G. E. Bentley, Jr., (University of Toronto) is also the author of books on Flaxman and Blake, of which the most current are William Blake: The Critical Heritage (1975), Blake Books (1977), and Blake's Writings (2 vols., announced for 1977).

Frances A. Carey is our Associate Editor for Great Britain.

Raymond Deck is at Brandeis University finishing a dissertation and beginning to write a book about Blake and Swedenborg. His note will also appear in Rudall Newsletter, as "William Blake, the Poet: An Authentic Rudall Anecdote."

Detlef W. Dörrebecker is a graduate student at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt. Originally he wanted to be a rock-and-roll hero but is now trying hard to become an art historian. He recently finished a study of Los's Mathematical Power in the pencil drawing for Jerusalem 51.

Brice Farwell, the eldest of Arthur Farwell's children, born 1918, has held administrative and editorial assignments at the research laboratory of IBM, in Yorktown Heights, New York. From 1951 to 1956 he was on the staff of McCall's and Better Living magazines. Assembling, cataloguing, and microfilming his father's work, which has become a full-time hobby, began in the mid-1960s with the aid of most of his brothers and sisters.

Ruth E. Fine is National Gallery of Art Curator for Alverthorpe Gallery, which houses the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection. In addition to the checklist of the Blake material in that collection (Blake Newsletter 35), she has written about 19th and 20th century prints and drawings.

Kathryn R. Gabriella frequently calls our attention to items on Blake from Continental newspapers and journals. She is the author of The Imagination of the Resurrection: The Poetic Continuity of a Religious Motif in Donne, Blake, and Yeats.

Robert F. Gleckner (Professor of English, University of California, Riverside) is the author of The Piper and the Bard: A Study of William Blake and Byron and the Ruins of Paradise.

Mary V. Jackson is an Assistant Professor of English at the City College of New York and author of several articles on Blake.

Thomas L. Minnick, of Ohio State University, is our Bibliographer. He is already at work on next year's Annual Checklist of Blake Scholarship. He is also preparing a Norton Critical Edition on Coleridge.

Judith Ott is a doctoral candidate in the History of Art at Ohio State University. She is presently working on a dissertation concerning the iconographical sources of the illustrations to Jerusalem and their meanings in Blake's system.

Claude Marie Senninger, who translated the review from Les Nouvelles Littéraires, is Professor of Modern and Classical Languages at the University of New Mexico.

Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Jr. (Professor of English at the University of Maryland, College Park, and this year Visiting Professor at Brown University), is the author of Angel of Apocalypse: Blake's Idea of Milton (1975), and of Visionary Poetics: Milton's Tradition and His Legacy (forthcoming from Huntington Library, 1978).
CONTENTS

72 BLAKE & ZOROASTRIANISM
Mary V. Jackson
BRICE FARWELL

86 MORE THAN MUSIC COMPOSED AFTER BLAKE BY ARTHUR FARWELL

CHECKLIST
104 RECENT BLAKE SCHOLARSHIP 1976-1977
Thomas L. Minnick with Detlef W. Doerrbecker

REVIEWS
110 THE BLAKE EXHIBITION AT ADEPHI UNIVERSITY
Ruth Fine

114 SUSAN FOX'S POETIC FORM IN BLAKE'S MILTON
Joseph A. Wittreich, Jr.

117 CLARK STEWART'S DRAWINGS FOR THE MARRIAGE
Judith L. Ott

119 POUR LES SEXES: LES GRILLES DE PARADISE
From Les Nouvelles Littératires

MINUTE PARTICULARS
120 BLAKE'S "WARRING ANGELS"
Frances Carey

123 MR. RUDALL THE FLAUTIST
Raymond G. Deck, Jr.

124 JEAN PAUL RICHTER & BLAKE'S NIGHT THOUGHTS
Detlef W. Doerrbecker

126 BLAKE'S ILLUSTRATION OF THE 3RD TEMPTATION IN PARADISE REGAINED
Robert F. Gleckner

128 CUMBERLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY ADDENDA
G. E. Bentley, Jr.

NEWSLETTER
129 Mark Schorer 1908-1977, Blake at Tate Gallery, "Warring Angels," Mrs. Blake & Faerie Queene,
Blake on Thames TV, Correction, The Song of Milos, Fitzwilliam Withdraws Blake, Works by and about
Blake, Golgonooza Bestiary, Prose Studies 1800-1900, CLQ Blake Issue, Lavater, Taurus Press America

THE COVER & INSIDE COVERS: xerox images by Michael Hays

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There is considerable evidence that Blake was influenced by Zoroastrian and Mithraic iconography in several illuminations for his and others' poetry. When one compares the figures of god and daeva with Blake's drawings and engravings, the sheer number of parallels argues convincingly for some form of influence. Were there no other data than this to prove that Blake may have incorporated elements of representations of the bull-slaying ritual, of Ariman or Ahriman, god of dark, and Ormazd, god of light, into his visual art, the evidence would seem persuasive. Fortunately, there is a good deal of external evidence to substantiate the case for direct sources. To begin with, we have Blake's own testimony in *A Descriptive Catalogue* of 1809. In his discussion of the spiritual form of Pitt guiding Behemoth, Blake asserts:

> These two pictures of Nelsun and Pitt are compositions of a mythological cast, similar to those Apotheoses of Persian, Hindoo and Egyptian antiquity which are still preserved on rude monuments, being copies from some stupendous originals now lost or perhaps buried till some happier age. The artist having been taken in vision to those wonderful republics... has seen those wonderful Originals... some of them were one hundred feet in height; some were painted as pictures, and some carved as basso relievos, and some as groupes of statues, all containing mythological and recondite meaning, where more is meant than meets the eye.

(Keynes, 565-66; Erdman, 521-22.)

Several things are suggested: first, that Blake actually saw representations of ancient Persian and other compositions, for he asserts that they are preserved on rude monuments and are but copies of the originals; second, that Blake's imagination was keenly touched by what he saw, as his visionary journey to view the originals attests; third, that he obviously considered his two paintings to resemble Persian design, the most likely element being the snake enfolding portions of creation. Blake's words and the often stunning similarity of his illuminations and "copies" of Ahriman and Ormazd require careful consideration of these analogues and possible direct sources of the Persian or so-called Zoroastrian.

The evidence is corroborated by the existence of a large and diverse body of literature on Zoroaster, which was often accompanied by drawings and engravings, and some of which we know Blake saw. That this material usually contained information on and designs of the cult of Mithras—the religion popular among Roman legions and thus spread even to Britain—is of no real importance, for writers frequently confused the two. Religious and secular commentators contributed volume after volume on the subject. Travelers' accounts of voyages to the East were popular and numerous after mid-seventeenth century and continued to interest philosophers and mythologists in the eighteenth century. These books only occasionally added any really fresh information to what was already known from ancient Greek and Roman sources and from medieval writers, but they sometimes contained line engravings of ruins, temples, rituals, and the like. (Although many travelers were themselves clergymen, they by no means unanimously approved of Persian religion and culture.) To some, the praise of Zoroastrian monothelism and spiritual enlightenment smacked of a heretical failure to appreciate the uniqueness of Christianity's divinely revealed truth. This priestly perception fueled many a dispute, eventually in-
volving even the philosophes, notably Diderot and Voltaire, who wished to discredit the idea that Christianity was the sole possessor of Truth, which could be discovered, they argued, by man in a natural and reasonable fashion, unaided by the "light of Revelation." Thus groups of partisans entertained hopes that the explorations of a young Frenchman in India would settle the battle in their favor; both were rather disappointed, for the scrupulously non-partisan researcher declined to enter the lists. Interest in Zoroastrianism was greatly stimulated, nonetheless, in 1771 upon the publication of his work, Zend Avesta, Ouvrages du Zoroaste.

Anquetil du Perron had spent eight years in India in Pahlavi or Parsee communities learning ancient and modern Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. During these years he also meticulously copied and collated numerous volumes of sacred works, and collected many texts and sorely needed dictionaries in these languages. His two-volume translation, with a lengthy account of his voyage and a seventy page "Vie de Zoroastre," was received with much excitement in Germany and France, where scholars agreed that it superseded all other works. Although English academics knew of du Perron's finds before they were published, for he had visited London and Oxford University before returning to France (Tome I, ccclvij-ccccxviiij), they were slower to accept the Continental judgment. Indeed, du Perron's splendid achievement had little if any effect on English mythologists before 1830; studies continued to pour out and most, like John Bell's Neo Pantheon, or Historical Dictionary of the Gods (1790), rehearsed the established errors and clichés. In addition to such "new" efforts, earlier popular works were readily available. Pierre Bayle's Dictionnaire historique et critique, for example, went through four editions in England between 1710 and 1826.

Two volumes contain crucial evidence about Blake's possible sources. The first is familiar to Blake critics. Jacob Bryant's A New System, an Analysis of Ancient Mythology (1774-1776) contains several fine line engravings of Ormazd, the god of light, and Mithraic devices. The plates were engraved in Basire's shop while Blake was an apprentice there, as is well known. Almost certainly, they are a direct source for one of Blake's most important illuminations. The second work may have been seen by Blake, though it is impossible to be certain. Prior to 1771 (and long after in England) the treatise on the Persian religion most widely known and influential was by the English scholar Thomas Hyde, whose Historiae Religionis Veterum Persarum [sic] was first published in 1700 and reissued in a second edition, which I have used, in 1760. On the continent it had been the subject of heated debate and controversy because of the English cleric's high esteem for the Zoroastrian religion. In England it remained a major source for "speculative mythologists," like Jacob Bryant, as his numerous references to it in A New System reveal.

Historiae Persarum contains several reproductions, including a four-panelled tauroctone (illus. 1), which is from the 1760 edition. The progress of the panels is from the lower left, where the stage is set for the sacrifice; to the upper left, where the key characters are positioned (Mithra, the bull, Cautes, Cautopates, dog, sun, moon, snake and scorpion); to the upper right, in which the arrows, whip and stylized thunderbolts indicate the world turbulence the sacrifice will rectify; to the lower right panel, where the bull's blood and semen are shed, and, though they try, neither scorpion nor snake will steal the precious life-renewing fluids. Located between the two right panels is a minute particular which, if Blake saw this book, he might not have overlooked. Illustration 2 is an enlargement of the center right scene. Between the Apollo-like figure guiding four horses (which resembles the upper left hand figure in Marriage, plate 11) and the chariot of seven fire altars drawn by two horses, there are two figures of special interest. The main, winged one is serpent entwined and holds a sceptre in his left hand. This small engraving of Ahriman, taken from a gem-stone carving, is accompanied by another, less frequently seen version of the god or daeva, one which depicts him without lion features and wings, as an entirely human form which is serpent encoiled.

In this illustration from the 1760 work much alluded to by Bryant we find two major elements which are paralleled in Blake drawings and engravings: first, those in the tauroctone in which Mithra sacrifices the sacred bull; second, the winged, serpent-bound god, Ahriman, ruler of the corporeal world and guardian of the means of ingress and egress. There is little difficulty tracing sources for the bull-slaying scene, which was frequently described and illustrated. Examples of the Mithraic ritual, identical in the main to its Zoroastrian counterpart, are housed in museums throughout Britain. Some were imported, like the magnificent marble statue of the sacrifice in the British Museum (#1720), taken to England from Rome in 1815 by one C. Standish, Esq. But in reality that was a case of coals-to-Newcastle, for the country was dotted by archaeological sites containing tauroctones and a number of these were reported in "Transactions of the Philosophical Society," starting as early as 1743. The representation of Ahriman, however, is rarer. These two figures in Hyde are the only possible direct links I have yet discovered between Blake and images of the Mithraic god who is the Zoroastrian devil, except for Fuseli's drawing of Tornado, which we know only through Blake's engraving (illus. 3). While it cannot be stated unequivocally that the figures in Historiae constitute a direct influence, it can justly be said that Blake at least could have known through Bryant of this widely influential work. I suggest that these minute particulars are very possible sources and that such close analogues may in fact indicate direct influence, especially in the light of Blake's own comments in A Descriptive Catalogue.

The figure of Ahriman in Hyde contains all the vital components commonly found in representations of the god except one, the lion's head. Curiously, Blake's engraving of "Tornado" after Fuseli, depict-
ing a lion-headed, winged demon, is both an analogue to the tradition and evidence of a direct source. We do not have the original drawing and cannot guess how Blake may have treated its contents. But his engraving for the third edition of Erasmus Darwin’s *The Botanic Garden* (1795) bears a great mechanical resemblance to more often seen versions of the god, the human face being a late development. Both forms were accessible in Europe during the eighteenth century. Though strikingly alike, the engraving does not precisely reproduce the symbolic features of the Mithraic god. For one thing, Tornado is encircled by a dragon with bat-like wings and a snaky body and tail; the wings are not his own. However, the leonine head is notable as are the flashes of lightning which recall the Mithraic tradition in which Ahriman’s two keys frame a thunderbolt, an emblem associated with Jupiter. Perhaps the interesting parallels in the plate raise questions less about Blake than about what Fuseli might have seen, or about what he actually drew, for that matter. For we do not know what details, if any, Blake added or altered. The most we can say is that the engraving is significant because it points to a now lost source which, in some respects was like the more widely available representations of the lion-headed, winged god holding his sceptre.

I have included examples of statues and bas-reliefs of the two main Mithraic traditions without intending to suggest, naturally, that they are to be used for anything other than comparisons. As striking as some of the correspondences are, there is no reason to believe they are more than coincidence. To facilitate the discussion, I offer a brief account of the major Ahrimanic visual traits and their symbolism.

In the statues, "basso-relievos," and gem-stone engravings, Ahriman is most frequently depicted as having the body of a man, the head of a lion, and one or two sets of wings (illus. 4, 5, and 6). His body is entwined by a serpent—usually in two to three or five to seven coils—whose head rests on the crown of the god’s head. In Mithraism, the serpent represents the world serpent believed to have been coiled around the body of the cosmos. The four wings attached at the shoulders and hips (broken in illus. 4 but clearly visible in 6) represent the
winds of the four seasons and are "symbols of Pneuma, the hot breath that rules the seasons of life." In his aspect as Deus aeternus, Ahriman holds two keys (illus. 4 and 5), or less frequently one (illus. 6), emblems of his cosmic powers in his role as demi-urge or creator of the natural world and lord of men's fortunes. He is not merely prince of this world, for the keys unlock one of the seven doors barring the soul's path to heaven. His rod or sceptre usually held in the left hand (illus. 4 and 6) is another emblem of his sovereignty over this world, as is the globe on which his feet rest. The zodiacal and planetary signs on the body of the god (illus. 5) or surrounding him (illus. 10) became increasingly popular and had important implications. Whether in his role as daeva or Deus aeternus, Ahriman is thus shown to have control over the cycle of the months as well as the movements of planets and other heavenly bodies.\(^4\)

Although there is a good deal of variety in the representations of the god, most of them contain the symbolic elements described, with two noteworthy exceptions. There is a not very common tradition in which Ahriman is depicted solely as a serpent en-circled human figure, with none of the features usually given him. Second, many of the standard traits appear in illus. 7, as well as another unusual, intriguing detail. To the lower left, attached to the lowest two coils of the serpent, is what appears to be a cocoon-like structure with the head and shoulders of a tiny human form breaking through its top. The cocoon is similar to the design in the center of the god's chest in illus. 4. Its progress down the snake's body toward its tail suggests the movement of the soul toward material or bodily existence. This appears to be a symbol of creation specifically as a fall into the mortal world.\(^5\)

There are numerous Blake illuminations which closely parallel these versions of Ahriman's form and meaning in Mithraism and Zoroastrianism. Perhaps the most well known are the variants of plate 6 of The Book of Urizen. In copy D in the Fitzwilliam, a single serpent entwined human figure is shown falling, head downwards, arms in a cruciform position. The more frequently published version of that detail contains two additional snake-coiled figures on either
Blake has clearly incorporated his own recondite mythological meaning. The cruciform male with his falling companions simultaneously foreshadows and parodies Christ's crucifixion, an inevitable though distant consequence of Urizen's error, which leads to fallenness or creation. But also the falling, serpent-bound bodies are symbolic forms being thrown headlong toward the abyss or, more mercifully, toward the fixed forms that will limit their fallen condition, which may then be temporary. Although the cruciform position of the figure is unique, I think, to Urizen, the motive is certainly utilized increasingly in Blake's visual art after 1795, paralleling perhaps his growing view of the peril and horror of corporeality, despite its merciful quality or even its beauty. Examples abound, from the detail in plate 13 of the early prophetic book, America, to major individual creations such as "The Spiritual Form of Nelson Guiding Leviathan, "Laocoön," or "A Vision of the Last Judgment."

Blake's "Elohim Creating Adam" (1795) is a richly imaginative analogue to the icons of Ahriman, despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that the critical elements--wings, lion's head, man's naked body, and serpent--are dispersed, so to speak, divided between the two figures (illus. 8). God or the Elohim is given the wings (which closely resemble those of Ahriman in illus. 4) and a lion-like face with flowing, mane-like hair. Adam's body, serpent encoiled, is being created, given fixed form. The
snake encircles the lower half of his body, as God's hands reach out to touch or gesture over Adam's head; and Adam's feet (less completely articulated or metamorphosed than his head and torso?) seem to blend or bend into the last two coils of the snake's body. Blake may have intended to suggest in vision that Adam was created out of the serpent's body—the serpent symbolizing the senses, corporeality, and nature. The wings no less than the serpent suggest to me the ambiguity of this scene, for wings recall the immortal psyche, but also angels who are often representatives of mistaken or fallen vision (and at least one important devil, as we shall see). The four parallel forms, the wings, God's and Adam's and the snake's bodies, emphasize the paradox, as do the mirrorings in the plate. The curling of the serpent's tail above Adam's lower legs mirrors the swirling robe of God, and the facial expressions, particularly the somberness and the open mouths, are deliberate visual echoes designed to shadow forth the truth that Creator and created are inescapably bound together in this paradoxical moment: the momentous beginning is an end to eternal life; creation is fall. The senses are vital in corporeal existence but simultaneously signal the closing off of the soul from immortality. The vision records the moment and the shape of the process that are both profoundly sad and merciful. Blake's illumination calls to mind the statue (illus. 6) in which

Ahriman was an ambiguous figure partly because of his innately paradoxical attributes and partly because of the early confusion of two discrete traditions. In Mithraism he was a *deus* whose awesome powers necessitated supplicating him for release from earthly existence and safe passage to heaven; in Zoroastrianism he was a *daeva* (diabolical spirit) with a ferocity, cruelty, and fondness for wantonly destroying men's fortunes and spiritual hopes. This latter tradition predominated in Western culture, where he was identified with Baal, Pluto, the anti-Christ and Satan. Blake's watercolor, "Satan Watching the Caresses of Adam and Eve" (1808) for *Paradise Lost* (illus. 9), is part of that tradition, to the extent that we can allow that he was influenced by representations of Ahriman. It is also an analogue to a late Roman visual development. The transformation in the bas-relief (illus. 10) represents a late trend in which Ahriman has fully human features, though the symbolic lion is retained, appearing on his chest. As in the other icons, he is serpent entwined and bears the sceptre of sovereignty. Signs of the zodiac adorn the ovular frame of the relief, and that structure is echoed by the egg—note its flaming halves at his feet and above his head—from which the god is born.
Blake's Satan, winged and serpent bound like the god, also has fully human features. In the foliage just left of and slightly above Eve's right wrist, however, one may see a shape created by the configuration of the leaves, flame-like leaves, which suggests perhaps the head of a lion. It is coincidence undoubtedly that there is so great a similarity between the drawing and bas-relief so removed from each other in time and place. Yet the resemblance is even more striking in "Satan's and Raphael's Entries into Paradise" (1807) for *Paradise Lost* (ills. 11). One can only marvel at what appears to be one of those fortuitous similarities whose exactness is suggestive of the powerful, universal appeal of certain visual symbols.

Examples abound of Blake's incorporation of two Ahrimanic details, perhaps from Hyde and certainly from Fuseli, into his own visual symbolism, bat-like wings and serpent-encoiled forms. Any one even a little familiar with his illuminations and paintings can call to mind an impressive number of serpent-bound bodies, emblematic of Blake's vision of the paradox of corporeal existence. Though essential to life and often the portals of joy, the senses, especially touch, are perilous and can easily become a bog in which mortals flounder and are lost. They are simultaneously the tangible, outward bound of the process by which the spirit is benighted and the mode in this life of experiencing potentially redemptive bliss. Touch (particularly sexuality), the most threatening of all, is appropriately symbolized by the serpent, and, though the condition of being either female or male bespeaks to Blake the spirit's descent and diminution, sexual delight is a reflection, if only a pale one, of the imagination's delight which is Eternity. As such it lies at the heart of the dilemma of mortality—the unavoidable need to surrender to that which in Eternity is horrific because in corporeality it is a staff of life to the soul.

In few instances indeed does Blake's pictorial imagery more succinctly delineate this quandary than in "Comus with the Lady Spellbound" for *Comus* (illus. 12). The patterns on the chair to which the enchanted Lady is riveted are unique adaptations of the serpent-bound Ahriman, with and without wings. The two wingless figures decorating the legs of the chair and the winged one on its back are women, not girls, as their full breasts indicate. Unlike the Lady, whose hands fold protectively across her breasts, the winged, serpent-coiled female's arms are raised, perhaps suggesting her openness to experience, as in plate 99 of *Jerusalem*. The sinuous coils of the serpents are rigidly circumscribed by the moldings of the chair, a potently compressed metaphor of the Lady's condition as she confronts the problem of successfully negotiating her way from childhood to a womanhood which includes wholesome sexuality. The nightmare enchantment, the phallic threatening Comus, and the serpent-donned female who are further imprisoned in the frame represent the Lady's own spiritual state as she approaches and resists adult sexuality. The tension between living, flowing line and the inanimate, geometric one underscores the virgin's perplexity: budding desire hemmed in, repressed, and thus distorted by her mingled fear and shame. The bestialized serpent coils belong within the rigid, wooden frame, for together they symbolize obverse sides of a fundamental process, the impulse-repression mechanism of her mind. Once the Lady can forgive and accept her own sensuality, she will transcend the entrapping process and no longer see sex as bestial. The wings and uplifted arms of one of the females suggest that she shall succeed.

We have examined at some length the ambiguities of the serpent, but wings too have their paradoxical emblematic value. They may be those of the eagle who is strong enough to fly near the sun, emblem of the life of the imagination which is Eternity; or those of the bat, symbol of the long night of the soul and dormancy of the imagination. But both are after all wings, where withal for passage from one point or state to another, image of the capability during the season of mortal existence of transforming consciousness into either the divinely human state of Man that approaches eternal bliss or the sub-human, visionless state of misery that Blake called Satan. So consistently did Blake use the bat-like dragon wings of his Tornado engraving that they constitute a visual code for destructive fallenness or demonic vision. With a few exceptions (like the early, ironic use of the emblem in some copies of *Marriage*, plate 10, where a devil-liberator at-
tempts to instruct the human from the bible of Hell) the bat wings signify vision so narrow as to consti­
tute evil, the hindrance of life. In plate 11 of
Europe; plate 19 of For the Sexes: The Gates of
Paradise, added after 1815, when For the Children was
enlarged and renamed, according to Erdman (Poetry
and Prose, p. 734); in several illustrations for
the Divine Comedy; Job engravings and paintings, and
"Sullen Moloch" for On the Morning of Christ's
Nativity, we have instances of the adaptation from
Fuseli of Ahriman's demon wings to Blake's own sym­

colic cosmos.

I wish to call attention briefly to three last
motives from Zoroastrian and Mithraic statuary and
bas-reliefs which may have influenced Blake's illum­
inations of Jerusalem. The first we have already
examined in the reproduction from Hyde's Historiae
(illus. 1), but as I pointed out, tauroctones were
frequently unearthed in, and even brought to, England
during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The
bull slaying, sacred to Zoroaster and Mithras, is
analogous to plates 25, 69, and 85 of Jerusalem. Of
course, Blake's symbolism stresses the cruelty
and dubious value of the living sacrifice. The
second feature, noticed originally by Anthony Blunt,
is the near mirroring in what he calls Blake's "human­
headed bulls" in plate 41 of Jerusalem of an engrav­
ing from Ouseley's Travels. I think Erdman's idea
that they are "ox-hooved, lion-maned, man-headed
unicorns" is convincing. Although I have not found
any source to which Blake may have had access, I
have recently come across examples from Susa of the
winged bull figure, single-horned like the fabulous
unicorn. In some cases such figures have even been
called sphinxes, perhaps in acknowledgement of their
likeness to the human-headed offspring of Chimaera,
herself part serpent and lion. In any event, the
similarity between Blake's beasts in harness and
the Persepolis reliefs is so great that it hardly
seems accidental, especially since the figure in
Ouseley is also reproduced in A New System, source
for the final device in Jerusalem that I wish to
discuss.

The Zoroastrian god of light, Ormazd, was fre­
quently represented on temples and state buildings
in "basso relievos," and copies of them were avail­
able in travel accounts and books on mythology.
Illustration 13 is taken from an 1807 edition of the
second volume of A New System. Because of Blake's
relationship to Bryant, it is one quite important
example of the readily accessible reproductions of
Ormazd. In addition to the staple elements, such
as the sun and fire altar, we see here the priest
and Ormazd looking amazingly like in features and
13 Ormazd and the priest, engraving for *A New System*.

14 Enlarged engravings of Ormazd, *A New System*.

15 The Palace Doorway of Darius the Great, Persepolis. Alinari MW207.
man's serpent coiling, awesome symbol of the power and terror of corporeality and touch, and the falling soul's taking on a body or Adam and the Lady emerging; the mistaken attempts at a natural renovation of the world through the bull slaying, the Druids' human sacrifices, and the sacrifice of Albion in Jerusalem, plate 25; Ahura Mazda's fiery serpentine girdle, Abury's Druid temple, and Jerusalem's serpent temple—these must have been to Blake a wondrous concordance, proof of the sublime unity and universality of genuine myth or vision, the golden string threaded mercifully through the labyrinth.

1 Mandelslo, du Mans. Le Bruyn, Wheeler, Hanaway and Kämpfer, for example, are among those traveler-journalists cited, with some engravings reproduced, in Jacob Bryant, A New System (1774-76). See also J. Bidez and F. Cumont, Les Mages Hiéromades (Paris, 1938); F. Cumont, Funérailles et monuments funéraires dans les mystères de Mithra (Paris, 1906); J. Duchesne-Guillemin, The Western Response to Sorcerer (Oxford, 1958); and A. V. W. Jackson, Sorcerer, the Prophet of Ancient Iran (New York, 1898, 1928).

2 Duchesne-Guillemin, pp. 2-10, 12-15.

3 Leroy A. Campbell, Mythical Iconography and Ideology (London, 1968). Prof. and Mrs. I. J. King verified data on the holdings in the British Museum.


5 Campbell, p. 350. Note that the cocoon-like ensacing of the human form is analogous to the Frontispiece, "What is Man? For the Snake and to the ambiguously infantile worm, Plate III, The Book of Thel.

6 Where it is feasible, I refer readers to published plates, as in this case; see the Micromethods filmstrips for the Fitzwilliam variant. See also David V. Erdman, The Illustrated Blake (Garden City, N. Y., 1974), p. 180.

7 Blake's "With Dreams upon my bed thou scarest me," Plate XI of Job, is indeed a horrific and intensely ironic analogue to his "Elohim Creating Adam." See S. Foster Damon, Blake's Job (New York, 1969).


11 The Illustrated Blake, pp. 304, 348, 364. Blake Newsletter, 22, Vol. 6, no. 2 (Fall, 1972) note by Deirdre Teomy on the states of Plate 25.


13 The Illustrated Blake, p. 320.

“Blake is right, 'One thought fills immensity,’” wrote composer Arthur Farwell in the 1940s about the power of Blake's imagery and intuitive quest for “unlimited mental expansion.” Farwell is another composer who contributed to the music on Blake's verse, but he did not stop there. He was influenced not only by the lyrical and beautiful (the strong symbolic and philosophical inventiveness of Blake's expression) but was also intensely interested in Blake's creative processes and in what Blake told about them. Like Blake, Farwell recorded an inner consciousness of his own that was possessed with vivid intuitive images, not only of musical ideas but also of both spontaneous and consciously-induced flashes of pictorial or visionary insight, which he was able to illustrate in a somewhat Blakean fashion decades later.

The intuitive process, in Blake, in others and in his own experience, became an object of lifelong study by the composer, my father (trained in electrical engineering, B.S.E.E., M.I.T., 1893) before he embarked on his musical career. In his investigations he sought to objectify the role of intuitive phenomena in his own life and to understand the psychological principles in the general operation of intuition. He developed his work into a practical discipline whereby one might achieve purposeful, directed expansion of consciousness for artistic creation.

In his record of the results of these studies, entitled in manuscript Intuition in the World-Making, Farwell explores the insights of numerous creative giants in the history of art, science and thought. Of Blake he concludes, "In the history and on the stage of intuition in art, Blake is surely the protagonist"; the thrust of this interpretation of Blake is presented in excerpts following this article.

We may presume Arthur Farwell's musical treatment of Blake's verse to be among many unpublished or unsung Blake settings which no doubt exist. It is not surprising that they did not appear in the article on and checklist of musical settings of Blake's poetry by Peter Roberts (Newsletter 28, Spring 1974). There is no more reason for Peter Roberts, or anyone, to know Farwell's Blake music today than for anyone beyond a small circle to have known of Blake the artist before Gilchrist's Pictorial- Ignatius in 1863. Upon Roberts' invitation for assistance from readers, we introduce below five Blake poems Arthur Farwell set into song.

Farwell, 1872-1952, was a composer better known for his music on American Indian themes than for his Blake settings, and for his efforts on behalf of his colleagues in the early part of this century (see the recent re-issue in 5 volumes of his music and writings from the Wa-Wan Press, edited by Vera B. Lawrence and published by Arno Press in 1970). In order of their composition, his Blake works are settings of Love's Secret, The Wild Flower's Song, The Lamb, a version of A Cradle Song and The Tyger, the first of which was published by the Wa-Wan Press in 1903. The next Blake poem was not set until after World War I.

The Lamb, The Tyger, and A Cradle Song were done in the early 1930s, when Farwell was beginning to draft his notes for the text on intuition. The Tyger exists only in manuscript, but the other two were published in a curiously Blakean fashion by the composer himself, who learned offset lithography for the purpose, drew the music and title designs on tracing paper, hand coated and exposed the zinc.

* Acknowledgement is due my sister Beatrice Farwell for originally suggesting the form of this communication and for a critical editorial review of later drafts.
plates and operated the press himself. (A photo of him engaged in this activity, shown here, is reproduced in Percy Scholes' "Oxford Companion to Music.") Editions and distribution of the settings were naturally quite limited. Proper bibliographic references are as follows:


Op. 98 (128): The Tyger, for medium voice and piano, 1934, ms. only.

From the earliest setting the music is sensitive to the color, form, mood and meaning of Blake's poetry: The Lamb is simple and lyrical, The Tyger is quite stormy, and A Cradle Song has characteristics of both. The harmonic characteristics of all three are romantic and somewhat "modern" but not avant-garde for the 1930s. These and the early Love's Secret were heard on 3 March 1976 in a musical program at the conference on "Blake in the Art of His Time," sponsored by the Departments of Art and English at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Local reviewer Richard Ames considered the Farwell songs the "most subtle settings of the evening." Another piece, without text, composed at about the same time, also printed at Farwell's hand press at East Lansing, was inspired by Blake's visionary mythology: Op. 91 (116), Vale of Enitharmon, piano, 1930, published 1935.

Like Blake, Farwell was practically as well as philosophically anti-establishment, which is seen as one motif in his hand-crafted do-it-yourself publishing venture. His choice and treatment of these selections was styled more to seek a working response from devoted amateurs than to serve a virtuoso elite. And, like the poet, he also sought symbolic meanings. He introduced these publications with examples from Songs of Innocence and Experience. In his own way, Farwell may have borrowed an aspect of Blake's symbolic concepts to subtly represent his own sense of an eternal and revolutionary rejuvenation (akin to what he had found deeply in Boehme) in Blake's mythology and prophecy. Something vital, human and universal governed the function of music for Farwell and colored his musical expression of his inner vision.

He had been driven in this quest since his early student days when he began to experience visionary phenomena, later recorded in drawings (the Blakean influence of which is suggested in the accompanying illustrations). He had also been a very public man in the first half of his musical career and quite a fighter for the independence of American music. As a music student he immersed himself in the romantic, bohemian ideas of his day, having spent two years in Europe under Humperdinck, Pfitzner and Guillemont. In the Wa-Wan venture he travelled the country, lecturing with the aid of a piano, and energetically organizing music clubs. Coming to New York in 1909, he joined the editorial staff of Musical America and became Supervisor of Municipal Concerts. He wrote numerous civic pageants and masques, including "Caliban" for the Shakespeare Tercentenary, with Percy MacKaye. During World War I he was a leader in the community singing movement.

When he went west in 1918 with the beginnings of a family, he left behind much of his public life. He turned to formal teaching, at Berkeley and at Pasadena, and later at East Lansing, where he taught composition at Michigan State until his retirement in 1939. Although he continued with further interpretations of Indian themes into the 1940s, by the California years he had turned substantially toward his own musical ideas, trying to create an identifiable American music. He remained deliberately and constitutionally opposed to the zeitgeist of his day. Some of his work received public performance, such as the orchestral Symbolistic Study No. 6 Op. 18 (68), on Walt Whitman's "Once I passed through a populous city" and the Gods of the Mountain suite, Op. 52 (68). His Symbolistic Study No. 6, Mountain Vision, Op. 37 (52), earned a national broadcast in a 1939 competition, the year he retired to New York City. During the 1940s his most advanced American Indian works were heard in the concert repertoire of pianist John Kirkpatrick and the a cappella choral tours of the Westminster Choir School.

Musicians today, beginning to examine the compositions of Farwell's later years, are finding of interest works which are said to show inventive musical experimentation and growth. Though these works are still only in manuscript (except for the few works of his hand-press venture) several posthumous premieres in the last three years have introduced his Piano Sonata, Op. 113 (161), Sonata for Cello and Piano, Op. 116 (163), Quintet in E minor Blake songs in hand-made editions announced by the composer. In explaining the venture, Farwell said (on verso), "The present is, generally, a time of mass-thought and mass-action. However desirable or necessary this may be in certain fields, it is nevertheless directly against the spirit of art, which must remain a matter peculiarly individual."

Cover design, in red and black, for two Blake songs, the first issue of Arthur Farwell's hand press. The cover for his Blake-inspired piano work Vale of Enitharmon (see ff. pp.) was illustrated with an angelic figure, vignetted in radiant color, reproduced from an original drawing by Irish poet George Russell (A.E.), given to Farwell at an earlier time.
The Editions

Having first examined the possible methods of music reproduction, I finally adopted the process of standard modern lithography, the offset process, with zinc plates.

The music has first been drawn by myself on tracing paper, by a combination of freehand and mechanical drawing processes, to resemble as accurately as possible a regular "engraved" music page.

A Kodalith paper negative is made from this drawing, by direct contact in a printing frame, and the sensitized zinc plate is then printed by auto-light, in direct contact with the negative.

The finished music is finally printed from the plate on a small offset hand lithographic press of the sort commonly used as a "proof press" in large plants. The covers are designed by the composer, and are printed in various colors.

Compositions Published, to April 1936

Works for Voice, Piano, Violin and Viola

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pieces</th>
<th>Postage</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Lamb</td>
<td>8.40</td>
<td>8.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>A Cradle Song</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.03</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Land of Luthars</td>
<td>1.25</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Vale of Enitharmon</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Melody in E Minor</td>
<td>.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Melody in E Minor</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>In the Tenses</td>
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Arthur Farwell  East Lansing  Michigan

Thirty years ago I inaugurated my earlier enterprise for the publication of American music, The Wa'wam Press, at Newton Centre, Massachusetts — a movement which aided in placing the recognition of the American composer on a new basis.

Today, as an avocation, and an adventure, I am beginning a new enterprise — the printing and publishing of my own works, so far as possible, on my own Lithographic Press, by somewhat original methods.

My first object in this procedure is to be free to give out my works when and as I wish, without the restrictions which must necessarily condition the activities of publishers. Beyond this, I am interested in experimentation with the technical processes by which a composer can arrive at the independence. The music is first drawn by myself, by hand, which will occasion some irregularities, but not sufficient, when to interfere with legibility. It is then subjected to Lithographic processes, without the aid of camera or engraved plates. Also, when printed by proof, the plates are used only as a preliminary, for each copying music.

These two settings of poems by William Blake, are the first compositions to be printed on my own press. Many other works are in preparation.

Correspondence is invited from any who may be interested in the process or in my music.

Arthur Farwell
East Lansing  Michigan
Page 91 (opposite): sketch in pencil and crayon of "Spirit refusing to reincarnate in such a body," given to Arthur Farwell about 1903. According to a note in Farwell's hand on the back of the drawing, it was given to him by Charles Johnston, who told him it was by the poet A.E. But when A.E. paid a visit to Farwell in 1933, "He couldn't remember, said it could be either by him or Jack Yeats."

Page 92: cover for Vale of Enitharmon, using the sketch.

Page 93: first page of Vale of Enitharmon, 1935. On the back of this page is the following explanation:

"Vale of Enitharmon" is the fourth of my works to be lithographed by me on my own press at East Lansing, Michigan. The music pages and title lettering have been hand-drawn by myself. The figure on the title is from a sketch by A.E. (George Russell) in my possession.

Enitharmon, in the unique mythology of William Blake, has been interpreted, in one phase, as Spiritual Beauty.

Arthur Farwell

Pages 94-95: The Lamb, first publication of Arthur Farwell's hand press. For uniformity he hand-whittled a cherrywood stamp for the note heads, which he applied on tracing paper using an india-ink stamp pad. Note stems were made with a draftsman's ruling pen.

Pages 96-97: Farwell's music hand, as shown on a manuscript page of The Tyger, compared with his hand-copied opening page of the published version of A Cradle Song.
VALE OF ENITHARMON
for Piano

Composed
Printed
and
Published
by
ARTHUR FARWELL
East Lansing - Michigan

For further information about Farwell's music or writings, a Guide to the Music of Arthur Farwell and to the Microfilm Collection of His Work, 1972, is available at music libraries or from the publisher, Brice Farwell, 5 Deer Trail, Briarcliff Manor, New York 10510. In the present essay, numbers in parentheses following opus numbers refer to their arrangement in the Guide.

In 1975 the entire lifework archive was micropublished. Several major music libraries have acquired the collection; for information, address Brice Farwell as above.
Vale of Enitharmon

Arthur Farwell, Op. 91

Copyright, 1935 by Arthur Farwell.
International Copyright Secured.
To Victor Prahl

The Lamb

Poem by William Blake

Music by Arthur Farwell, Op. 88, No. 1

Little Lamb, who made thee? Dost thou know who made thee?

Lit-tle Lamb, I'll tell thee, Lit-tle Lamb, I'll tell thee.

Gave thee life and hid thee feed.

He is called by thy name, For He called Him - self a Lamb.

Copyright, 1931, as unp. m.s., by Arthur Farwell.
Published 1935.
Gave thee clothing of delight. Softest clothing, woolly, bright;
He is meek and He is mild; He became a little child.

Gave thee such a tender voice, Making all the hills rejoice?
I a child and thou a lamb, We are called by His name.

Little Lamb, who made thee? Dost thou know who made thee?
Little Lamb, God bless thee! Little Lamb, God bless thee!
A Cradle Song

Poem by William Blake

Quietly, rocking.

Music by Arthur Farwell, Op. 88, No. 2

Voice

Sleep! sleep! beauty bright;

Piano

Dreaming o'er the joys of night; Sleep! sleep! in thy sleep

Little sorrows sit and weep. Sweet Babe, in thy face

Copyright, 1931, as unp. ms., by Arthur Farwell.

Published 1936
The Tyger

William Blake

Arthur Farrell

op. 98.

Fast, impecuniously.

Tyger! Tyger! burning bright

In the forests of the night, what immortal

hand or eye could frame thy fearful

symmetry?
Arthur Farwell on Blake

Excerpted from his book manuscript Intuition in the World-Making, drafted over the years from about 1933 through 1948 and illustrated by the author with his sketches of symbolic images from his inner experiences, Arthur Farwell dwells on the meaning of Blake's inner experiences for Blake's art.

Each chapter, broadly titled as shown in these pages, is given an analytical list of contents. For Chapter Six, containing Farwell's principal examination of Blake and entitled Artistic Inspiration as Intuition, these topics are:

 Relation of the artistic to the spiritual.

Farwell's development of Blake's "singular position" is excerpted below, slightly condensed, following these brief opening words in his Introduction, given here to set the author's tone and perspective.

This book, on its first level, is a direct and unqualified account of the experience of myself and others with intuition, and, on my own part, with its conscious control and use. As such, it is a recital of adventure and observation in a region of perception beyond that of reason, though not without a recognition of the organic relation of that region to the total human consciousness, in which reason plays its proper part.

On its second level it presents a formulation of certain principles and laws of intuition and its use, and a record of thoughts, conclusions and outlooks born of this adventure and observation. On its third level it pictures the result upon human life, the larger meanings for the individual and the race, of the full development and use of the intuitive faculty.

The present work in no way seeks to alter or oppose the current general idea of what
intuition is. But this idea is so . . . narrow and limited . . . that it has become outworn as an aid to the further development of this faculty, with its limitless latent powers of illumination . . . and of creative inspiration. . . . This popular attitude is further devoid of any sense of the spiritual and cosmic implications of the intuitive faculty, and of its immense significance for the future, in human evolution. . . .

Intuition, then, will embrace the commonly understood idea of intuition (inclusive of what is popularly known as the "hunch"), the artistic, scientific, philosophical or spiritual inspiration, in fact all creative revelation in any sphere, the symbolic dream, the vision, and other related subconscious phenomena of a revelatory nature, and all of these reason-transcending illuminations as experienced both in their spontaneous, unexpected manner, and also as the result of the conscious and purposeful inducing of them. The name of none of these so different appearing phenomena, other than "intuition" itself, may suitably be used to include them all.

The present work aims to make progress in laying the foundations of a Science of Intuition.

Leaping from here into the framework of his Chapter Six, as given above, we read of Blake in Arthur Farwell's thought thus:

William Blake's is the name most usually brought forward in connection with the idea of artistic inspiration as intuition, but without the bearing which I shall indicate. His pictorial work, along the line of cleavage which I am considering, divides itself into two classes: one being the work in which he exercised his creative capacities in the usual manner of artist, whether or not intuition played a part; the other being that in which he set forth his symbolic dreams and vision in their entirety, exactly as they came to him, with nothing added from his conscious mind. . . .

In the extensive portion of Blake's art which is a direct and exclusive presentation of that which the subconscious mind puts forth, he was more completely a medium of intuitive revelations than were the other artists mentioned.
Pure intuition is pure truth, clearly revealing itself and readily grasped as such, when not sullied or distorted by ... the darkness and error to which the objective mind is all too susceptible. Its immediate expression in artistic terms, with no such interferences ... introduced, will reflect that truth in equal purity. The result of this cosmically involved act of the direct revelation of truth [is] a picture of most decisive outline, authoritative, absolutely irrefutable, and commanding acceptance. And it is precisely these qualities that mark the character of Blake's genuine vision pictures. Blake, quite naturally, is not always at this height.

It is this giving straight out of his intuitive visions as they came to him, instead of merely availing himself of the aid of occasional intuitions in the execution of a consciously conceived picture, that accounts for the unique and problematical place which Blake has so long held, and still holds [1948], in the world of art. The many works in which he has followed this course do not appear to reveal a man's conscious devising faculties at play, but rather a superhuman power, as from without, working through the artist's hand. Of these Blake writes, "And though I call them mine, I know they are not mine."

Two of the six somewhat Blake-inspired drawings by the composer illustrating his narration, recorded and drawn in the 1930s from his memory of an experience in the night of 28 December 1905, which he interpreted at length in the final chapter of his book ms. on intuition; "The Vision of The Great City," in its most general sense, is a picture of regeneration and reconstruction in its widest human bearings. It is revealed in a five-fold cycle—the end of a certain phase of consciousness with its attendant human order, cataclysm and change, ascent to a higher level, passage through darkness leading to mystical experience, and establishment of a new human order on a higher ground. With the momentary exclusion [1948 writing] of the more obscure fourth phase, it will, I believe, be generally admitted that these are, or contain, issues of first importance to the world today. They are certainly vastly more to the fore now than they were at the time the vision occurred." Farwell's use and illustrations of this experience are a personal example of the sort of occurrence he ascribes to Blake in regard to Blake's more visionary art.

*Humanity at a Standstill*—Opening scene in Farwell's 1905 "Vision of the Great City." "... stood an immense multitude of people, waiting, with dread ... An age had ended, civilisation collapsed—everything had stopped. Mankind, with its dream—at last—thwarted—beaten. Something must happen, and happen quickly, or the race itself would be at an end."
This is to me the real abstract art, as conveying human and cosmic meanings which seldom appear in the art of the day bearing that designation. While we shall probably never do without pictorial art produced in the usual manner,... yet "without a vision the people perish" is a truth for tomorrow as well as for yesterday. A function hitherto observed chiefly in spiritual seers may very possibly appear and find increasing activity in the sphere of pictorial art. So much did his visions mean to Blake, that when they failed to appear he went to his knees and prayed for them, a quite sufficient testimony to the spiritual character of the man... In the exercise of imagination without the intuitive possibility, I would merely be fishing around for images in a mind of which I ought to be thoroughly tired. But in the request for intuitive revelations I would be offering myself as a candidate for unlimited mental expansion. Blake was evidently continually tired of what he knew his conscious mind to contain, and so was frequently praying for more visions. The continuous revelation of continually new images of truth is undoubtedly what he justifiably thought of and so greatly exalted as "imagination," and not the former limited and wearying procedure. Hence the amazing divergence and variety of his designs... Blake is right, "One thought fills immensity."...

... Certain... famous painters... have had virtually only one pictorial idea or image in their heads... They appear to have spent the best part of their lives seeking to paint this image continually better... We doubtless have some of our most perfect specimens of art from such... Blake's mind, on the other hand, was in this respect a tabula rasa, ready for the impress of any sort of image whatsoever, of any aspect of the universal diversity... The major attitude and trend, indeed the prayerful urge, of his mind was... toward universal imagination--necessarily something beyond his conscious conceiptive power. Images from such a super-personal sphere can be communicated to the individual in no other way than through intuition. What comes through intuition lives. Thus Blake's art has remained vital, in essential respects "modern," and even prophetic, for a century and a half. In the history, and on the stage, of intuition in art, Blake is surely the protagonist.

Cataclysm--The second vista in Farwell's "Vision of The Great City." In the picture the figures in the foreground he said were himself and "one who was my mother," "It was a period of upheaval and dire events. Occupations had been swept away, and the people thronged the hills... Suddenly there came a great earthquake... I and those around me were hurled helplessly about." After a quiet, "Again a mighty earthquake shook and split the earth... until in the midst of the convulsions the hills gave way and sank, and mountains rose up from the low places.
This issue of the annual checklist of Blake scholarship differs from previous ones in two significant ways. First, through the assistance of Detlef W. Dörrebecker, who has sifted through European publications, the checklist covers current continental scholarship on Blake and his contemporaries for the first time. Second, we have included a number of Blake references, mostly European, that have not hitherto been recorded either in the annual checklists or in such other bibliographies as those by Keynes, Bentley and Nurmi, or Schiff. These retrospective items, also contributed by Dörrebecker, are marked with an asterisk.

We are grateful to many people for helping with the checklist this year: Ms. Susan A. Hoyt, of Columbus, Ohio, who helped with art history items; Mrs. Aasta Fischer (Prestel-Verlag), Dr. Niehaus (Verlag Freies Geistesleben), and other German and Swiss publishers who were most helpful and cooperative in compiling materials for the reviews section; and the authors and editors who thoughtfully sent along notes and offprints to call to our attention items that might otherwise have gone unrecorded.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS, EXHIBITION CATALOGUES


Gleeson, Larry, ed. Followers of Blake. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1976. [Catalogue of an exhibition of the Shoreham Group mounted by the Santa Barbara Museum of Art in conjunction with the conference, "Blake in the Art of His Time."]


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Minnick, Thomas L. "A Checklist of Recent Blake Scholarship." Blake Newsletter, 10 (Fall 1976), 59-62.


EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS, FACSIMILES, REPRODUCTIONS


Wright, John W. "Blake's Relief-Etching Method." Blake Newsletter, 9 (1976), 94-114.

REVIEWS


Blake exhibition, Hamburg and Frankfurt (1975), and David Bindman, et al., William Blake 1757-1827 (exhibition catalogue). Reviewed in Die Presse [Vienna], 9/10 August 1975; Gazette des Beaux Arts, September 1975; by Hans Theodor Flemming, Weltkunst, 45 (1975), 426-427; by Rolf Herzog, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1/2 August 1975; by Peter Sager, Buch und Bibliothek, 3 (1976), 150.


Erdman, David V., with the assistance of Donald K. Moore, eds. The Notebook of William Blake. Reviewed by Gerald E. Bentley, Jr., JEGP, 75 (1976), 437-444; R.B. Kennedy, Notes and Queries, n.s. 22 (1975), 79-82.


Reviewed by Ruth Fine

As part of a University Blake Festival commemorating the 150th anniversary of the artist's death, the exhibition William Blake: The Painter as Poet was held at the Swirbul Library Gallery, Adelphi University, Garden City, NY, from 19 March to 29 May. Donald A. Wolf, Chairman of Adelphi's Department of English, Erica Doctorow, Head of the Fine Arts Library, and Tom Dargan, consultant from State University of New York, Stony Brook, organized the exhibition and wrote the accompanying illustrated catalogue. The catalogue is essentially a word-for-word record of the exhibition labels and other posted explanatory material, and I shall refer below either to labels or to catalogue entries depending upon the context. Either of the two designations may be assumed to describe both. The exhibition consisted of 41 objects—15 original Blake works borrowed from various collections as listed below, supplemented by facsimile items mainly drawn from the Swirbul Library's Leipniker Blake Collection with loans from the Hofstra University Library and Lessing J. Rosenwald.

The exhibition was housed in an entrance gallery space with standing cases along one wall and table cases along a second. It was directed to the broad university audience, possibly serving as an introductory Blake experience for many. The cases were
tightly filled but the installation was handsome; the works were placed upon felt and velvet of a brown-orange color similar to that used by Blake in surface printing, for example Songs of Innocence and of Experience, Copy V or Visions of the Daughters of Albion, Copy F. Magnifying lenses permitted a clearer view of particular objects and the volumes rested on plexiglas cradles. Unfortunately, labels occasionally were placed so that a novice viewer might easily have been confused about which labels referred to which objects.

According to the catalogue introduction, the exhibition (which was inclusive enough to indicate the rich texture of Blake’s œuvre and the complexity of his mythology) “focuses on the ways in which art and poetry contribute to the totality of his vision; and in doing so it explores a central theme, the contraries of innocence and experience in his work.” The introduction then provides Northrop Frye’s explanation of Blake’s contrary states of innocence and experience. Lacking in both the catalogue introduction and the accumulated catalogue entries was a broad statement explaining the relationships between the particular exhibited works in the context of Blake’s contraries of innocence and experience. Also, given that the exhibition was directed to a non-specialist audience, it would have been helpful if some explanation of Blake’s total system (of which this pair of contraries was a part) had been offered in the descriptive material. For the books, a paragraph summarizing the essential bibliographical information and more importantly the content or themes of volumes, followed by brief explanatory labels for each plate, would have helped make the exhibition easier to grasp than the repetitive (especially with the bibliographical material), somewhat fragmented labels that were provided. As this review is to be of both the exhibition and the catalogue (unpublished labels are not the same as a published catalogue, even if the material is identical), I feel obligated to make one initial distinction—the selection of objects (the exhibition) was much richer than the explanatory material (the catalogue), which was more spirited than informative.

Along with one copy of Songs of Innocence (Trianon facsimile) and one of Songs of Experience (Muir facsimile) were two copies of Songs of Innocence and of Experience (both Trianon); The Book of Thel presented in two copies (Trianon and Brown University Press facsimiles); The Marriage of Heaven and Hell in three copies (two Trianon and one Hotten facsimile). America, A Prophecy was presented both in facsimile and
the original; the facsimiles were two copies of the Trianon edition, and the electrotype made from the copperplate fragment of cancelled plate 14 (in copy A not A* as in cat. 19) in the National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection. Importantly, the exhibition included the hand colored American frontispiece from the Philip H. and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation. Also on loan from the Rosenbach Foundation were the title page and frontispiece from *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (Copy H) and the title page from *The Book of Urizen*. *Visions* was further presented in two facsimiles (Muir and Trianon), *Urizen* in one (Trianon). *Europe, A Prophecy* was accompanied by the hand colored frontispiece "The Ancient of Days" from the Rosenbach Foundation and plate 11 (uncolored) on loan from the Philadelphia Museum of Art. *The Song of Los, Milton, A Poem, and Jerusalem* were all shown in Trianon Press facsimiles. An impression of Little Tom the Sailor, on loan from the Philadelphia Museum of Art, further demonstrated Blake's work in relief printing.

Blake as an engraver was seen in *The Canterbury Pilgrims* on loan from Maxine S. Cronbach, *Chrestomathy Urizen* and *George Cumberland's Card*, the latter two lent by R. John Blackley, and from *The Art Museum, Princeton University*, four plates from *Illustrations of the Book of Job*, and рестrikes from two of the seven (not six as stated in cat. 39) *Illustrations of Dante*, printed in 1968 from the engraved plates in the National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection. The one drawing in the exhibition was one of the wash drawings from the *Tiriel* series, "Tiriel Dead Before Hela" (lent anonymously).

Because the exhibition in several instances included more than one facsimile of a given book, one was able to see several plates from one book, or, when different facsimile editions (from various copies) were used, to focus on the variations Blake made on one plate. While this aspect of Blake's investigative spirit was both implied and demonstrated by the exhibition, it was not pointed out or discussed; neither were the very real differences between facsimiles and originals. Adelphi was fortunate in obtaining several significant originals which made these differences clear but they might not have been noted by the novice viewer. A most cogent demonstration of the differences in the tactile life of printed surfaces and their effects on one's responses to works of art might have been made by comparing the Trianon copy of *The Gates of Paradise* with any of the original engravings on exhibition. Attention might well have been brought to this difference, as well as to the variations in the quality and character of the different facsimile editions. I don't mean to suggest that this ought to have been a major concentration but, rather, that within the context of an exhibition these points are important if the viewer is to see the significance of the nuances in Blake's visual art.

The focus of the Adelphi exhibition was not one of art historical or bibliographical analysis or explanation. The catalogue was undoubtedly published within a limited timespan and budget. It seems desirable, however, that certain basic information be included. To cite a few desiderata: one would like to have page or entry numbers throughout for references cited; would like to know that the impression of *The Canterbury Pilgrims* was in the fourth state (cat. 1); that the *Tiriel* drawing is one of 9 extant of a presumed series of 12, and something about the *Tiriel* poem other than that it "is about an old man who was really dead before his day, a despairing wanderer who cursed his children" (cat. 11); that the 1868 (J. C., not T. C.) Hotten Facsimile of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* was the first published facsimile of a Blake illuminated book (cat. 9); be assured that inscriptions are accurately quoted, as, for example, the ones from *Little Tom the Sailor* (cat. 34) and *George Cumberland's Card* (cat. 41) which are not; "Experts" and "pupils" are best mentioned by name (because Keynes' *Engravings* by William Blake: *The Separate Plates* is cited, one assumes that reference is being made to Sir Geoffrey Keynes and Thomas Butts, Jr. or Sr., cat. 26); and finally, I have reservations about the words and phrases quoted throughout without citation.

Unfortunately, the catalogue perpetuates some fallacies. For example, to describe Blake in the introduction as having "found a way through his contemporary wasteland of indiffrence, ignorance and dullness" does a disservice to late 18th and early 19th century England. To say that "Blake should be read with imagination. The reasoning intellect can tag along if it can keep up..." (cat. 1) does a disservice to Blake's contraries of reason and imagination. While Blake's process for applying his texts to metal plates and his relief printing techniques may remain "Blake's secret[s]" (cat. 19), not mentioning some of the recent experiments and theories related to these methods does a disservice to contemporary artists and scholars.

Furthermore, it seems shortsighted to state (in the introduction) that Blake was "neglected, regarded as an eccentric or a madman" by his contemporaries.

The Adelphi Swirbul Library exhibition brings into focus some problems facing Blake studies and also presents possibilities for future Blake exhibitions. While one laments the extensive use of facsimile objects (especially without adequate explanatory material), it has become clear that important unique Blake works (and one generally considers each copy of his books as unique) will be more and more difficult to obtain for other than major exhibitions (i.e., those that will both attract large audiences and make scholarly contributions via well-researched and imaginative catalogues). The organizers of the Adelphi exhibition indicated that institutions which in the past have been most generous in lending their other holdings for exhibitions were hesitant to release the Blake items. It is admirable that they organized their exhibition in spite of this obstacle. It seems that in the near future organizing an exhibition like *William Blake: The Apocalyptic Vision* held at Manhattanville College in Purchase, NY in 1974 will be difficult except in special circumstances.

Since 1974 the number of requests to borrow Blake material for exhibitions has increased dramatically. Various factors make repeated lending a problem. The primary one is concern for the care and preservation of the objects; increasing knowledge in the field of paper conservation has made many of us alter
William Blake: The Painter as Poet

An exhibition commemorating the 150th anniversary of the artist's death

March 19 - May 29, 1977

Catalog

by

Donald A. Wolf
Tom Dargan
Erica Doctorow

Adelphi University, Garden City, New York 11530
The exhibition catalogue is available from the Fine Arts Library, Adelphi University, Garden City, NY 11530, for $1 + $.50 shipping.

1 This color was used for the catalogue cover-stock, text, and illustrations as well as for printed material related to the other Blake visual events—clearly an effort to visually emphasize for the public the relationship among the several activities. For the catalogue illustrations, the color is sympathetic to reproduction of Blake's relief printed works, but the engravings and the drawing do suffer.


3 Summaries and explanatory material were inconsistent in quantity and quality. For example, no overall picture was presented for The Book of Thel, or The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, while for The Song of Los, one was. In this regard, it is difficult to accept as explanation that "Visions is a feminine tragedy and something of a puzzle" (cat. 20). Interpretive entries at times lacked clarity. In some instances this results from the fragmentary presentation. For example, cat. 25 by implication refers back to cat. 24 in contrasting two "perspective(s)" on Urizen. Some entries are internally confusing, as in cat. 30, where in a description of plate 2 from Jerusalem, Milton is quoted without indicating the source. The entry is further unclear as to what a "labour" is and whether the phrase refers to Jerusalem, the work being described, or Milton, the work being quoted. Facts, too, sometimes require clarification. In cat. 38, while the inscription on plate 1 of Illustrations of the Book of Job may indeed be read as "1828," one presumes this is an error for 1825.

4 Editorial inconsistencies which affect the quality of the information occur throughout the catalogue. To cite one example, the Rosenbach Museum frontispiece (cat. 17) is described as "Relief etching printed in blue painted with tan and blue watercolors" while the Rosenbach Visions title page frontispiece (cat. 11, 20 and 22) are described as "Relief etching painted with watercolors." One might also note such editorial problems as the fact that both of Northrop Frye's names are misspelled in the footnote to the Introduction.

5 "printed & sold by the Widow Spicer of Folkestone for the benefit of her orphans." should read "Printed & Sold by the Widow Spicer of Folkestone / for the Benefit of Her Orphans / October 5, 1800" and "W Blake inv & sc: A E 1827," should read "W Blake inv & sc: / A E 70 1827."

6 As a recent and convincing denial of this premise, one might note Corlette Rossiter Walker's William Blake in the Art of His Time, the catalogue for an exhibition held at the University of California, University of California at Santa Barbara, 24 February to 28 March 1976.


8 A less negative possibility is presented by Suzanne R. Hoover in her essay "William Blake in the Wilderness: A Closer Look at his Reputation, 1827-1863," published in Morton D. Paley and Michael Phillips, eds., William Blake: Essays in Honour of Sir Geoffrey Keynes (Ford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 310-48. While the essay attends to the period after Blake's death, on p. 312 Hoover notes that "Of the seven obituaries that are known, one is derisive, but the others are appreciative."

9 This exhibition, also held at a small, not centrally located educational institution, included several very important Blake watercolors and drawings as well as superb plates from the illuminated books. It was accompanied by an illustrated catalogue.


Poetic Form in Blake's Milton.

Reviewed by
Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Jr.

Not so long ago, F. R. Leavis spurned Blake's late prophecies as not worth reading and, because laden with obsccurities, as neither intelligible nor interpretable. Subsequently, the Times Literary Supplement celebrated Leavis for setting forth an essential truth from which Blake studies might now proceed. Never before the subject of a book, Blake's Milton, it seemed, might not now elicit a book—at least not until there had been a major reversal in critical thinking. That reversal, however, was already underway, with the epoch-making studies of Northrop Frye and Harold Bloom prompting David Erdman's annotations for the Milton designs, together with the wonderfully incisive essays by E. J. Rose, W. J. T. Mitchell, and Florence Sandler. Milton, despite Leavis, was drawing forth an important body of commentary that shortly would culminate in the publication of two books, within months of one another: one of them is by John Howard, the other (here under review) by Susan Fox. Fox's Poetic Form in Blake's Milton, even if narrowly conceived, is an important addition to Blake studies: this is a splendidly perceptive book, which, nevertheless, is somewhat long on the minutiae of Blake's poem and correspondingly short on a historical sense that might explain them; still, the book is prodigiously argued, keenly sensitive to Blake's text, deft in dealing with its complexities, and (what today is rare) both lucidly and elegantly written. Whatever its defects, Poetic Form in Blake's Milton has the virtue of illuminating the structure of one poem and, through that analysis, of shedding light on those formal features that come increasingly to govern Blake's art.

Fox's commentary terminates in a question: "Why should Blake deliberately call two books Twelve?" Then comes a declaration, "Whether that means he was ... thinking about the structure of his poem, ... or ... not thinking about it all, seems to me moot." Declaration, in turn, yields to conjecture— "Perhaps Blake was merely enjoying some prophetic private joke"—followed by yet another question: "Do those ten unwritten books represent Blake's ten lost tribes?" (p. 238). In this coda, we see at once the strengths and deficiencies of Fox's study: it is everywhere imaginatively responsive to Blake's art, always provocative—a question-asking, consciousness-raising book; yet the boundaries of its consciousness are set by Blake's canon and so never extend outward
Poetic Form in Blake's Milton

by Susan Fox

to embrace those traditions that might help explain the puzzles created by a poem like Milton. This study gives little attention to literary analogues, and none to literary models, except for John's Book of Revelation, which it never really admits to be a model.

Whether Milton should be called an epic is disputable; however, indisputably, the poem is lodged in the epic tradition, and that tradition historically has focused on the question of a book's integrity. Homer did not, of course, divide his epics into books—the book divisions are instead the invention of his editors. And as Blake must have known, the problem of the "book" was very much on the mind of Spenser, Milton, and the critics of both poets. In his letter to Raleigh, Spenser promises an epic in twelve books but then delivers only six. Milton published Paradise Lost first in ten books but later revised the poem into a twelve-book structure. What to say of Blake's proclaiming Milton to be a poem in twelve books is problematical in the extreme; but whatever is said, I suspect, must allow the convention of broken expectations and explore Blake's strategy in terms of it, taking some hints from the tradition itself. The Faerie Queene, for example, may not issue forth in twelve books, but each book is composed of twelve cantos. By implication, we are thus dealing with six epic patterns, epic within epic, patterns that the poem's outer structure conceals. By way of explaining Milton's decision to change from a ten- to a twelve-book structure when Paradise Lost went into a second edition, it has been suggested that Milton was motivated by a fear that, unless presented in twelve books, Paradise Lost would never be recognized for what it is. But such an explanation misses the central point: there are two traditions of epic, the one classical and the other Christian; and both these traditions progress by systematically reducing the number of books that constitute an epic. Thus we move, in one tradition, from Homer (24), to Virgil (12), to Spenser (6)—and in the other tradition from Dante (100), to Tasso (20), to Milton (10). What is curious about Milton's modification of Paradise Lost's book-structure is that he dislodges his poem from the very tradition to which it belongs, lodging it instead in the tradition that Paradise Lost would subvert. There is special propriety in Milton's strategy here, for in a poem that pits epic against prophecy, treating them as countergenres, it is appropriate for outer structure (mechanical form) to contend with inner form (the sevenfold pattern of prophecy).

What are we to infer from all this: that calculated confusion over the number of books is a device for indicating the essential incompleteness of all epic poems? that playing with numbers evinces not only a profound consciousness of structure but a desire through numbers to discriminate outer structure from inner form? that numbers themselves symbolize other poems which the new poet would displace (Milton, the Aeneid; Blake, Paradise Lost)? Are we to remember the principle of progression by systematic reduction, and thus the fact that the epic line moves from Paradise Regained (a poem in four books) to Milton (a poem in two)? Is it important that the outer structure of these two poems conceals, in each instance, a tripartite design? These are the kinds of questions that Fox's book might have raised—but doesn't. On the other hand, there are many questions that her book does raise and, what is more, pursues to intelligent resolution.

Two lengthy, substantial chapters (ii and iii) elaborate the structural principles operative in Milton, elucidating the complex patterns those principles generate. Symmetry, elaborate parallelism, interruptions and revisions, manifold repetitions and layered organization, alternating perspectives, disrupted time-sequences—these are the devices, all of them hallmarks of prophetic literature it should have been noted, which are called upon to explain the peculiar features of Blake's poetry, especially Milton, a poem that is both "intricately and suggestively formed" (p. xiii). This poem's structure, according to Fox, finds its prototype in Europe, a Prophecy (another poem marked by the principles of simultaneity and perspectivism) and its contrasting type in Jerusalem, a poem, as Fox would have it, that, linear in design, is "plotted progressively" (p. 14). (On prototypical structures in Blake's early poetry, William Halloran's "New Form" should have been mentioned; and on the structure of Jerusalem, Stuart Curran's "The Structures of Jerusalem" might have been cited.) Perspectivism and simultaneity, however, are not represented as the ultimate controls of Milton's structure. Rather, the principle that organizes that poem...
is said to be parallelism: "Accruing definitions, simultaneity, multiple perspectives all are organized in Milton by the elaborate system of parallels that is the poem's basic framework" (p. 24). In these terms, Books I and II are shown to be correspondent and their various parts (each book is shown to be threefold in design) to be correspondent. Book I expounds the myth of which Book II is a personal realization; the poet begins by prophesying, through the voice of the Bard, the action that climaxes Book II. The structure of this second book, Fox argues, exactly parallels that of Book I: "Each has three major parts, a prologue of events leading to an act of union, a refracted account of that union, and an epilogue expanding upon a vision associated with that union" (p. 128). The argument is both tidy and convincing; and it is supported by a profusion of detail--is augmented by rich, impressive interpretations.

Yet there are problems here: inconsistencies and even contradictions that go back to Fox's early declaration that "the epic structure of Milton is largely illusory," that Blake uses it only as a superficial organizing device and so undermines it" (p. 14 n.). What, in this context, are we to make of the fact that salient symmetries and balances, persistent parallels and repetitions (what Fox calls the primary organizational principles in Milton) are historically the devices of the epic poet--and of the fact that the subsidiary devices of perspectivism and simultaneity are, again historically, the chief attributes of prophetic literature? By Fox's own analysis, it is a mechanical structure that here subdues living form, rather than the other way around; and by her own admission, this analysis has focused attention on the "illusory," "superficial" devices of epic--not, it would appear, on the real, central strategies of prophetic structuring.

There are other problems besides, first of all with the book's critical idiom. Its tendency is to eradicate rather than observe time-honored distinctions such as between form and structure, even as it fashions distinctions (between bardic and visionary techniques [p. 191], for instance), which confuse more than they clarify. The former tendency is particularly regrettable, for the blurred distinction might have focused attention where it finally belongs--on the two contending structures in Milton which derive from the poem's countergenres, epic and prophecy. Correspondingly, where distinctions are drawn, as between visionary and narrative coherence (p. xii), Fox oddly reverses the meanings such terms have accrued. Thus, visionary coherence here refers to thematic structure and is to be distinguished from narrative, poetic, rhetorical structure (those terms are used interchangeably). Confusion reigns when structures are conflated and treated as if they were one. After all, Blake's is a poetry not of one but of many structures.

Most distressing, though, is the amount of waffling in this book--and waffling on crucial issues. The Preface, for example, quite rightly associates the structural devices of Milton "with the visionary forms of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and especially Revelation" (p. xii) and, I think mistakenly, enters a demurral when it comes to arguing "that Blake consciously devised the structure of Milton according to the principles delineated in this study" (p. xiii). But in the course of this study, both these suppositions are reversed as the following tell: "That St. John deliberately built his vision on these complex structural principles I do not propose. That Blake did... I am certain" (p. 187). And: "I do not mean... to imply that St. John was writing a Blakean poem... The design of the book of Revelation arises from far different conventions and necessities from those of early nineteenth-century England" (p. 186). That proposition requires an explanation that is never forthcoming. Is it important to know that through the ages John's New Testament prophecy was always distinguished from Old Testament prophecies--on these grounds: in the Old, we are given the visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, of Jeremiah and of Daniel; but in the New, we are given not the vision of John but the vision of Jesus Christ? Old Testament prophecy is thus the embodiment of impaired human vision, whereas the Apocalypse is an example of divine vision. Accordingly, the book of Revelation was exalted as a perfect pattern of prophecy, as the model for all aspiring prophets to observe. Authenticated by Christ himself, its structural conventions, its whole aesthetic, had very special authority for the Christian poet.

More than any other scriptural book, the Apocalypse was thought to embody the great code of Christian art. One commentator may be cited by way of suggesting the pertinence of this whole tradition to a structural analysis of Blake's Milton. Johann Bengel, in Bengelius's Introduction to His Exposition of the Apocalypse (1757), speaks of "the exact coherent order" of the Apocalypse, which he proceeds to describe as being "like a piece of musick" all of whose parts "are beautifully interwoven; and like the pipes and stops of an Organ, at times some of them are silent, at others again all of them sound aloud together." And, says Bengel, "this very regularly disposed system brings it's key along with it," its key being its structure and its structure being marked by these features:

(1) ... elegant Simultaneum... by which... two things, that belong precisely to the same time, is often divided into two parts, and, as it were, split; and the other comes in unexpectedly between these two parts, as a parenthesis.

(2) Wonderful, and very conspicuous in all this, is the Gradation in which the Evil and the Good always advance and increase, till they come to the utmost conflict with one another...
... so contrived that the other Prophets are not necessary for the understanding of it; but it is rather necessary for the understanding of them" (p. 65). That observation leaves us with this haunting question: if so, to what extent is a prophet like Blake dependent upon the book of Revelation; how important is an understanding of that prophecy to an understanding of his prophecies?

Fox has answered that question in one way—"not very important at all"; but I think that students of Blake will eventually answer differently: "it is very important, indeed." The context of prophetic literature, missing from Fox's book, would have saved her from exaggerated claims for Blake's uniqueness. "The structure of Milton is unique" (p. 3), we are told; and its "uniqueness... is that in its controlling as well as in its underlying structures it seeks to tell the same story 'in several ways at the same time and at several times in the same way.'" (p. 24). When we have come to know more about the tradition of Revelation commentary, we will come to realize that this is precisely the claim made for that book's uniqueness of structure, which by Mede first, then by More, and finally by Newton is discussed under the rubric of synchronism.

These commentators, indeed, turn one of Fox's offhand remarks into a question that future students of both Blake and romanticism will have to confront: Which supposition is nearer the truth—that biblical prophecy and romantic poetry arise from very different cultures, predications, needs, and aspirations; or, that biblical prophecy generates the poetic on which romantic poetry is founded and represents, finally, the ur-form of all romantic literature? That question cannot be answered satisfactorily until, like the poets they are studying, students go back to the Bible, to its commentators, to the very tradition of prophecy of which Blake's Milton is a mighty emanation.

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell.

Reviewed by Judith Ott

Clark Stewart's drawings for The Marriage will cause mixed reactions in many a Blake enthusiast. Intended as a personal response to Blake's visionary cosmology, Stewart's designs incorporate familiar Blakean motifs (mundane shell, batwinged spectre, and flocks of sheep) with some wildly disparate ones (World War I and II planes and tanks, top hats and a jack-o-lantern). As a result, the combined images in these drawings create a simultaneous sensation of déja vu and culture shock in the viewer. This kind of liberal play within the hallowed territory of Blake's own illustrations may well be frowned upon by the Blake purist. However, seen as an extension of—rather than an intrusion upon—Blake's designs, these drawings present a fresh interpretation of the artist-poet's well-thumbed iconographical system.

In style, Stewart's drawings are of a gorgeously detailed, linear character not unlike the graphic works of Dürer. They display the variety of texture, depth of space, crinkled drapery patterns and tightly packed compositions that characterize works of the Northern Renaissance. Although Blake often borrowed from such engravings, he inevitably simplified the figures and flattened the spatial representations in his own work. Thus, with their Northern Renaissance flavor, Stewart's illustrations resemble Blakean sources more closely than Blake designs. Both Blake and Dürer were skilled at combining many different symbolic elements into a cohesive whole. Unfortunately, Stewart's compositions lack this quality and too often appear overworked, disjointed or contrived (e.g., pls. 7, 11, 13). The unifying device of a frame is only successful in some of the designs
Iconographically, Stewart borrows much from Yeats and the Christian mystical-magical symbolism of the Rosicrucians (pls. 1, 4, 7, 9). The rose and other emblems like the stag and horned goat have a prominence in these drawings that is foreign to Blake. But Blake is certainly the main source of Stewart's imagery and some of his drawings follow the text of *The Marriage* closely. Plate 8 is clearly the "Printing House in Hell," complete with Dragon-Man, viper, eagle, lion (shown as a cat) and books "arranged in libraries" (Blake and Stewart's books among them). Many of the other illustrations can be convincingly linked with a line from the text: plate 6 with the poet "sitting on a pleasant bank beside a river by moonlight"; plate 5 with "man [who] has closed himself up, till he sees all things thro' narrow chinks of his cavern" and plate 4 with "a mighty Devil folded in black clouds, hovering on the sides of a rock."

There are other drawings by Stewart that owe more to Blake's images than to his text. Plates 1 and 2 compare in theme with Blake's title-page for *The Marriage* and plate 3 seems to elaborate on the image of "The Sick Rose" from *Songs of Experience*. Although there is much of Blake in these drawings, Stewart has not attempted to illustrate *The Marriage* literally. Each of his plates contain fresh and intriguing combinations of old and new motifs and this is their greatest strength. Significantly, Stewart is most successful in the few designs in which he goes beyond the text. For example, plate 12 represents the "cherub with flaming sword" with an intense visionary grandeur comparable to Blake's own.

In a well-bound, signed and limited edition, Clark Stewart's illustrations for *The Marriage* should be of interest to any Blake admirer who has struggled with the poet-artist's complex visions in the past, knows the joys born of careful thought and close observation, and is willing to apply these techniques to the work of another. As with Blake's illustrations to the works of other poets, Stewart's drawings inevitably reveal more about the illustrator than about the subject being illustrated. Those who would seek only an echo of Blake's imagery should look elsewhere.

BLAKE'S "WARRING ANGELS"

by Frances Carey

A hitherto unknown drawing from the early part of Blake's career appeared in a Christie's sale on 3 August 1976, where it was purchased by Thos. Agnew and Sons, Ltd., who have included it in their 104th exhibition of watercolors and drawings (17 January-18 February 1977, cat. no. 11). The composition on the recto, Warring Angels (illus. 1), is one of three versions of this subject, the other two belonging to the Tonner Collection, now in the Philadelphia Museum (64-110-6), and to the Graham Robertson Collection (no. 97 in the sale catalogue of 1947). A fourth drawing of the same subject is to be found in the British Museum (1874-12-12-140, 141); this is much later in date and should be associated with Blake's illustrations to Young's Night Thoughts rather than his "juvenilia." Of the three early versions in question, Agnew's drawing is the most fully developed composition and the Graham Robertson sketch, the most perfunctory. The subject matter is, itself, of interest, when seen in conjunction with a number of drawings from Lady Melchett's collection (Lucifer and the Gods, Christie's sale 9 November 1971, no. 78; Adam and Eve, Christie's 9 November 1976, no. 78), which are proof of Blake's intention to execute a series of Miltonic illustrations as early as c. 1780.

1 Recto: Warring Angels c. 1780. Pen, ink and wash. 238 x 330 mm.
On the verso of the sheet are studies of a leg and foot (illus. 2) which probably relate to Blake's student exercises at the Royal Academy, where he enrolled in 1779.

MR. RUDALL, THE FLAUTIST: An Authentic Blake Anecdote

by Raymond H. Deck, Jr.

... when Mr. Rudall, the flautist, called upon him at his poor lodging near Clare Market, the mystic told his visitor that he had a palace of his own of great beauty and magnificence. On Mr. Rudall's looking round the room for evidence, Blake remarked, "You don't think I'm such a fool as to think this is it."

The residence in question is Blake's apartment at 3 Fountain Court, where he lived from 1821 until his death; Clare Market, which has not survived into the twentieth century, is an extension of the Vere Street which lies at the extreme right center of that portion of Horwood's Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster reproduced in Bentley's Blake Records (Plate LIX, pp. 564-65). For a description of this apartment as it might have appeared to Mr. Rudall's "corporeal eye," see Bentley's "William Blake, Samuel Palmer, and George Richardson," Blake Studies, 2 (Spring 1970), 43-48.

Blake's encounter with Mr. Rudall is reported by James Spilling, an English Swedenborgian, in "Blake the Visionary," New Church Magazine, 6 (1887), 209. Spilling explains that his source for the anecdote is J. J. Garth Wilkinson, the Swedenborgian who published the first letterpress edition of Blake's Songs in 1839. Spilling's report begins: "He saw and drew his own residence at Felpham differently to what it appeared to anyone else. It was in this spirit that, as we are informed by Dr. Wilkinson, when Mr. Rudall, the flautist..."

Wilkinson in turn probably had his information from Charles Augustus Tulk, Blake's Swedenborgian patron during the last decade of the poet's life, who in 1838 introduced Wilkinson to Blake's work and loaned him the copy of the Songs used as the copy text for the 1839 edition.
In an abridged English translation the same text reads like this:

... Young's Night Thoughts, to which I added my own when trying, in vain, to guess whose was the munificent hand in the cloud[s] to which I am indebted for this gift. If you, as I dare assume, have possibly seen Blake's illuminated version of Young—here [I give you] the English title [The Complaint, and the Consolation; or Night Thoughts, by Edward Young, London 1797]—you will surely think my desire to express my gratitude more than justified. [The metal- sheathed...artistic treasure.—... make[s] me guess that doubtless you know this donor better than I do. 

In a second letter to a friend which was most probably written on the same day, but dated differently, we are given a more detailed description of the book and Richter's reaction:


This is how the same words might have sounded when they were written in English:

...—-The day before yesterday in the evening I found [delivered] from the post office a folio-box, and in it an English folio edition of Young with 20 or 25 [sic] magnificent [and] phantastic copper engravings by Blake, pompously gilded in English style and morocco [and] satin [-bound] and all that again in [a] black [leather] case; a genuine gold [chain] terminating in a huge pearl is used instead of the dwarf-paper lips that you put into books. Anonymously it arrived, but it comes from the Hereditary Prince of Gotha. I tax [i.e. value] it at 15 guineas. The chain I am inclined to detach and hang around my wife's neck. There is possibly no second copy [of the book] in Germany, [and] this sometime might help me a lot in selling it.—

These two letters reveal a rather materialistic attitude; mentioning the written and engraved contents of the volume in passing only—though respectfully and appreciatively—Jean Paul then goes on to describe the rich binding in extenso: and you can't tell a book from looking at the cover, can you? But of course Jean Paul Richter was too much of a poet himself not to be perfectly aware of this. Obviously he decided at least not to sell the book with those "phantastic" illustrations too soon, and he remembered it when writing down his aesthetic
theory in the Vorshule. There he still mentions Blake in passing only, but also shows that meanwhile he has opened the book and actually added his own "Night Thoughts." If we look up p. 173 (i.e. §79 of the second, revised, and enlarged edition published in May 1813) which deals with the representation of the human figure, we read as follows:


The same paragraph in a modern translation based on Margaret Hale's:

"Besides external motion there is a still higher paintress of the figure: internal motion. We imagine nothing more easily than another's imaginings. In a folio edition of Young's Night Thoughts with fantastic marginal designs by Blake on the page where dreams are described [see Night Thoughts eng., p. 4; DWD], there is a figure terrifying to me, which stands, bent over and shuddering, into a bush: its seeing becomes vision for me. In order to show a beautiful figure to our minds, simply show someone who sees it; but to show his perception, you must accompany it with some part of the body, a blue eye or even a great white eyelid, and it will all be there."

Werner Hofmann suggested a full-length study comparing the metaphorical, political, and philosophical concepts of Blake and Jean Paul, which seem to be quite similar in some respects. In the sentences quoted above, the author of Titan demonstrates how well he understood an artistic method used by Blake in more than one case; and it is remarkable that Richter manages to get along with Blake's work without employing any pejorative terms. For him the word "phantastic" was still appropriate to describe the special quality of the engravings he wrote about. Only a few years later, when in 1811 Henry Crabb Robinson published his essay on Blake --which for other reasons of course is of more importance for us than Richter's few lines--the artist's reputation as a madman already interfered greatly with his critic's view. Jean Paul, by the way, might have known Crabb Robinson's article by the time he was revising his Preparatory School for Aesthetics; the publisher of the first edition, Friedrich Perthes in Hamburg, also printed the Vaterlandisches Museum in 1811. Jean Paul originally intended to have Perthes publish the second edition of his book on aesthetics too; might not Perthes in their correspondence have told Richter about Robinson's biographical sketch? This is more guesswork at the moment, and after all Richter did not revise the section with his reference to Blake. We will have to wait for the study proposed by Prof. Hofmann before we can go on and speculate about what Jean Paul would have thought of the Lambeth books, and whether he would have seen Los as an image close to his Titan. Then also we might be able to answer a perhaps more important question, namely why the author of the Vorshule thought this "relatively insignificant detail" more important than the more sublime designs in Edwards' edition of the Night Thoughts."


2 This copy was in a very rich binding; see also the next quotation, below.


4 Since I could not trace an English translation of Richter's collected letters, I had to translate this and the following quotation myself.

5 Jean Paul, Briefe, vol. 4, pp. 118 f.


7 See Margaret R. Hale, tr. & ed., Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973), p. 208. Margaret Hale translates the second edition (see p. 117), and also provides the reader with an extensive introduction. My own version of the text differs from Hale's in minute particulars only, where I thought a more literal translation necessary.

8 Hofmann, "Erfüllung," p. 29, n. 52.

9 Hofmann, "Erfüllung," p. 25. About a month after I had finished the MS. for this note, the summer issue of Studia in Romantica arrived and necessitated the addition of a few sentences at least. In a generally most precocious--review of the series of Hamburg catalogues on art around 1800, John Gage refers his readers to Hofmann's note on Jean Paul and Blake, which also served as the basis of the present article. Hofmann's (and my own) surprise at finding Jean Paul selecting the detail on p. 4 of Blake's Night Thoughts engravings in return seems to come as a surprise to that critic. For Gage, obviously the criticism arises from Jean Paul's attitude as "in criticism at least as far back as late antiquity." I do not think it all that simple. What about the effects of time and contemporary context on the "critical concepts and vocabulary of writing about?" Of course it is not the relative originality of Richter's aesthetic theory Hofmann and I are interested in, but rather the peculiar attitude of Richter towards Blake's mode of thinking and creating. Still I cannot believe that only thorough study comparing Richter's and Blake's thought in the larger context of their respective historical surroundings (inclusive of contemporary aesthetic theory) might furnish us with the answer to the question sketched by Hofmann and above. --See John Gage, review of Kunst um 1800, SIR, XV, No. 3, Summer 1976, 482-89 (especially p. 483).
BLAKE'S ILLUSTRATION OF THE THIRD TEMPTATION IN PARADISE REGAINED
by Robert F. Gleckner

In a recent note in the Milton Quarterly (10 [1976], 48-53) J. Karl Franson compares a number of the illustrations by various artists to the temple spire scene in Paradise Regained, concluding that "only one—William Blake—interprets the scene in close accord with the text of the entire poem." Further, his illustration "presents a perceptive and convincing interpretation of the crisis, and indeed of the whole work, that resolves much of the apparent ambiguity" in the episode that has made it one of the most perplexing cruxes in the poem (p. 48). More particularly, in contrast to the other Milton illustrators and to his commentators, Blake's rendition "suggests neither a human balancing feat nor a miraculous intervention" (i.e. support for Christ by the angels), but rather "provocative evidence that Blake is proposing a third alternative, that Christ alone performs the miraculous stand,"

that, as Wittreich pointed out earlier, "Christ's words [on the pinnacle] indicate his own coming to awareness; he now comprehends that which he did not know before." 1

While there is little to quarrel with in this general view, there are some additional details that both strengthen Franson's (and Wittreich's) case and at the same time reveal a greater complexity in Blake's illustration than he seems to see. For example, Psalm 91, which Satan refers to (Pa, IV, 556-59), speaks of God's angels being given "charge over" Christ, including the responsibility to "bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." Milton's version, in Satan's words, is: "in thir hands / They shall up lift thee" (IV, 557-58). But in fact it is Satan who lifts him up and bears him in his hands ("caught him up" and "There on the highest Pinnacle he set / The Son of God"—IV, 541, 549-50). Beyond this textual reinterpretation by Milton of the Biblical passage and Satan's version of it, 2 Blake positions one of his three angels at Christ's feet somewhat ambiguously. Is he indicating appropriate obeisance, or offering physical support as if in anticipation of a loss of balance, or calling attention to the lack of physical and divine aid, or gesturing to earth in invitation to the "flow'ry valley" in which they finally "set him down" for the feast of "Celestial Food, Divine, /Ambrosial" and "Ambrosial drink" (IV, 586-90) before Christ returns refreshed "to his Mother's house" (639)? The answer seems to me a combination of all four, the second and third possibilities reiterating visually Franson's point that neither physical support nor divine intervention is necessary to steady Christ no matter how "uneasy" his "station" (IV, 584), the "undoubtable 'proof' of his divine nature" (Franson, 51).

Blake further enhances this view by the positioning of his angels both in relation to each other and to Christ, and to the plummeting, defeated Satan. Our eye movement over the angels' configuration seems to me to proceed both downward and upward, each angel being, as it were, a kind of still portrait, the three together constituting a cinematographic sequence. The downward movement, from upright posture to kneeling upright to the gesture of obeisance, is implicitly rejected by the self-sustained Christ. The upward movement from the lowered arms of the bottom angel up through the wings of the other two (echoed in the prayerful hands of the middle angel) reasserts that self-containedness. Contrariwise, Satan to the right of Christ falls heavily, the encompassing mass of flame ironically repeating the angelic configuration, and his divided beard and struggling legs grotesquely parodying the angels' wings. Thus just as Milton has Satan enact his own challenge to Christ ("if not to stand, / Cast thyself down"—IV, 554-55), so Blake dramatizes the inadequacy of physical strength or balance in his muscular Satan to parallel the superfluousness of aid from the angels.

Finally, Blake's Christ thus stands between both angelic and physical natures, between youth and age, between heaven and earth (as well as heaven and hell), comprising, yet triumphing over, both in the cruciform position set against the penumbral background of cloud and sky:

Whether thron'd In the bosom of bliss, and light of light Conceiving, or remote from Heaven, enshrin'd In Fleshy Tabernacle, and human form... (IV, 596-99)

Franson's conclusion is sound, then: Blake reveals and illustrates "Milton's fundamental concern in the work," that is "to dramatize his conception of Christ's unique nature" (51). But Blake also, via the positional dynamics and spatial movement of his entire illustration, enacts the several complexities and implicit contrasts in Milton's poem that even more fully than Franson shows illuminate the precise nature of that uniqueness.


3 It should also be noted that Satan's setting Christ "on the highest Pinnacle" ("highest plac't" as he himself puts it—IV, 553) is parodic of Psalm 91.14: "Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him: I will set him on high... ")
CUMBERLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY ADDENDA
by G. E. Bentley, Jr.

If the Cumberland Bibliography is worth noting in Blake, it may deserve to be supplemented here with information which came to my notice because of the publication of the Bibliography.

Part C. MANUSCRIPTS WHICH HAVE BEEN TRACED.

Tour in North Wales. 1784 (?1796)

TITLE: TOUR IN NORTH WALES, by George Cumberland and C L [i.e., Charles Long] (description of the vignette)

N.B. The Tour was made by Cumberland and Long, but the manuscript is entirely by and about George Cumberland.

BINDING: Bound in three quarter leather over brown marbled boards.

PAPER: SHARD[?] [date cut off] on titlepage. None on other leaves; the leaves bearing sketches are distinctly heavier than the text-leaves. After p. 36, the leaves are waterstained.

SIZE: 30.5 x 38.1 cm (12" x 15")

NUMBERING: The pages are numbered 1-62 (sometimes trimmed off) at the top outer corners (misnumbered after p. 47, so that pp. "49"-"62" should be 48-61); the last, unnumbered, page is blank.

CONTENTS: Flyleaf, titlepage (verso blank), text on pp. 1-61 (numbered 1-47, 49-62), [63]; three flyleaves. After pp. 4, 6, 8, 14, 16, 18, 22, 24, 28, 32, 34, 40, 44, 46 (2 leaves), [48](2 leaves), [56] (two leaves) are inserted heavier leaves bearing pasted-on sketches numbered 1-36, many with flimsy guard-leaves. There are 55 leaves in all (not counting flimsies).

HISTORY: Probably the manuscript left the Cumberland family about 1873 (see A Bibliography of George Cumberland, 1764-1848 [1975], 83-84). According to the present owner, it was found in a somewhat damp cellar in Newport, Monmouthshire, by a female bookseller, who sold it about 1960 to Major Herbert Lloyd-Johnes, O.B.E., T.D., LL.D., F.J.A., who has promised it to the National Library of Wales and who is publishing an account of the manuscript in the Journal of the National Library of Wales. I am deeply grateful to Major Lloyd-Johnes for allowing me to see and describe the manuscript and to look at his remarkable library of books on Wales and pictures of his family and their sometime estate at Hafod.

DATE: The manuscript was clearly composed from notes Cumberland had made at the time, for once he explains lacunae by saying that he had "lost my notes on this part of the tour" (p.[61]). In the text he refers to "a very agreeable fortnight there [at Hafod] in 1795" and "the description of it" he has "since published" (1796), and he mentions a third excursion he made to Wales in 1796 (p. [61]). Perhaps the manuscript was composed from the earlier notes about 1796. An insertion of two leaves after p. 34 bears a poem dated "New y. day 1796", suggesting that the previous version of the Tour had been completed by then. Cumberland clearly kept the manuscript by him and looked it over from time to time, for a footnote on the first page of text identifies his companion as Charles Long has two or three addenda at later dates identifying him as "a Privy Counsellor, in 1800--now a Knight of the Bath [1820] and Lord Farnborough [1826]."

NOTE: A large part of the purpose of the manuscript is to put in context the series of sketches which Cumberland made on his 1784 tour and which are pasted in here--except for a few which he had lost by the time he wrote the Tour. There is a long section on the beauties of the neighborhood of Hafod (pp. 42-61), before Thomas Johnes had built his seat there, and another on the village of "Abbey Tintern" (pp. 14-17). One passage in particular (p. 36) may remind us of Cumberland's friendship (c. 1790-1827) with the painter-poet Blake:

At sun rise ... after bathing a few minutes in its refreshing stream, I found myself so invigorated, and my spirit so exalted with the laughing scene around, that taking out my pencil instead of drawing I wrote the following Song [on the River Dee]. . . .

A related "merry scene" in which a "dimpling stream runs laughing by" appears in Blake's "Laughing Song" in his Songs of Innocence (1789).
Contributions in memory of Mark Schorer, who died 12 August, may be made to The School of American Ballet, 144 West 66 Street, New York NY.

**BLAKE AT THE TATE**

After a prospect of further delays owing to yet another hold-up over the Tate Gallery's new extension, it has been decided to hold the long-promised Blake exhibition in the old exhibition galleries next spring. The tentative dates are 8 March to 21 May 1978. Very roughly 250 works will be exhibited, selected less for scholarly interest than to stress Blake's achievement in the visual arts.

MARTIN BUTLIN, KEEPER OF THE BRITISH COLLECTION, TATE GALLERY, LONDON.

**"WARRING ANGELS"**

The drawing titled "Warring Angels," reported on by Frances Carey in this issue, pp. 116-19, has been acquired by the Bolton Art Gallery in Lancashire.

**MRS. BLAKE & FAERIE QUEENE**

The May issue of Apollo—a special issue on Petworth—reported the discovery among the archives of a letter from Mrs. Blake discussing the coloring of The Characters of Spenser's Faerie Queene.

**BLAKE ON THAMES TV**

Thames Television has announced plans for "a celebration of the poetry and painting of Blake to mark the 150th anniversary of his death," according to Lester Clark, of their division of Features in Education & Religion.

**CORRECTION**

In Blake 41 we summarized the contents of an article from the Times Literary Supplement, "A Blake Discovery," outlining the new Blake acquisitions made by the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York. On 11 March 1977 TLS ran a correction as follows: "The article ... was written by Thomas V. Lange and Charles Ryskamp. Mr Lange is Assistant Curator of Printed Books at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, of which Mr Ryskamp is Director. . . ."

**THE SONG OF MILOS**

Alan Rowlands, of Newport, England, has sent us a copy of his illustrated booklet titled The Song of Milos, consisting of half-tone reproductions of twelve drawings and line shots of lithographs with illustrations accompanying poetry. The booklet is available for £1.65 from C. M. Rowlands, Salters Hall Cottage, Salters Lane, Newport, SALOP, England. The reproductions are also available as lithographs in various combinations and in a range of prices. Rowlands states that "the influences which motivated Blake have, in a very much more minor key, influenced my own work. At this point I regret the similarity ends as my admiration for Blake far exceeds my own aspirations and my abilities likewise are of a diminutive quality. However, it may be encouraging to see that tradition in this area still prevails and, although freely adapted in 'The Song of Milos,' I firmly believe myth and symbol is still its best vehicle.

**FITZWILLIAM WITHDRAWS BLAKE**

P. Woudhuysen, Keeper, Department of Manuscripts & Printed Books at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, has written an appeal to Blake readers as follows:

I wonder whether I might address, through your Blake Quarterly, an appeal for financial help to all Blake scholars who may, or who may not as yet, have studied and enjoyed the large and important Blake collection in my Department in the Museum.

All of our original Blake material, and many of the early facsimiles like Muir's, are now, after many years of constant use, in an extremely fragile and sorry condition. The bindings are very worn, the gatherings are loose, the paper torn, dirty, and extremely acid. They are all in urgent need of repair and conservation.

At present, however reluctant a decision this was to make, all the originals have been withdrawn from use and will remain so until we can find the funds to have them repaired.
The estimated cost for rebinding, paper repair, deacidification, etc., is ca. £500 ($2500), which is totally beyond the Museum's means and resources in the present difficult financial climate.

I should be grateful if you would consider publishing this letter about our problem . . . in the hope that the combined generosity of all Blake scholars and lovers of his work will enable us to have our collection restored to its former glory, and once again available to scholars and the general public.

The address of the Fitzwilliam Museum is Cambridge CB2 1RB England.

WORKS BY & ABOUT BLAKE

Edwin C. Epps, Jr., has issued a second list of "A Fine Group of Works by and about William Blake, Poet, Printer, Prophet," dated 16 May 1977, and including ten items for sale. Address Epps at Antiquarian Books and Prints, P.O. Box 6444, Columbia, South Carolina 29260.

GOLGONOOZA BESTIARY

Animal Forms of Wisdom: A William Blake Bestiary is available for $50 from Alexandra Eldridge, Golgonooza, R.R. #1, Millfield, Ohio 45761. The edition is limited to 35 copies, handbound in quarter calf and Nideggen paper. There are 25 pages, silk-screen on rag paper, illuminated and hand-colored by the author.

PROSE STUDIES 1800-1900

Under the auspices of the Victorian Studies Centre at the University of Leicester, Philip Dodd and J. C. Hillson will soon be editing a new journal devoted to the study of non-fictional prose between 1800 and 1900, under the title Prose Studies (PS). According to the editors, their journal will "provide a much-needed forum for genuinely interdisciplinary discourse," with one major aim being "to evolve, through the elucidation and discussion of individual works . . . a distinctive critical vocabulary for the analysis of non-fictional prose . . . ." There will also be a yearly annotated bibliography and reviews of current work in the field. There are forthcoming articles by David DeLaura on Matthew Arnold; Elizabeth Strode on William Morris' lectures; and A. W. Bellringer on Pater.

The journal will appear three times a year, with the first number to be published probably in September 1977 in conjunction with a Ruskin conference in Leicester. Subscription rates are as follows: individuals, £2.50 or $4.50 per year; institutions, £3.50 or $6.50. Address the editors, Department of English, University of Leicester, Leicester LE1 7RH England.
The June 1977 issue of Colby Library Quarterly has a number of articles on Blake: by Christopher Heppner, on "Identity and The Book of Thel"; by Janet Warner, on "Blake and the Language of Art"; by Warren Stevenson, on Blake’s drawing of the Canterbury Pilgrims; by Edward J. Rose, on the Spectre; and by John Sutherland, on the Bard’s Song in Milton. Recently John Sutherland, the editor of the Quarterly, announced that it would pay special attention to essays on Blake, as well as on psychology and literature, and the visual arts and literature. Extra copies of the special Blake issue are available at $1, postpaid, as long as they last. Address the editor at Colby College, Waterville, Maine 04901.

LAVATER MARGINALIA

David Erdman writes to say that he agrees with the changes in the text of the Lavater marginalia suggested by Richard J. Shroyer in Blake 41, and that he will make the appropriate changes in the text when Doubleday publishes a new edition of Erdman’s edition of Blake’s poetry and selected prose.

TAURUS PRESS AMERICA

Blake’s text of *America*, printed with "handcut" type in scarlet, illustrated with linocuts by Peter Paul Piech printed in black is being sold for £50 by Taurus Press of Willow Dene, 2 Willow Dene, Bushey Heath, Herts. WD2 1PS England. There is an introduction by Hugo Manning and Roger R. Easson. The linocut illustrations are also available without the text, signed by the artist, £50.
MARK SCHORER
1908-1977