vernacular reading practices in Georgian Britain. The analysis of the works of physicians and literati, namely those of Richard Blackmore, Samuel Johnson, Charlotte Lennox, George Cheyne, Tobias Smollett, Samuel Auguste Tissot, Thomas Beddoes, and Johann Georg Zimmermann, suggests that the medicalization of novels was directed mainly at three, interrelated areas of the body: health regimes and dietetics (regimentation), anatomy (somatization), and individuality (individuation).

The eighteenth century saw the invention of "the writer," freed from the necessity of patronage by the Copyright Act,³⁶ as well as that of the professional reader, such as the critic. Reading became a matter of contention for many professions, including physicians

and natural philosophers. With the waiving of the Latin filter, less formally trained audiences, including women, had access to books, and some gatekeepers came to detect a seemingly growing discrepancy between literacy and erudition. The increasing unpredictability of readership and uncontrollability of the mental activity of reading preoccupied medical and literary writers alike in the eighteenth century; it spurred them to sharpen disciplinary boundaries in order to exert more control over reading practices. Reading prose fiction complicated these efforts since, above all, its detachment from poetic diction and protean quality rendered novel reading more unruly than other, more traditional literary genres. The translator of the English physician Thomas Sydenham's Latin publications voiced concerns about the lay audience's reaction, lest the so-called "unlearned" might "fancy themselves able enough to be their own Physicians."³⁷ Moreover, the question of reading was bound up with the gradual rise of medical observations as an epistemic genre.³⁸

Sydenham and Novelized Medicine

Trying to cast himself as an heir to Thomas Sydenham, Richard Blackmore conflated the study of texts of ancient medicine with novel reading in an attempt both to establish the primacy of medical observation and to win new audiences who could not read Latin. In the preface to his *Treatise upon the Small-Pox* (1723), he recalled Sydenham's reply when Blackmore had consulted him as to which books he should read to qualify him for the medical profession: "Read *Don Quixot* [sic], it is a very good Book. I read it still."³⁹ Roy Porter has taken this statement to mean literally that Sydenham regarded *Don Quixote* as the greatest medical book he knew.⁴⁰ At the time, however, the *Quixote* reference arguably formed part of Blackmore's endeavor to construct medical observation as the hallmark of Sydenham's medical innovations by downgrading ancient medical learning.

From this perspective, it does not come as a surprise that Blackmore's mention of *Don Quixote* provoked a reaction from Samuel Johnson, arguably London's "first professional man of letters."⁴¹ He published his response, some of it furious, at least three times, twice in "The Life of Sydenham," which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1742 and in *The Works of Thomas Sydenham* edited by John Swan (1742), and as part of his entry "Blackmore" in *The Lives of the Poets.*⁴² In the form of excerpts and

reprints, the dispute also entered British medical and general knowledge in two extant eighteenth-century dictionaries. A New and General Biographical Dictionary (1761) and Biographia Medica (1799) contained the entries under "Sydenham." These articles hailed Sydenham as the unprecedented champion among "modern physicians" thanks to his "rules of practices [that were based on] repeated observations on the nature and properties of diseases."43 Both entries reiterated Blackmore's allegation of Sydenham's counsel to read Don Quixote for medical instruction but expressed doubts about its accuracy. The agenda of Blackmore's Preface to Treatise was to erect himself in the image of Sydenham as a British emblem of clinical practice and observation: "the Doctor's Accomplishments must arise from Practice and Observation."44 Blackmore expanded on the method of classifying diseases by means of collected observations that Sydenham had pioneered in his Observationes Medicæ (1676). In a polemical move, Blackmore opposed erudition (book learning) and observation (Sydenham's method). Eager to further a remodeling in medical practice, he declared the irrelevance and absurdity of Hippocrates's writings for medical publications like his own on the grounds that the circulation of the blood had been unknown in antiquity,⁴⁵ the pulse being "as necessary in Physick as the Compass to Navigation."46 By reducing Sydenham's reading to Don Quixote, Blackmore presented Sydenham's inductive method of observation as the single most important basis of the latter's ground-breaking insights. The physician contended, "a Man of good Sense, Vivacity, and Spirit, may arrive to the highest Rank of Physicians, without the Assistance of great Erudition and the Knowledge of Books."47 Blackmore implicated Sydenham in his downgrading of the epistemic status of medical book learning: "And to shew the Reader what Contempt he [Sydenham] had for the Writings in Physick, when one Day I asked him to advise me what Books I should read to quality me for Practice, he replied, Read Don Quixot."48 Blackmore's rhetoric polarized observation and erudition. Half a century later Immanuel Kant reinforced the divide by noting in the Conflict of the Faculties that physicians are much closer to philosophers than theologians, for doctors receive their knowledge *directly* from nature.⁴⁹ The division was also guarded by those who privileged erudition over empiricism. Just as Blackmore's medical Preface aimed to banish any form of textual exegesis in order to ground medical practice and knowledge in reality alone, many literati like Johnson exhorted their readers to banish their bodily feelings from the consumption of prose fictionthat is, to detach the printed text from the world and its physical implications.

At the same time, however, Sydenham's reported advice to read Don Quixote had a popularizing and dialogizing effect: the reference, combined with his appeals to readers' attention, reinforced the popular appeal inherent in Blackmore's strategy of publishing Treatise on the Small-pox in English, which would help it reach a wider audience of "learned" and "unlearned" alike. It sold successfully, reaching a second edition within the year of publication. Moreover, the author's overt rejection of the exegesis of ancient sources reflects his awareness of the ongoing epistemic competition in medicine; Blackmore ousted erudition as too "tedious, heavy and spiritless."50 By appropriating Sydenham's recommendation of Don Quixote without evidence, Blackmore novelized his treatise. I do not mean that the poet-physician merely used anecdotal evidence. Rather he novelized in the sense that, like a novel, his publication oriented its readers towards a living contact zone with "unfinished, still evolving contemporary reality."⁵¹ Yet, Blackmore's polemic met Johnson's vehement opposition.

Johnson fiercely defended the value and necessity of erudition at large. Central to this endeavor was his strategy to enhance the discipline of reading among his audiences. Blackmore's invocation of Don Quixote in medicine infected readers with misguided notions, Johnson protested. He warned that the "idle and the illiterate will long shelter themselves under [Blackmore's] foolish apophthegm."⁵² Blackmore's dismissive attitude towards ancient medicine rejected some of the very values that Johnson tried to imbue in his readership of the periodicals the Rambler, the Idler and the Adventurer. In the Rambler, more than half of the literary allusions were from Greek or classical Latin authors; the citation of eighteenth-century writers rare.⁵³ Blackmore's preface (1723) offended partly because the break with ancient medicine slighted the contribution that the authors of classic antiquity could make to human health, partly because Blackmore's insinuation of Don *Quixote* associated eminent figures like Sydenham with the morally dubious group of novel readers. Novels, like Don Quixote, might spread the perceived disease of "hope" and "the anticipation of happiness," Johnson argued.⁵⁴ According to Johnson, novels "are written chiefly to the young, the ignorant and the idle, to whom they serve as lectures of conduct, and introductions into life."55 Blackmore's Preface and Johnson's response worked antithetically. While Blackmore used Sydenham's reported predilection for Don Quixote partly to novelize his observation-based nosology, Don

Quixote spurred Johnson on to medicalize novels and discourage novel readers' mimetic infatuation.

Johnson's Pathologization of Novels and Regimentation of Reading

As part of this endeavor, Johnson called for the regulation of reading practices in the *Rambler*, which contributed to the pathologization of novel reading. His essay, "The Modern Form of Romances Preferable to the Ancient: The Necessity of Characters Morally Good," published in the Rambler (March 1750), insists that novel readers require examples of virtue and morality; the only acceptable purpose of reading prose fiction is to emulate moral paragons.⁵⁶ By contrast, according to an earlier piece in the *Rambler*, Don Quixote entailed a risk for the health of mind and body, namely "infatuation" and "disease."⁵⁷ Johnson argues that the knight of La Mancha reinforced latent immersive tendencies in readers: "Very few readers . . . can deny that they have admitted the visions of the same kind" as Don Quixote.⁵⁸ Johnson specifically condemns "visions," pointing to reading's activation of the visual sense. Johnson perceived a recent trend in prose fiction toward ordinary life and feared that it might increase unruly reading habits. Elsewhere in the *Rambler*, Johnson reiterates his concern and links it with the enhanced mimetic appeal of novels in comparison to "old-school" romances: "[W]hen an [fictitious] adventurer is levelled with the rest of the world, and acts in such scenes of the universal drama, as may be the lot of any other man; young spectators fix their eves upon him with closer attention, and hope by observing his behaviour and success to regulate their own practices."59 Heroics set in ordinary life, Johnson suggests, are more dangerous than romances of chivalry mainly because the former are more likely to engage readers' visual imagination. Moreover, it is Don Quixote's weakness as a reader that makes identification with him nearly irresistible and, thus, especially harmful: "When we pity [the knight of La Mancha], we reflect on our own disappointments; when we laugh, our hearts inform us that he is not more ridiculous than ourselves."60 Such visceral responses worry Johnson. He warns that such readerly fellow-feeling vitiates "the understanding of man," engenders the "luxurious indulgence of hope," and therefore causes disease.⁶¹

Johnson advocated that people should practice restraint while reading and avoid the convergence of fact and fiction as if it were a dangerous health risk: "all efforts ought to be used for the prevention of [this] disease."⁶² His statement points to a "readerly regime,"

which means not a literal dietary or nutritional regimen but the regimentation of intake by reading, especially novels. "Regimentation," here, connotes the process of constructing a regimen revolving around the idea that purging the body of excess fluids alleviates humoral imbalance and restores health. Accordingly, "readerly regimentation" attempts to purify the intellect from excessive affect. Yet, Johnson remained skeptical as to whether such a scheme might work: "perhaps no remedy will be found [not even] in the gardens of philosophy, however she may boast her physick of the mind, her catharticks of vice, or lenitives of passion."⁶³ Johnson admitted that it might be impossible for reading ever to be free from, or cure us of, bodily feelings.

Lennox's Regimentation of Novel Reading and the Dietetic Imagination

Despite Johnson's skepticism, novelists integrated the regimentation of reading practices into the novels themselves in an attempt to elevate the status of novel reading; so much so that Geoffrey Sill speaks of the "collective effort [together with physicians, philosophers and essayists] to 'cure' the passions."⁶⁴ For Sill, these endeavors to "cure' the passions" mark a central quality of eighteenth-century British novels. "The tradition that [Frances] Burney inherited," Sill adds, "was also one in which passion, illness and error are fundamentally connected."⁶⁵ I propose that much of the self-promotion eighteenth-century novels performed latched onto the "dietetic" imagination.⁶⁶ As an agent of the regimentation of reading, the term "dietetic" imagination refers to the implicit instruction of readers in the spirit of Enlightenment medicine and pedagogy by the use of textual clues in novels. Such textual features include matters of layout, like a table of contents and chapter titles,⁶⁷ as well as narrative elements, like the construction of characters. When characters appear as agents of the dietetic imagination they often signal a warning against or directly renounce visceral reading habits. As such, the dietetic imagination, as a feature of eighteenth-century novels, has little to do with a medical and pedagogic reduction of literary ambiguities; ultimately, the dietetic imagination inside novels remains open-ended: in orienting towards the cure of passions, it simultaneously medicalizes and novelizes discourse.

In Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote*, the exposure of the heroine's errors reinforces the appeal to the reader's dietetic imagination.⁶⁸ *The Female Quixote*, or *The Adventures of Arabella*,

published in 1752, focuses on a young heiress whose sheltered life in a remote country estate is dominated by her reading of seventeenthcentury French romances. Arabella's ideas and behavior are modeled on the heroines she encounters in these romances. Like Don Quixote, she interprets the world through the lens of the fiction she has read and thus makes all sorts of mistakes. Like Don Quixote, she is a visceral novel reader. In the course of the novel, Arabella mistakes a young gardener for a disguised nobleman with designs upon her when his real object is to steal fish from the estate; she suspects her uncle, the father of her devout suitor Glanville, of an incestuous passion for her; she rushes to rescue a cross-dressed prostitute from her rowdy companions in Vauxhall Gardens, imagining her to be a disguised noblewoman about to be "ravished." Finally, after she suffers a severe illness as a result of jumping into a river to escape imaginary pursuers, a physician "cures" Arabella of her passion for romances, and she finally gives her consent to marry Glanville who has been waiting for her to come to her senses.⁶⁹ Although these events might suggest Arabella's delusion, large parts of the satirical novel retain a high degree of ambiguity. If readers sought wisdom from it they would "often be unsure whether to view Arabella as a model or as a warning," as Deborah Ross notes.⁷⁰ Arabella's intelligence and eloquence are designed to impress readers in much the same way as they astonish the characters around her in the narrated world of the novel. Nonetheless, the end of the novel determines the orientation of the narrative towards readerly restraint. The weight of the final chapters, in which Arabella's cure of passions consists in her renunciation of visceral romance reading, promotes the dietetic imagination unequivocally.

Two strategies, among others, that help to bring about this dietetic orientation are comments by the omniscient narrator and the use of subheadings (intertitles) in the text. In the first strategy, the narrator establishes him- or herself from the novel's outset as a member and guardian of the literary profession. Not only does the narrator lament the choice of Arabella's reading materials (French romances), but also criticizes "the very bad" quality of their translation.⁷¹ The narrator then expands his or her authority by making the diagnosis early on in the narrative that Arabella's immersion in romances is pathological: her imagination is "always prepossessed with the same fantastic Ideas" and "made her stumble upon another Mistake, equally absurd and ridiculous."⁷² In the second strategy, the layout of the novel enhances the orientation towards curing the passions. Ninety-two intertitles divide up the narrative by chapters. Nineteen of them refer to the reader or acts of

reception.⁷³ Out of the ninety-two, the penultimate Chapter Eleven of Book Nine ranks explicitly at the top: "Being in the Author's Opinion, the best Chapter in this History."⁷⁴ Through this device, the narrative singles out the message of Chapter Eleven as the most important: here the physician brings about Arabella's physical and moral recovery from her visceral novel reading through the application of rigorous logic and rhetorical skill. Imitating a philosophical dialogue in Plato's tradition, the chapter sets out to debunk romances, namely to "prove, / First, That these Histories . . . are Fictions. / Next, That they are absurd. / And Lastly, That they are Criminal."⁷⁵ Central to Arabella's lesson are the doctor's words that "Books ought to supply an Antidote to Example."⁷⁶

This imperative takes the dietetic imagination further than Johnson's protocol for novel reading in the *Rambler*. While the latter endorses the emulation of virtue in the perusal of fiction, Arabella's lesson suggests that reading should do away with any form of imitation. The stated "best Chapter in this History" in the intertitle reinforces the validity of this insight, while the stipulation of an "Antidote to Example" has further implications. Arabella's cure of readerly passions invokes the initially mentioned break between life and reading; indeed, it advocates for the awareness of the ontological difference between world and book to accompany the act of reading. Concomitantly, the physician's lesson also counteracts credulity and wonder. It calls for a skeptical attitude to underpin the activity of judicious reading. Such a semiotic stance in Lennox's fiction concurs with the epistemic valence in natural philosophy at the time. The early phases of the rise of the British novel, between 1720 and 1740, coalesced with the change in the epistemic valence of wonder and credulity: "if late seventeenth-century natural philosophers had sunk the threshold of belief unusually low for strange facts," Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park note, "their mid-eighteenth-century successors raised it unusually high."⁷⁷ The uses of the dietetic imagination in the penultimate chapter of *The Female Ouixote* do much to hybridize natural philosophy and romance by joining their forces in the advancement of disbelief. The injection of disbelief into English prose marks a common interest of the stratification of English as a "learned" language, a language of knowledge and power.78

Since reading practices became a testing ground for professional stratification during the eighteenth century, the boundaries of the pathology of reading were partly contingent upon the (historically varying) epistemic valence of the imagination in natural philosophy. Whereas preternatural philosophers of the

sixteenth and early seventeenth century believed the imagination to be a form of *natura naturans* that could produce "genuine marvels apparitions, monsters, sudden cures—by the emanations of subtle effluvia imprinted on soft matter," early eighteenth-century savants contracted the imagination to the powers of the human mind, and lodged it in the body of individuals.⁷⁹ The imagination and her unruly creations became "an almost bottomless reservoir for the explanation of bodily anomalies among the impressionable."⁸⁰ The growing conviction that passions, especially those induced by novel reading, can cause irreversible stiffness and rigidity of the nerves served as one of the major warning signs of the pathological imagination and pathological reading.

The Somatization of the Imagination, Passions, and Novel Reading

Two influential medical texts, the entry "Imaginatio" in the *Medicinal Dictionary* (1743–45) and George Cheyne's *Essay on Health and Long Life* (1724), provide further insights into the medicalization of novel reading. Both argue that the pathological imagination might cause structural changes (of the anatomical body); the possibility of such a structural damage stoked the fear of the violent passions thought to be induced by fiction. Such arguments indirectly contributed to the somatization of novel reading. Irreversible somatic changes became a major warning sign of pathological reading.

John Locke's theory of association in the Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690) put forward the possibility that the imagination worked physiologically through the mechanical motions of the blood and nerves.⁸¹ By the 1740s, this possibility had morphed into medical knowledge. The Medicinal Dictionary explained the imagination as matter of irritability and bodily automatic function.⁸² In this process, "agreeable" and "dreadful" impressions brought about the expansion and contractions of the blood vessels respectively.⁸³ If "agreeable," the pleasure triggered the animal spirits, which via the brain and the nervous system made the eyes and countenance sparkle and the arms rise with joy; whereas "dreadful impression" produced a congestion of the blood and concomitant "languish[ing]" and "disorder."⁸⁴ The entry attributed an entirely pathological function to the imagination during pregnancy, which harks back to ancient notions of hysteria and the wandering womb.85 In the Medicinal Dictionary, the imagination was said to cause structural change in the unborn fetus. The idea was not new;

Hippocrates had taught, as the entry notes, that the mother's desire during pregnancy might imprint itself on the child's body. Containing a long series of monstrous births, the entry disseminated the accepted Enlightenment "fact" that in a womb of a pregnant woman the imagination could impress the soft embryo with the form of some hideous perception made by the mother.⁸⁶ Alongside this depiction, the entry includes an excerpt from the Philosophical Transaction of the Royal Society in London: two months prior to birth, "the Mother ... heard a report, that a Man had murdered his wife by wounding her in the Breast with a Knife. . . . [she] was delivered of a Girl, with a Wound in her Breast, above four Fingers long, and penetrating to the Musculi Intercostales, being an Inch broad, and hollow under the Flesh about the Wound."⁸⁷ Here, the pregnant woman's listening to a murder story was believed to have caused the baby to be born with physical defects. The entry does not address the dangers of novel reading, but writers like Tobias Smollett, Edmund Burke, Horace Walpole, and others recognized the potential of this medical discourse and built much of their novelizations of medicine on the somatic effects of the imagination. For all its implicit admonition, though, the entry in the Medicinal Dictionary omitted a major force in the growing somatization of the reading process: anatomical studies of the nervous system put forward by Thomas Willis and popularized by George Cheyne.⁸⁸

Typically for eighteenth-century therapy, Cheyne's medical theory continued relying on models of regimen drawn from antiquity, which provided lifestyle instructions neatly divided into six rubrics to maintain the balance of bodily humours and thus physical and mental health. Excessive reading in general posed a potential danger within this framework of the so-called "non-naturals" because reading jeopardized people's daily routine, their exercise and rest, their alimentation, their sleep and waking, as well as their passions and mental states.⁸⁹ Within the classic grid of "non-naturals," several aspects of reading coalesced that may not seem necessarily related to us today: the physical posture while reading, the amount of time spent reading relative to other daily activities, and affective responses to the text. In the early seventeenth-century, Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy (1621) had contributed to the popularization of Marsilio Ficino's association of extensive study and melancholia in British culture.

Cheyne reinforced the perceived dangers of reading, reorienting them from (Ficinian) study to the arousal of passions. Like many observers in the wake of René Descartes and William Harvey, Cheyne posited the body as machine operated by the will.

Once set in motion, this machine required the mind's constant surveillance in order to prevent the automatic operations of the body from overheating due to an excess of animal passions.⁹⁰ Cheyne's self-help system focused on diet and exercise, not on reading, but his most popular publication, Essay on Health and Long Life, addressed the "studious" readers, the "poets" and "men of imagination."⁹¹ In this book, Cheyne somatized the passions and, by extension, literary responses. Under the rubric of "the passions," Cheyne intertwined Hippocratic therapeutics with innovative anatomy, non-naturals with nervous disease, in a way that exemplifies the frictions in medical theory at the beginning of the eighteenth-century. Willis had moved away from both the humors per se and from the uniqueness of the individual organism, replacing humoral theories gradually with the conception of the central nervous system.⁹² Cheyne combined the classic grid of the "non-naturals" with the anatomical discoveries of Willis published in the 1660s. According to Cheyne's Essay on *Health*, overwrought passions caused damage to the nervous system by rendering the nerves "rigid and stiff" and creating a languishing, sluggish body accompanied by feelings of heaviness and gloom.⁹³

Elasticity was perhaps the vital somatic condition of Chevne's body machine. He still conceived of the nerves as hollow tubes, inside of which nervous fluid conveyed sensation and motion throughout the body, communicating between the extremities, the intermediary intestinal organs and the brain.94 Cheyne's concept of health combined humoral medicine with recent anatomical insight while maintaining at its center the flow of nervous fluids within the body. As Porter summarizes, the "desideratum hinged largely upon bodily hydraulics . . . the more free and regular the flow of fluids throughout the bodily system (and that meant, above all, a speedy and efficient progression from food intake, through digestion, to excretion of wastes), the healthier the body."95 Cheyne's nervous economy depended on the resemblance of the body to a "well-tuned instrument" with elastic strings.96 This emblem of bodily resonance points to the constitutive role of the body in reception processes like reading. For Cheyne, such resonance warranted caution. The physician intensified the existing (lifestyle) risks of reading on the grounds of recent neuro-anatomical discoveries. Reading was no longer a matter of daily routine alone but, by virtue of its power to stir passions, it developed into a cause of potentially irreversible stiffness of nervous tubes or even death. Cheyne's discussion of "men of imagination" in Essay on Health associated reading (as well as writing) with both "chronic disease," which injured the nerves, and "acute disease," caused by "sudden and violent Passions."⁹⁷ The

passions had the power to effect a structural and functional change of the nerve "tubes," a change that Cheyne regarded as lasting damage to bodily hydraulics: "the whole System of the Nerves becomes so rigid and stiff, as to lose their Elasticity; whereby the Animal Functions are stopp'd at once; and Fainting, and sometimes Death, ensues."98 The dangers of violent passions and nervous excitement which reading could elicit exceeded those associated with poor posture.⁹⁹ Cheyne's *Essay* largely concurred with conventional Christian demands for the regulation of the passions, spread by conduct books such as Reverend Isaac Watts's The Doctrine of the Passions, Explain'd and Improv'd (1732). Yet his unique contribution lay in the somatization of dangerous passions on the grounds of permanent damage. When Thomas Beddoes wrote in the early 1800s that "love-stories . . . relax soul and body at once," this "harmless" relaxation resonated for eighteenth-century readers with the sudden and potentially permanent loss of nervous tubes' vital elasticity professed by Chevne.¹⁰⁰

By the end of the eighteenth century, novel reading epitomized this perceived health risk. Presupposing that any form of "constant reading causes nervous complaints," the Swiss physician Samuel Auguste Tissot regarded novels as the greatest threat reading could possibly pose to the physical as well as moral health of women.¹⁰¹ Linking Calvinist morality with ancient health regimes, Tissot urged his patients to "renounce all Excitement to lustful Sensations, such as Reading, Conversation, and Self-touching."¹⁰² He observed elsewhere that "[s]o many authors give rise to a number of readers . . . so that perhaps of all the circumstances hurtful to the health of women, the chief has been the innumerable collection of novels published within these hundred years."¹⁰³ Likewise Beddoes's Hygeia (1802) condemned the corrupting effects of prose fiction as "the sort most injurious."¹⁰⁴ It is possible to regard Tissot's and Beddoes's jeremiads as a sign of novelistic triumph. Yet the implications of these perceived pathologies go beyond the quantitative success of novels by the turn of century. The stigma formed part of a complex medicalization process behind the emergence of the novel. The Female Quixote echoes the Cheyneian somatization, that is, the loss of nervous elasticity, when the physician warns Arabella in the penultimate chapter that, "these Books *soften* the Heart to Love, and *harden* it to Murder."¹⁰⁵ This perceived health risk also features prominently in Smollett's The Adventures of Roderick Random (1748).¹⁰⁶

The following analysis demonstrates that the somatization of reading in Smollett's novel is closely linked with the sense of

hearing: during the act of silent reception, readers imagine hearing the speech of narrators and characters. Whereas The Female Quixote tends to be bookish in the sense that the pathology of the heroine's imagination is a child of the printed pages that Arabella reads, Roderick Random appeals mainly to the aural imagination. In Smollett's novel, characters listen to each other's stories while we, as readers, imagine the characters' accents and peculiar oral expressions. After all, novels have, as Bakhtin observes, a special orientation to aurality; for him, the novel reader is a "listener," and "the novel . . . the maximally complete register of all social voices of the era."¹⁰⁷ The notion of the "novel reader" in the following section pertains to reading and hearing. The range of reading responses discussed here includes multisensory ones that are solicited by the incorporation of phonetic nuances, laughter, and a multiplicity of social voices. Roderick Random does much to integrate the voices of lower and middle classes to the effect of parody and laughter.¹⁰⁸ Physicality, including sex, filth, stench, and gory combat, enters the novel through the voices of this first-person narrator, Rory, and the other characters; in fact the novel, especially in the first half, revolves around violence and hardship. Rory is a typical male adventurer: he "has not yet found a definite or fixed place in life, but ... seeks personal success, building a career, accumulating wealth, winning glory. . . . this role impels him to study personal life, uncover its hidden workings."¹⁰⁹ In Smollett's novel, the eponymous hero is an orphaned and impoverished young man of Scottish noble descent aiming for a career as a navy surgeon and then as a fortune hunter. Over the course of this study of personal life, Rory loses his credulity and develops a growing skepticism towards the people he encounters.

Part of this adventure plot is the pattern according to which Rory relates his experiences to the people he encounters on the way. One of the most faithful listeners is his friend (and later valet), the young Scotsman Strap. Rory is obliged to relate to Strap all his attempts to make his fortune because his valet provides the financial means for Rory's (hopeless) fortune-hunting scheme. Every time Rory tells his latest story, Strap is all eyes and ears. Not only does Strap raise his arms, and ejaculate (verbally), but he is transported in a stage of wondrous, psychosomatic agitation, "remain[ing] some time immoveable in that ludicrous attitude, with his mouth open, and his eye; thrust forward considerably beyond their station."¹¹⁰ Strap represents the visceral novel reader in the novel, eager to hear the story (as s/he turns over the pages of *Roderick Random*) and physically affected as a consequence of his full physical immersion in the story. As such, Strap functions as a warning for readers; indeed

it does so under the threat of somatic consequences. Usually Strap recovers immediately from story-induced ecstasy. However, in one instance, Rory fears that Strap has completely gone insane.

To remove his scruples, I made him acquainted with the whole story of my success, on hearing of which, he danced about the room, in an exstacy, "God be praised!—a white stone!—God be praised!—a white stone!" So that I was afraid the sudden change of fortune had disordered his intellects, and that he was run mad with joy.—Extremely concerned at this event, I attempted to reason him out of his frenzy, but to no purpose; for, without regarding what I said, he continued to frisk up and down, and repeat his rhapsody of "God be praised! a white stone!" At last, I rose in the utmost consternation, and laying violent hands upon him put a stop to his extravagance, by fixing him down to a settee that was in the room.—This constraint banished his delirium; he started as if just awoke, and terrified at my behaviour, cried, "What is the matter?" When he learned the cause of my apprehension, he was ashamed of his transports.¹¹¹

In this scene, Rory's story renders Strap so ecstatic that he seems to have lost his mind. The story appears to have caused a permanent frenzy. So affected is Strap that he loses complete control over his body, reiterating like an automaton the same nonsense over and over again while frantically running and jumping up and down. Only Rory's application of physical force brings Strap to his senses; the loss of memory that Strap suffers as a consequence of the story is permanent. The loss of control over his body combined with this irreversible loss of memory somatizes immersion and passions in much the same way as Cheyne's *Essay on Health* does. Visceral readers like Strap, the scene insinuates, have to fear lasting physical consequences and should feel ashamed.

The narrative reinforces Strap's role as a warning against the visceral novel reader through his marriage, at the end of the novel, to Miss Williams. Her story first unfolds when this young woman with a wealthy background sinks into destitution and prostitution after her aristocratic lover, who promised marriage, abandons her once she is pregnant. Her story implies a caution against visceral novel reading for all female readers since Miss Williams regards romances as the main cause of her "fall." Together, Strap and Miss Williams function as two major agents of the dietetic imagination in Smollett's novel. Compared to the doctor's construction of a sophisticated regimentation of reading, to which the heroine relents in *The Female*

Quixote, the negative examples set by Strap and Miss Williams in Roderick Random bear particularly somatic consequences: While Miss Williams is one of the most complex female characters in Smollett's novel, the signposts for her misguided reading practices are hard to miss. Her fate as a fallen woman can be seen as one of the many testimonies borne by Smollett's novels to the centrality of sexuality and the concomitant condemnation of female desire in eighteenth-century fiction.¹¹² Reminiscent of William Hogarth's "A Harlot's Progress," Miss Williams's first-person confession in chapter 22, "The History of Miss Williams," recounts her descent from the beloved daughter of a wealthy merchant to a woman of the town. (Over the course of the novel, she redeems herself as a lady's maid, an employment in which she proves herself to be a loyal friend to Rory, and, ultimately, a faithful wife to Strap.) Chapter 22 suggests a causal relation between Miss Williams's seduction by a young gentleman and her "addicted" perusal of romances;¹¹³ it is Miss Williams's pathological imagination, induced by romances of chivalry, that hampers her sense of judgment:

[A]ll I had read of love and chivalry recurred to my fancy, and I looked upon myself as a princess in some region of romance, who being delivered from the power of a brutal giant or satyr by a generous Oroondates, was bound in gratitude, as well as led by inclination, to yield up my affections to him without reserve. In vain did I endeavour to chastise these foolish conceits by reflexions more reasonable and severe: The amusing images took full possession of my mind, and my dreams represented my hero sighing at my feet, in the language of a despairing lover.¹¹⁴

Miss Williams's immersion in the world of romance leads her to succumb to a dishonest suitor. In contrast to Arabella, romances unleash Miss Williams's sexual desire. While the conflation of fact and fiction leads to a severe fever in both cases, only Miss Williams's case has irreversible physical consequences: "the agitation of my thoughts produced a fever, which brought on a miscarriage."¹¹⁵ Here Chapter 22 invokes the notion that the mother's imagination can cause structural change to and even the death of the fetus. Thus the passage somatizes the pathological imagination and reinforces the sexist construction of the female imagination presented in the *Medicinal Dictionary*. Like Lennox's regimentation of the novel, Smollett's somatization orients towards the "judicious reader," thereby trying to make novel reading safe. In doing so, somatization enhances the dietetic imagination in a rather more drastic way than

regimentation. The growing belief that reading habits entail structural changes of the nervous system served as a basis for the sexism we find in Tissot's and Beddoes's medical publications. Tissot and Beddoes demonized novel reading in their medical self-help as the cause for nervous disease, denying women the capacity to engage wholesomely.

Coda: Individualization

In his biography of a fellow physician, *The Life of* Zimmermann, Tissot adjusted his stance, and presented novels in an entirely different light.¹¹⁶ Tissot's reassessment of novels paid tribute to the life and work of the Swiss Johann Georg Zimmermann, Royal Physician to George III since 1768, whose most important book was Solitude Considered with Respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart (Über die Einsamkeit).¹¹⁷ It examined the cause and effects, benefits and disadvantages of solitude, and first appeared in an English translation in 1791. The expressed purpose of Zimmermann's Solitude was to offer a defense for those who occasionally seek solitude.¹¹⁸ Echoing Rousseau, Zimmermann attributed the benefits of solitude partly to peaceful discourse with nature, but reading alone was also a part of his discussions of the impact of solitude on the mind and heart. For Zimmermann, reading could make good use of time; the habitual retreat from sociability provided not only a source of recreation but also perseverance and strength.¹¹⁹ Tellingly, the desire to be alone was linked with novel reading. The occupation featured in the chapter on the heart in Solitude Considered. Reminding readers that romance did not always "render the mind unhappy," Zimmermann controversially defended romance by contending that behind Rousseau's love of solitude lay his love of romance: "Rousseau, in his youth, was a great reader of romances: ... this species of reading and the fertility of his own imagination filled his mind. This was the source of that taste for Solitude which he preserved to the most advanced period of his life."120

Zimmermann's *Solitude Considered* medicalized novels insofar as it justified, on philosophical, moral and physiological grounds, the emerging habitus of reading novels silently and in solitude.¹²¹ Tissot's biography of his colleague partakes in Zimmermann's medicalization of novels, and uses the latter to single out Zimmermann's life as a physician; indeed, Tissot's narrative aims to convey individuality. According to *The Life of Zimmermann*,

extensive, solitary reading (including novels) distinguished Zimmermann's personality from the start of his career and marked his special achievements as medical practitioner; extensive reading of novels and other literature helped to shape Zimmermann's characteristically lucid style in medical publications, enhanced his empathetic treatment of patients, and comforted Zimmermann after the loss of his first wife. As Tissot remarked of those "good" novels studied by Zimmermann: "In these, man is well delineated, the resources of his mind offered to our view, and the secret recesses of the human heart laid open before us."¹²² Furthermore Tissot linked the values of novels to their mimetic capacity, "the real [realistic] importance of their tendency."¹²³ But Tissot did not fully subscribe to Zimmermann's novelization. While Zimmermann's Solitude speaks of the "mental pleasures" of reading per se, Tissot's biography limits Zimmermann's amusement to the production of critical essays. Even in the case of a renowned colleague like Zimmermann, Tissot did not sanction visceral reading.

Like the other cases discussed here, Tissot's *Life of Zimmermann* conveys an ambivalent attitude towards novel reading, which suggests that the identification of novel reading and reading disorder in the eighteenth century did not prevent the medical endorsement of novels. However, the pathologization of novel reading counteracted embodiment in so far that it tried to cleanse reading from viscerality; in doing so, the pathologization of novel reading helped to erect and support the grand scheme of keeping mind and body, fact and fiction apart. The pathologization of novel reading in Georgian Britain was part and parcel of the professional stratification of literature and medicine in the joint endeavor to cast English as the new Latin. The medicalization strategies that novels used to promote their "safe" reception fostered "judicious" reading practices and contributed to the professional stratification of both medicine and literature.

NOTES

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1. The strand in the theory of novel that considers textual selfconsciousness as a mark of modernism considers *Don Quixote* to be the first modern European novel. See Richetti, "The Novel before 'the Novel," 15; Bode, *Der Roman*, 35; Ortega y Gasset, *Meditations on Quixote*, 111.

2. Cervantes, *Adventures of Don Quixote*, 125. This translation was written by Tobias Smollett and dates from 1755.

3. Wimsatt and Beardsley's "affective fallacy" is a case in point. Wimsatt, *Verbal Icon*, 21–39.

4. See Brown, "Quixotic Fallacy."

5. For "embodiment" see Stockwell, Texture, 4-5.

6. For the role of the body in the constitution of aesthetic

experience see Merleau-Ponty, *Das Auge und der Geist*, 300; Maill, "Experience of Literariness," 176.

7. The conceptualization of the "visceral novel reader" builds partly on recent trends in cognitive literary studies and partly on a process called "aesthesis" as described by Jauss, and "dreaming by the book" as delineated by Scarry. See Scarry, *Dreaming by the Book*; Jauss, *Ästhetische Erfahrung*, 125–65; Richardson, "Imagination," 234–35.

8. "The novel-addicted reader in Britain is usually gendered female" according to Warner (*Licensing Entertainment*, 140). See also Flint, *Woman Reader*; Turner, *Living by the Pen*; Eger, *Bluestockings*; Gallagher, *Nobody's Story*.

9. Assmann, Im Dickicht der Zeichen, 237. See Anz, Literatur und Lust, 11.

10. For a current state-of-the-art overview see Jacobs, "Neurocognitive Poetics." An example of this topos in contemporary fiction is *The English Patient*, written by Michael Ondaatje: Laslo de Almásy, a pilot in the Second World War, finds himself in the care of a nurse after having been burned black in a plane crash on the Libya-Egypt border. When the excruciating pain keeps him awake at night, Hana, the nurse, reads whatever book she is able to find. Reading Herodutus's *Histories* together becomes a kind of pain therapy for both the patient and the nurse.

11. Cultural studies have defamiliarized the centrality of print media and reading skills since the invention of moveable type. See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*; Eisenstein, *Print Culture*.

12. See Littau, *Theories of Reading*; Koschorke, *Körperströme*; Ott, *Feinschmecker und Bücherfresser*; Rousseau, *Nervous Acts*.

13. See Lepenies, *Die Drei Kulturen*. In contrast to Lepenies's nineteenth-century study, the present article focuses on eighteenth-century Britain and reader response.

14. See Daston, "Fear and Loathing," 18, 24; Daston and Park, *Wonders*, 339.

15. This essay focuses on "Epic and Novel" and "Novel in Discourse" in Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 3–40, 259–422. The claim of the eighteenth-century "rise of the novel" goes back to Ian Watt's seminal study of Defoe, Fielding, and Richardson (1957), and has been expanded

and challenged ever since. For example, Franco Moretti advocates three rises of the British novel in *Graphs, Maps, Trees* (7).

16. See Peirce, *Phänomen und Logik der Zeichen*, 64; Assmann, *Im Dickicht der Zeichen*, 17.

17. Im Dickicht der Zeichen, 53.

18. See ibid., 237.

19. See Warner, "Staging Readers Reading," 392.

20. Hunter, Before Novels, 65-67.

21. See Assmann, *Einführung*, 74; Bartine, *Early English Reading*, 11; White, "Rise of Consumerism."

22. The second phase "runs from 1770 to around 1820" (Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, 7).

23. Warner, "Staging Readers Reading," 393.

24. The mid seventeenth-century report written by Charles Hoole states that "the want of good teachers of English in most places where grammar schools are erected causeth that many children are brought thither to learn the Latin tongue before they can read well." Cited in Bartine, *Early English Reading*, 13.

25. See Ong, Orality and Literacy, 113-14, 163.

26. Warner, "Staging Readers Reading," 393.

27. See Blewett, "Introduction," 4.

28. Assmann distinguishes "unruly semiotics," according to which world and text in principle share the same basic functions of signs, and professionalized reading, in which the semiotic process is limited to the text alone. See *Im Dickicht der Zeichen*, 18, 236–37.

29. Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 7.

30. See "heteroglossia," and "low genres" (Bakhtin, 273).

31. Ibid., 259.

32. See ibid., 426–27.

33. Ibid., 279. The present argument does not share Bakhtin's tendency to downgrade other genres in order to affirm the dominance of the novel as a genre. See ibid., 425; Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 68–69.

34. For "hybridization," see Bakhtin, 358–59; for "professional language," see Bakhtin, 289.

35. Victorian studies have investigated this relation; see for

instance, Kennedy, "'Let me die in your house'" and *Revising the Clinic*.

36. See Assmann, *Einführung*, 74–75.

37. "Translator's Preface," in Sydenham's Compleat Method, 7.

The name of the translator remains anonymous in the publication.

38. See Pomata, "Observation Rising," 60–69; Daston, "Empire of Observation," 81–83; Pomata and Siraisi, *Historia*, 17.

39. Blackmore, Treatise upon the Small-Pox, xi.

40. See Porter, Greatest Benefit, 229.

41. Assmann, Einführung, 75.

42. See Johnson, Works, 22:754-76.

43. *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, 11:67–69; Hutchinson, *Biographia Medica*, 2:431–32.

44. Blackmore, Treatise upon the Small-Pox, xiv.

45. Ibid., xix.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., xi.

48. Ibid.

49. See Kant, Gesammelte Werke, 7:26.

50. Blackmore, Treatise upon the Small-Pox, xv.

51. Bakhtin, 7.

52. Johnson, Works, 22:756.

53. See Bate and Strauss, "Editor's Introduction," xxxii.

54. Johnson, Works, 3:11.

55. Ibid., 3:21.

56. Ibid., 3:19-25.

57. Ibid., 3:12.

58. Ibid., 3:11.

59. Ibid., 3:21.

60. Ibid., 3:11.

61. Ibid., 3:11-12.

62. Ibid., 3:12.

63. Ibid.

64. Sill, Cure of the Passions, 3.

65. Ibid., 172.

66. The term builds on the concept of a semiotic diet and diet of imagination in Koschorke, *Körperströme*, 374, 404–5.

67. See Genette, Paratexts, 294-316.

68. Johnson's role in the composition of Lennox's novel is a matter of contention. See Brack and Carlile, "Samuel Johnson's Contributions"; Isles, "Johnson and Charlotte Lennox."

69. See Gilroy and Verhoeven, "Introduction," 3; Marshall, *Frame of Art*, 147–48.

70. Ross, "Mirror, Mirror," 466.

71. Lennox, Female Quixote, 7.

72. Ibid., 21.

73. See Birke, "Direction and Diversion," 224.

74. Lennox, 368.

75. Ibid., 374.

76. Ibid., 380.

77. Daston and Park, Wonders, 251.

78. See Valenza, "How Literature Becomes Knowledge," which examines Johnson's uses of the novel as part of knowledge production in the English language in his *Dictionary of the English Language*.

79. Daston and Park, Wonders, 339.

80. Ibid.

81. See Rousseau, 87.

24

82. See Sarasin, Reizbare Maschinen, 51-63.

83. Similarly, Edmund Burke aestheticized this physiology of the imagination in his theory of the sublime, in which the dreadful impressions, by virtue of the alteration of extension and contraction of the blood vessels, had the benefit of purging. See Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*.

84. James, "Imaginatio."

85. See Fischer-Homberger, "Doctrine of Imagination."

86. See James, "Imaginatio."

87. Ibid.

88. See Rousseau, 159.

89. See Emch-Deriaz, "Non-Naturals Made Easy," 134–35;

Lawlor, From Melancholia to Prozac, 207; Sarasin, Reizbare Maschinen, 37.

90. See Lawlor, From Melancholia to Prozac, 60.

91. Cheyne, *An Essay of Health*, 159, 202–3. The *Essay on Health* reached its ninth edition in 1754. See Porter, "Introduction," xviii.

ached its ninin edition in 1/54. See Porter, "Introduction," xviii.

92. See Willis, Cerebri Anatome; Pathologiae Cerebri.

93. Cheyne, 144; see 201–3, 155.

94. See Rousseau, 165-66.

95. Porter, "Introduction," xxi.

96. Cheyne, 158.

97. Ibid., 153.

98. Ibid., 159-60, 155.

99. Ibid., 144.

100. Beddoes, *Hygeia*, 77–78.

101. Tissot, Essay on Diseases, 136n.

102. The Lady's Physician, 17.

103. *Essay on Diseases*, 136–37.

104. Beddoes, 77.

105. Lennox, 380.

106. Budge conceptualizes Smollett's prose fiction as the narrative of irritability in "Smollett and the Novel of Irritability."

107. Bakhtin, 430; Bakhtin speaks of "character zone," in which social heteroglossia enters the novel primarily via the direct speech of the characters (316).

108. See ibid., 263.

109. Ibid., 125-26.

110. Daston, "Fear and Loathing," 20.

111. Smollett, Roderick Random, 122.

112. Keymer, "Obscenity," 131.

113. Smollett, 186.

114. Ibid., 188-89.

115. Ibid., 193.

116. See Tissot, *Vie de Zimmermann; Leben des Ritters von Zimmermann;* "Life of Zimmermann."

117. Zimmermann, *Solitude Considered*; *Über die Einsamkeit*. Reaching over sixty editions during the time of the first publication from 1791 until 1856, the English translation gained Zimmermann a wide readership in Britain and marks his largest legacy. See Kurth-Voigt, "Zimmermanns 'Über die Einsamkeit," 588.

118. Zimmermann, Solitude Considered, 236.

119. See ibid., 148, 119, 80, 82.

120. Ibid., 243.

121. For the debate about the emergence of silent reading see Jajdelska, *Silent Reading*; Koschorke, *Körperströme*, 169–72; Saenger, *Space between Words*; Schön, *Der Verlust der Sinnlichkeit*, 99ff; Greiner, *Die Entstehung der Modernen Unterhaltungsliteratur*, 21.

122. Tissot, "Life of Zimmermann," 15, 16.

123. Ibid., 16.

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