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Cover: Pub in Hell, Béla Kondor.
ARTICLES

The Reception of Blake in Hungary

BY AGNES PETER

Blake started to exercise some modest influence in Hungary at the beginning of the twentieth century when two artists, Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch and Sándor Nagy, after a period of study in Rome, where, through the influence of a Hungarian Nazarene, they came into contact with the aesthetic principles of the Pre-Raphaelites and Ruskin as well as the socialist prophecies of William Morris, settled at Gödöllő, 20 kilometers northeast of Budapest in 1901, and established a colony of artists and artisans which became the nucleus of a short-lived movement, "the Gödöllő School." It was here at Gödöllő where Blake's name was first mentioned with a great deal of reverence (Szenczi 1969, 345).

In February 1917, Muált és Jövő [Past and Future], a "Jewish literary, cultural, social and literary monthly," dedicated a special issue to works of art reflecting the fascination the ancient Hebrew traditions have exercised on the minds of artists. Among the pictures reproduced, 15 of Blake's Job plates appeared with a brief commentary in which Blake is defined as "a poet, a painter and a mystic" on whose mind darkness is said to have descended and he had "to say farewell to his wonderful visions and art painfully too early"; the apparently naive manner of representation, the critic, "Secundus" claims, corresponds to the archaic tone of the biblical text in a most perfect way, while the depth of conception and the mysticism of execution are said to disclose the impenetrable depths of Job's story (Secundus, 63). In 1924, seven of the same set of plates were used in The Bible in Pictures, a book compiled by the editor of the same journal, József Patai.

To commemorate the centenary of Blake's death, one of the most brilliant contributors to the forum of Hungarian modernism, the literary journal Nyugat [West], which had been established in 1908, and which, in strong opposition to the conventional nationalism of the establishment of contemporary Hungary, sought to invigorate Hungarian culture by an increased receptiveness to Western stimuli, Antal Szerb, author and critic, wrote a substantial, 25-page essay on Blake which eventually came out in 1928 with a bibliography of editions, biographies, and critical studies. Szerb draws upon all the then-available biographical and critical sources, English (Gilchrist, Tatham, Swinburne, Garnett, Arthur Symons, Ellis and Yeats, Chesterton), German-Austrian (Helene Richter, Rudolf Kassner) and French (P. Berger). In his assessment of Blake's work as poet and artist he already employs some of the hypotheses of Freudian and Jungian psychoanalysis.

Blake's mysticism and his gospel of the liberation of the unconscious, mainly that of the "archetypal Eros," appeal to Szerb as the most distinctive features of his mythology. Most of Szerb's conclusions strike the critic today as amazingly well informed and profound.

Thanks to what he calls the double vision, the painter-mystic gives life to everything, and fills everything with God's presence. He can do this with a realism that is incomparably greater than the German Romantics' philosophical pantheism or the almost obligatory pantheistic nature worship of the English poets in the line of Wordsworth, Shelley and Swinburne. The latter, despite the intensity of their enthusiasm, always remain outside the Great Unity, since their relationship with it is based on nostalgia, and nostalgia is always directed towards something that is outside us. Blake, on the other hand, thanks to his unique way of seeing, participates in every thing without any nostalgia or pathos, and his relationship with the All stems not from nostalgia: it is a human participation in the human All. (Szerb 249)

Although Blake is defined by Szerb as "the most eccentric of the eccentric poets of an eccentric nation," he is analyzed...
in the context of European pre-romanticism as it was defined by Paul Van Tieghem in his comparative studies, Le Preromantisme: Etudes d'histoire litteraire Européenne. Synthesizing the stimuli that he found in Ossian, Chatterton, Percy and the Gothic revival, on the one hand, and the national traditions of England (Renaissance and Milton), prompted by the Daughters of Inspiration, Blake is said to have been able to find a way to an interpretation of the universe which anticipates, Szerb claims, Hegel and the German Romantics, especially Novalis and Holderlin:

In Blake inspiration means much more than art, much more than a means to create the work of art. Similarly to Novalis and his circle who attributed to the inspired, ecstatic fantasy a power which was creative not only artistically but also in terms of the phenomenal world (magic idealism), Blake ascribed a metaphysical function to inspiration: if truly inspired, man can defeat the spectre hiding in him which is his sense of guilt as well as the abstract, speculative intellect. Inspiration is redemption. (Szerb 258)

Szerb emphasizes the ethical implications of Blake's mysticism: through the salvation offered by inspiration man will be able to free himself from the shackles of the Law:

It is this implication of Blake's mysticism which is fully absorbed in the spirit of the newly emerging 19th century; it is this implication of his mysticism which, like German Romanticism, rolls into the greatest intellectual stream of the new century, the stream of Liberty. The waves of that stream are fed both by mysticism and rationalism; it is around this time that the injury inflicted on the human spirit by the ancient shackles, which have appeared to be eternal, start to be felt most acutely, and Blake is probably among those who articulate that pain the most poignantly. (Szerb 250)

Although none of Blake's writings had been translated into Hungarian previously, Szerb quotes some of the Songs, the manuscript poems, substantial passages from the prophecies, and even from the annotations to Reynolds and A Descriptive Catalogue.

Embracing Goethe's concept of Weltliteratur, the central poet of Hungarian modernism and one of the key figures of the critical movement launched by Nyugat, Mihály Babits published a history of European literature in 1934-35 (Az európai irodalom története). Nobody has ever done quite so much for introducing nineteenth-century and contemporary English literature to the general public in Hungary as Babits. His enthusiasm for English poetry went as far as his defining England as the very nation of poetry. In Babits's survey of European poetry, Blake, although discussed very briefly, is securely there in the continuum of European poetic traditions; his presence is illustrated not only by his poems: two of his plates are also introduced, plate 5 of The Book of Thel and plate 11 of America.

The most important dates in the tradition of Anglo-Hungarian literary contacts indicate quite clearly that in this country there has always been a very strong ideological-political motivation behind the academic interest in English poetry. Antal Szerb's own survey of world literature (A világ irodalom története), published in 1941, was composed under the pressure of the increasing threat of Nazi ideology whose influence, by that time, had become far too obvious in Hungary as well. "In defiance of the nightmare of a German Europe, European culture for Szerb meant Paris, London, Goethe's Weimar, and Florence," as György Poszler maintains in his monograph on Szerb (Poszler 389). The Blake who is portrayed here is probably not as warmly celebrated as Blake the mystic of the 1928 essay: it is obvious that some doubts are now entertained by Szerb about the implications of the liberation of the irrational and the instinctive. The prophetic books are said to be mainly inaccessible.

After all the horrors of World War II, to offer a cleansing experience which might prepare his own generation for a new start, Béla Hamvas, author and thinker, compiled his Anthologia Humana subtitled "The Wisdom of Five Thousand Years" (1947). In the introduction he quotes Hölderlin, "Wo aber Gefahr ist, wachst das Rettende auch," and the anthology itself, a sequence of quotations said to represent the perennial wisdom surfacing again and again in the writ-
ings of the great seekers for truth from Hermes Trismegistos to Theodor Haeckert, is offered for meditation that might hopefully lead to moral purification as a form of “das Rettende.” (It is ironic but characteristic of the “innocence” of Hamvás that some quotations from Lenin and Stalin are also included.) It is in this anthology that Blake’s Proverbs of Hell were first published in Hungarian.

There came a considerable period of silence in the history of Blake’s critical reception which can be attributed to the hegemony of a new concept of art as imitating social reality and having a strong political commitment. It was only some time after the failure of the uprising of 1956 when a compromise was achieved between the cultural establishment and the intellectuals seeking to find an acceptable status quo without moral qualms, that a new forum was established for the publication of foreign literature, the journal Nagyvilág [All the World Around]; this was supposed to bridge the gap between Hungarian literature and whatever innovative, experimental, non-canonical new writing emerged outside the country, including this time all the continents, East and West, both nations “great” and “small,” in contradistinction to N'yugat at the beginning of the century with its exclusive interest in Western Europe. It was Nagyvilág which carried an essay commemorating the bicentenary of Blake’s death in 1957, and this event seemed to be a prelude to the publication of a very fine selection of Blake’s work in Hungarian in 1959: William Blake: Versek és Proféciák [William Blake: Poems and Prophecies] edited and prefaced by Miklós Szenczi, Professor of English at the time (Éötvös Loránd University, Budapest). This contained not only Blake’s songs, most of the manuscript poems and the poems in his letters to Butts, but the complete Book of Thel, Visions of the Daughters of Albion, America, Europe, The Book of Urizen, The Song of Los, The Ghost of Abel, and substantial passages of Vala, Milton, and Jerusalem. The translators of the volume included some of the most virtuosic poets of the 1950s, including Sándor Weöres, whose own poems were later translated into English by Edwin Morgan. In his short Introduction to the Penguin edition of Weöres’s Selected Poems, Edwin Morgan seems to claim that there is some affinity between Blake’s own and Weöres’s treatment of “the minute particulars” (Morgan 12). The volume has an appendix of graphics: four of the “Illustrations of Job” followed by “The Temptation of Eve,” “Satan Triumphs over Eve,” “Holy Thursday” (Songs of Experience), two plates of Milton, one of Jerusalem, “The House of Death,” and “The House of Abel.” The cover carries “The Ancient of Days.” I was at grammar school when the volume came out and still remember the thrill we felt at being able to hold the beautiful book in our hands. In Szenczi’s very discerning biographical sketch and critical evaluation, Blake’s commitment to the most radical ideologies of his time is brought into focus, as was expected by the norms of Marxist criticism, elevated by now to the status of the only reliable or objective approach to art. Interestingly enough, Szenczi’s Blake with his well documented interests in the historical and social reality of his time anticipates the Blake of the New Historicists.

3 Printing House in Hell

The real breakthrough, however, in the history of Blake’s reception in Hungary came when his name was first mentioned as one of the great artists whom Béla Kondor considered to be one of his masters. During his life time Béla Kondor (1931-72), an artist and poet, whose visionary representation of the world has “Dantesque dimensions” (Győri 267), was generally seen as a legendary figure, and very soon after his tragically early death in 1972 both his life and work assumed the status of a myth. As an artist he produced graphics, pastels, and oils which attracted huge crowds of people at each of his public shows; as a poet he was known only to a small circle of devotees and up to the present his stature as a poet has not been adequately assessed.

After the first public show of his early paintings, engravings, monotypes, and graphics in Budapest in 1960, and the show of 16 of his engravings in the Museum of Modern Art, Miami, US, in 1962, he was considered as an artist who had a leading role in the artistic revival of the early sixties, following the new Party directives on culture in 1958 which allowed, however grudgingly, a greater scope for free experimentation. By most of the intellectuals of the time, Kondor’s work was seen as an expression of the tragic aspect of twentieth-century Hungarian history, and his exhibitions often had the air of a political demonstration. Up to the end of his tragically short life the cultural establishment tried to obstruct the growth of his fame and influence: characteristically enough his first exhibition was dismantled a few days after it was opened because the authorities panicked at the sight of the number of people who flocked to see his works. Official recognition came only after the 1989 transition: in 1990, 18 years after his death, by the painfully belated gesture of the Németh government, he was awarded the Kossuth prize, the greatest distinction in this country honoring artistic achievement.
Kondor, however, did not entertain any aspiration to the role of leader or political martyr. In his analysis of modern history Auschwitz was the most crucial disclosure of the horrific potentiality of man, and consequently it is Auschwitz that defines the tragic metaphysical world in which his art as a whole moves. Deliberately amalgamating various traditions, he produced an idiosyncratic, unique, and elusive mythological "system" with very strong metaphysical connotations which cannot be confined to any direct political allusions but are to be read, instead, as episodes in an incessant search for the most adequate and most trenchant way of defining man's tragic, irredeemable ontological status as well as a search for intellectual and emotional support that might protect the artist himself against succumbing to the temptation of nihilism.

His autonomy and independence from the then-prevalent trends in Hungarian art predestined him to isolation. This isolation, however, seems to be not only the outcome of his temperament but a deliberately chosen artistic stance. In a letter of 1968, which was published only after Kondor's death, he writes to one of the most influential art critics, Gyula Rózsa:

I would never venture to posit ... such overweening and fanciful parallels between psychology, daily politics and art as you have done in several essays of yours. ... Artists (including myself) are not born to solve social and political problems ... Between expression, solution and reality there are enormous chasms. Their interaction is far too psychological, which means that the territory itself is a mire ... I would like my works to be taken as I take television, radio, newspapers, etc. That is, as natural phenomena. I enjoy them because they are there and as soon as I don't want them I neglect them or turn them off. Art criticism is very far removed from art itself. Or should I say I frankly don't give a fuck about all your scribbling. That could be said only by an existentialist instead of me. (Rózsa 87)

As early as 1960, after the first public show of his graphic works, he was generally hailed as one of the most promising artists of the time, and although there were some voices deploring the form and execution of his work, he was compared by the more discerning critics to the greatest masters in the history of graphic art, to Bosch, Dürer and Cranach. As a poet, however, he still seems to be an embarrassment. He himself was rather reluctant to publish: his first volume came out in 1971, a year before he died. A lot of his writings still remain unpublished. In an essay of 1988, one of the most perceptive literary critics, Mátyás Domokos, claims that Kondor's poetry cannot be assessed unless we are ready "to get rid of the neurosis of literary criticism" which thinks compulsively in terms of classification, periodization, and well-defined categories (Domokos 327). He cannot be seen as belonging to any well-defined traditions in Hungarian poetry; the kind of transcendence and mysticism characteristic of Kondor's vision, as Ágnes Nemes Nagy, the poet and critic pointed out, has never been as integral to the Hungarian poetic tradition as to other poetries in Europe (quoted by Németh 1980, 21). It is obvious, however, that his stature as a poet cannot be defined until it is fully realized that in his case "poet and artist are one" (László Nagy, quoted by Győri 271), that his art and poetry are essentially and organically unified, and that his mythopoetic imagination worked along the same lines through the same recurring motifs in both his visual and verbal statements.

Kondor's attitude to tradition was unusual. In order to preserve his independence he had to dissociate himself from the then-fashionable art schools, the "Hungarian Barbizon" ("Nagybánya school") and post-impressionism, both having exhausted their resources by the time Kondor started his career. Talking about his initial problems, he said that "the air around me was blazing with the glossy chromic oxide and ultramarine slogans of Nagybánya and a host of provincial post-impressionist principles" (quoted by Németh 1980, 3).

During his years as an art student, because of his conflicts with the arbiters of the aesthetic norms of the time, in search of independence, he dropped painting and joined the Graphic Department. In order to find his own means of expression, he studied the graphic collection of the Museum

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Kondor's diploma work, executed in 1956, already shows the intellectual complexity and profundity as well as the technical brilliance of his later work, that is, the independence and autonomy of vision and execution. It was a sequence of 16 copper plates about the most famous peasant revolt in Hungarian history (1514), with Dózsa the leader as protagonist.

The most conspicuous characteristic of the rendering of the story in graphic terms is that there is hardly any reference in the presentation of the scenes to the particular historical events; they are read rather as signs or revelations of a more universal meaning. In the penultimate plate (illus. 1), dedicated to the subject of retribution after the defeat of the uprising, Kondor uses a number of biblical allusions, iconographic details which are supposed to evoke associations with the crucifixion: the crucified position of Dózsa's arms, a figure on the left holding the spear and the sponge at the end of a reed in his hand. Dózsa has already been offered vinegar and his side has been pierced. At his foot in the left hand corner there is a male figure with a hand stretched upwards, his palm eagerly opened to collect the blood. On the other side of the picture there is a ladder, a pervasive motif in Kondor's work, on top of which a figure is thrusting his fingers into the wound opened by the spear to make sure that it is the Savior. The simultaneity of representation gives narrative dimensions to the representation: sacrifice and resurrection are iconographically synthesized.

On the other hand, there are a number of motifs that call this simple reading into question in a most radical way. First of all, among the items of clothing hanging on Dózsa's left arm, the only item that can be clearly deciphered is a jester's cap, an attribute of the hero: is he a martyr or is he a fool? In his poem "Journey, House" ["Utazás, ház"] (both "journey" and "house" seem to be emblematic of man's fallen condition) Kondor says,
My Lord and Father, Mother, and Protector!
I am ceaselessly amazed: we've been had!
What is this power that forces us to do tasks
Which just can't be done, no way!

We are puppets: there must be a stage manager somewhere, male or female, who compels us to carry out impossible tasks. Existence itself is a compulsion without the hope of success. By juxtaposing incongruous elements in his pictures and poems, he usually enhances the deliberate ambiguity of his statements. Sympathy and irony, the sublime and the grotesque intermingle in his works as in Blake’s reflections upon human nature and the cosmic arrangement.

Kondor’s skepticism is emphasized by the inscription on the circumference of the wheel which dominates the composition. Kondor used inscriptions again and again in his pictures in a way that is somewhat similar to Blake’s attempt to combine text and graphic representation (at the end of his life Kondor meant to produce plates where the visual and the verbal components would complement each other); he counterpoints his visual system of codes with verbal elements to provoke conceptual-intellectual interpretation; most of his engravings are thrilling intellectual adventures. The inscription (here as in so many other pictures the letters are reversed as if in a mirror) reads: “This is the lot of all prophets,” a gloomy, ironic statement. The most disturbing aspect of the picture, however, is suggested by the circularity of the composition: the idea of history being an unending aimless monotonous repetition of the same cycles is emphasized by the presence of the wheel; Dózsa's identification with Ixion on his wheel of fire suggests the futility of all human endeavor, the frustration of all human aspiration. The focal point of the wheel, the hub where the spokes or radii of the circle intersect, is constituted by the genitals of the martyr’s naked body (quite an unusual form of representation in Hungarian hagiography), the gesture itself reminiscent of Blake’s conviction that the naked body is an expression of spiritual truth. The very strong connection between sexuality and the wheel, the emphasis upon the sexual instinct which perpetuates time, suggests the idea—reiterated in the very powerful language of his poems again and again as well as in other graphic works and paintings—that for Kondor as for Blake the creation of the cosmos and the Fall coincide.

Kondor’s tragic view of humanity in the universe, which has been defined as “Platonic existentialism,” suggests that as soon as human beings appeared in history, they messed up the possibilities held out by Platonic Being (Domokos 331). In his long Platonic dialogue called Angel, Devil, Poet. A Preliminary But Coherent Essay in Memory of a Dead Poet [Angyal, ördög, költő. Kezdetleges, de összefüggő tanulmány egy halott költő emlékére], which I would say shows obvi-
ous traces of the influence of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, he conveys his sense of the fragmentation of Being by personifying the divided self: his devils seem to represent the rational—cynical, sarcastic, disillusioned—aspect of the mind, whereas the angels probably stand for the emotive—sentimental, ignorant, innocent—in the human psyche. The Devil says:

> When they were released from Paradise men immediately set to the exhausting work of organizing the enormous work camp which soon assumed enormous dimensions. This activity they called theft and cheating at the beginning, later on (as they multiplied and got more and more refined) simply politics, and eventually (as a result of self-deception) production. That was how God was thought up in the human mind.

Blake's contention that the Tree of Mystery grows in the human brain seems to be confirmed by Kondor: the horrors of history are identified with fallen humanity's concept of God.

And, indeed, in Kondor's poems the Gnostic vehemence of the denunciations of the God of the institutionalized religions is strongly reminiscent of the prophetic wrath of Blake attacking humanity's distorted idol, the Starry King "promulgating his ten commands."

In his poem *Man Has Grown from the Naked Child* [*Meztelen gyerekből felnéztek az ember...*], Kondor describes the process of the naked child, his emblem of the spirit, being clothed in the rags of the body by God, the definition of whom recalls the attributes of Blake's false divinity, the hidden Selfhood, the monster, Urizen. In the first verse paragraph he is called by Kondor the "heavenly monster, the Selfhood hiding in shame." In a later section of the same poem Kondor writes disdainfully:

> Once Man was a proud animal with his untamed and powerful mind he adored our images and not you. He evoked you, and, of what was left, after his murderous hunger was gratified, he cast you a bone, an offering. Progeny of Idols. But you clothed him in his shameful rags, unloosed manifold futile hungers upon his naked body, which he will never be able to satisfy, insatiable.

In Kondor's world lust and lies—sexuality and intellectual delusions—are the first and foremost propensities of man. In his bitter poem *Gulliver to the Laputians* [*Gulliver a laputaiakhoz*], man is defined as an irredeemable procreating, self-deceiving animal:

> Each day you erect your cock against the sky, your mouths are set agape; through the perishable round O of your body false words come forth and false children. Generation increases. 

> Because the descendants are more numerous Than all their dead parents.

In Kondor's writings and pictures there is a sense of horror in face of the Platonic concept of the Many.

Though Kondor's greatest ambition was to become a fresco painter and thus practice a communal form of art, he could not obtain commissions and so returned to engraving again and again: he is actually credited with enhancing the reputation of engraving in this country. With reference to his own sporadic statements about the craft it has been suggested that it was perhaps in this medium he eventually found a means of self-transcendence, that is, a solution for one of his most pressing formal problems: how to realize his ideal of impersonality. His obsessive interest in engraving at the same time has been defined as an expression of his awareness that the self has no longer a distinguished place in art or in the universe (Rényi 14, 15). He himself called graphic art "a form of concealment, where the old, great, confused and pure-hearted fancies can hide" (quoted by Németh 1980, 4).

It is this impersonality of expression that fascinated him. Once he said that "To make engravings is a most gratifying thing. The final product emerges between the rollers of the machine and you can admire it freely, without any scruples: after all it is the machine and not you who has made it" (quoted by Németh 1980, 6).

The hard labor involved, the physical and mental difficulties he had to solve in the process of engraving, probably provided a welcome outlet for his immensely intense emotional energies. He seems to have displayed the attitude of the Renaissance craftsman in his poetry as well: art is defined in terms of physical labor which wastes away the body. In his poem "Comforting" ["Vigasztalás"] he says:

> As to the poem: it is a void created in my body. And then as in the cloud caught by the sun I am aglow for a few seconds.

He was described by his contemporaries, including his critics and his closest male and female friends, as basically a romantic. One of the witnesses of his life said about him: "In times of happiness, even in the most intense moments of happiness—or especially in those most intense moments—he anticipated tragedy. He lived in intensity that knew no abatement, he lived a life of enhanced receptivity—He anticipated tragedy. He lived in intensity that knew no abatement, he lived a life of enhanced receptivity and was thus constantly very close to death" (Tobias 42). His world as an artist, poet, thinker, and visionary is built upon the polarities of the ecstasy of Being and the tragedy
of humanity, and most of his work is witness to his gigantic effort to save the world from falling apart. As in the work of the best romantics, in Kondor’s work the antinomies between man and woman, angel and devil, order and chaos, the sublime and the grotesque, the murderer and the victim, the man who sits in judgment and the man being judged are dialectically, mutually dependent upon one another. These psychological realities are resolved in the central emblem of his mythology, Jesus, whose life is seen as a heroic attempt to unify through suffering whatever has been torn asunder. Whereas for Blake, Jesus appears to be the Platonic ideal of humanity:

The Divine Vision still was seen,
Still was the Human Form Divine,
Weeping in weak & mortal clay,
O Jesus, still the Form was thine...

for Kondor, Christ is the emblem of man’s metaphysical condition, which is defined by suffering. Kondor’s harsh denunciation of the fraudulence of institutionalized Christianity which has abused the teachings of Jesus in order to gratify its own self-seeking interests is reminiscent of Blake’s anti-clericalism. In an interview Kondor said:

The teachings of Jesus are impossible to follow. Because he raises in our way hurdles which, in everyday circumstances, can be jumped over only by a lonely wolf, and a wolf, for that matter, that does not bite. The fate of lonely wolves, however, is death by the gun or starvation. Jesus as a symbol is really independent of history, true in the way that folk tales and poems are, and if a man with his nature would watch our life today, he would not approve, and rightly would he disapprove. No changes have come about, it is only the centuries that have blown over. . . . The Jesus of the Bible actually did not really want to change things, he wanted to restore the teachings of some ancient wisdom, which had lost their luster and, with it, their power of persuasion. It is natural enough that he fell victim to the vengeful spirit of society, and was abused exactly by those who have created an office for themselves out of his holiness.

Anyway, those who believe in this myth as required by the catechism are happy because they have hope. I don’t belong among them. Still I have the capacity for love. (Kondor 12)

His numerous crucifixions represent the mystery of suffering as the inexorable aspect of the human condition (in one the body does not even have the mercy of the cross to support it!). His closest friends knew that “in a metaphysical sense he recognised himself to be a convict who has been judged and found guilty” (quoted by Németh 1980, 51).

He etched his illustrations of Blake, 12 plates, in 1961-62. They evince his recognition of a kindred spirit in Blake and his absorbing interest in Blake’s world; the etchings were not commissioned and have never been published as illustrations in the traditional sense of the word. Nine of them (Blake Dines with Prophets, Printing House in Hell, Pub in Hell, Expect Poison from the Standing Water, Church, Mill, Thy Phantasy Has Imposed upon Me, Blake and the Angel, Emanation), as the titles suggest, represent Kondor’s own reading of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell; God Let Us Keep from Newton’s Faith! is a most interesting redefinition of Newton’s spirit; Magnina Trilladora, in my own interpretation, is a very bitter rendering of some aspects of Blake’s sexual ideology as reflected in The Visions of the Daughters of Albion; and finally William and Angel are documents of Kondor’s interest in Blake without, however, reference to any particular poems or tenets.

G od Let Us Keep from Newton’s Faith [Newton hittétől mentesnek az Isten] (1961, colored plate; 137 x 150 mm., illus. 11). What seems to be most striking is the geometric austerity of the plate: two triangular planes make up the square that contains the forms, and the emblematic presence of the geometric forms recalls Blake’s own iconographic device with which he discloses Newton’s restricted way of seeing in his own plate of 1795. Newton’s double figure is constructed within bold, definite outlines. The mirror-effect that unifies the double human form, the juxtaposition of the naked and the draped bodies stemming from the same trunk, is echoed in the sophisticated use of colors: the sun is red (in it Los, Kondor’s self-portrait, also appears), its “Platonic” reflection is blue, and in the background there is the blue patch of the sea (of Time and Space?). The faces are averted, the heads are hanging, their traditionally central meaning is assumed by the hands: they are most delicately drawn, and contribute most significantly to the ultimate suggestion of the composition. Hands in Kondor’s pictures
are often associated with creative work. They usually hold some fragile winged things (e.g., airplanes) or creatures (birds) about to soar. Kondor’s most celebrated painting, “The Wasp King”—which is said to have become one of the topoi of the Hungarian mind—represents a figure with a crown (or cap and bells) holding a wasp in his hand: the hand both imprisons and launches the creature, creativity and frustration are suggested simultaneously. Newton’s universe probably stems from a restricted view of reality; at the same time, however, he is an artist who gives concrete form to error, which is, as we know, an act of Mercy. There are some further motifs well known to Blake scholars: the book about to fall, the chain directing the attention down into the abyss, and the abyss itself, the realm of natural Law, the dominion of gravitation.

The romantic theme of dualism—duality wrecking the human condition emerges in Kondor’s writing with characteristic frequency. One of his deeply stirring poems, Shame and Pride [Szegyen és biiszkeség] (the title might be a reference to To Tirzah—”The Sexes sprung from Shame & Pride”—included in Szenczi’s edition), is a record of a world split asunder as well as supported by enormous cosmic energies:

O, the pair of them: the mountains melting and the frozen storm on the sea!
Where’s the grave delight? It’s not on the wings. It’s in our embraces:
like the stone embraced by the water; your life grows into busy noise.
And they’ll never freeze completely, never, the rock and the sea:
all those unerring foster mothers only change.

Those foster mothers, the things of nature—mountain and water—the processes in nature—melting and freezing—the dialectic contraries will never cease. They are perhaps reconciled for a transient moment in the illusion created by our embraces.

Blake Dines with Prophets [Blake prôfétákkal vacsordzik] (140 x 100 mm., illus. 2). Here again the concept of the representation is based on the idea of duality. The visual contrast between the prophets and “Blake” discloses the contrast between vision and reality. The pathos and the dignity of Isaiah and Ezekiel are created by the organic network of the delicately etched, curving lines and the blank spaces that fill them in. On the other hand, the black figure’s presence is presence through absence: the rigid, indivisible solid black patch calls into question the faith of those archaic visionaries. This black figure in his suit and top hat is a recurring motif in Kondor’s pictures: sometimes in his breast there is a hole with two hands which tell the time, whereas on his arm, where the wristwatch should be, is a small shape like the traditional emblem of the heart. In that particular scene “Blake” is immured in his temporal self; incidentally, his chair is supported by books; he is relying upon the type of knowledge that can be contained in writing, or sanctioned by authority.

The Pub in Hell [Pokolbeli kocsma] (286 x 184 mm., illus. 4). In his poem, “The Continuation of Our Conversation” [“Beszéletésünk folytatása”], Kondor says:

... This world aspires sideways and upwards.
The ruin of a castle visited by breezes.

The composition of The Pub in Hell is based on lines going sideways and upwards. The closed space is created by a vertical staircase, vaulted windows, the perpendicular structure of a Gothic interior counterbalanced by the horizontal axis composed by the interaction of the female and male figures bound to face each other sooner or later. The flight of stairs leads nowhere; the ladder, another symbol of ascent, is grotesquely small. In the upper left corner and on the right there are two winged creatures obviously arrested in their flight by the strict limits of the space. The horizontal and vertical axes are contrasted in the center of the composition by the wheel which stands still. Ascent and descent are counterbalanced; a stalemate is produced and creates an atmosphere of doom.
The male figure who is pushed into the pub by the hardly visible, sinister black figure in the top hat (who bars the way to retreat) is an anachronism in this mythical place: he is an outlaw well known in Hungarian popular tradition who belongs to the unbounded plains, the "puszta," and is exempt from the laws. Outlaw and horse in Hungarian folk tradition are one entity, which suggests that the figure might be interpreted as a self-portrait: in some of his poems Kondor defines one of his selves as mounted on a horse.

The Woman, the Tempter (she probably corresponds to Blake's Vala) with the pair of balances, might be associated with Themis in Greek mythology, who represents the laws governing the relationship of the sexes as well as the relationship of the immortals and the mortals; she also is the mother of the Horae, that is, of Time. Both horse and balances, however, might be traced back to another source, to the language and imagery of Revelation which haunt Kondor's imagination as much as they permeate Blake's works. Revelation 6:5 reads: "And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo, there was a black horse: and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand."

Because once all gets reversed,
All ties that bind in a sense of sin expire:
In the midst of desired kisses the taste will stale,
Those once united languish in captivity,
and even solitude will give no pleasure.

The "Request" ["Kérés"] can be read as a modern version of "The Crystal Cabinet":

Why should we want, with our mute desires,
to conquer this beautiful body again and again?

... racked on the rack of the instincts,
the heart, the color of flesh, of blood, contracts
and lo! it wants to enter, hot,
quick, the secret, to its own destruction.
Thus the meaning gets lost of itself
and joins the objects of our life,
as it should, in Time.

My only request is: Alter everything.

The Printin House in Hell [Pokolbeli nyomda] (engraving, 240 x 240 mm., illus. 3). Some of the elements of the Gothic interior are still there, but what seems to dominate the plate is the enormously complicated machinery with cogwheels and conveyor belts, and, on top of the terrifying structure an airplane with a pilot leaning out of its window with a gun in his hand. The threat he represents is counterbalanced by the calm of the small figure sitting on the floor completely absorbed in arranging his string of letters: the crowded composition coheres thanks to the counterpoint of terror and peace. The gun is pointed at a monster who stands at the steering wheel of the huge machine: on his back the letters NEMO (NOBODY) can be deciphered. On the right can be seen Blake's men who arrange the books in libraries. In the center there is a plate in which line 7 of "A Song of Liberty" is engraved: "In her trembling hand she took the new born terror." The picture illustrates how very deeply Kondor understood Blake's Marriage: the idea of the correspondence of the macrocosm and the microcosm, the identity of the world outside and the world inside, the interconnection of history and human thinking. His analysis of the creative process involves a great deal of emphasis upon the extremity of the pain and horror. The instinctive, irra-
tional, spontaneous energies are coordinated and channelled into the coherence of the form. The threat of failure, the threat of the loss of balance, is obviously also there. The most interesting question is raised by NEMO: is it a reference to the annihilation of the self as an essential condition for artistic work, or is the monster a representation of Blake's Giants "who formed the world into its sensuous existence ... the sources of all activity"? Very little is as yet known about Kondor's own mythical animals.

The plates Church [Templom] (87 x 110 mm., illus. 6), Mill [Malom] (230 x 245 mm., illus. 7) and Thy Phantasy Has Imposed upon Me [Képzeleted megéltett engem] (105 x 65 mm., illus. 8) are the records of Kondor's reading of Blake's journey with the Angel in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell during which they both witness their eternal lot.

Magnina Dilladora [Magnina Trilladora] (watercolored plate, 198 x 254 mm., illus. 12) seems to be a visual rendering of the plight of the virgin and the youth described in Visions of the Daughters of Albion. The title itself may be a reference to the flower, the Marygold, that Oothoon plucks in Leutha's vale. Up in the left corner a male figure can be seen with a net catching a bird, probably a reference to the episode of the rape; the female figure at the point of the golden section might have been suggested by Blake's indignant denunciation of loveless marriage: in the woman's womb there is the abhorred cherub, the fruit of "the wheel of false desire." The wheel itself is in the center of the picture; it is driven by the legislator of this hypocritical world (Urizen?) and the machine has a guillotine-like device attached to it whose blade is about to drop upon the neck of the masturbating youth.

Kondor's interest in Blake was so strong that he wrote two poems which are directly addressed to Blake as Kondor's tributes to his master.

"Happiness Fragment, To Mr. W. B. in the Beyond most respectfully" ["Boldogságtöredek, W. Blake úrnak tisztelettel a másvilágra"]

The golden Sun's found his way under the little skirts of the grave clouds.

And with his fivefold rays in his golden way he strokes and feels the bulging Earth.

With his other golden hand he undoes the strings of the clouds to press against her naked.

Window is there none
and there is no house,
no clothes, no shelter,
and the golden shame will cease!

This seems to be a nuptial hymn celebrating the embrace of Sun and Earth irradiated by the gold of the icons. This marriage grants a vision of absolute freedom, an end of all restrictions (window, house, shame). In the poem already quoted above, "Shame and Pride," Kondor describes the condition of unified seeing engendered by love, which, however, is shattered soon enough by reality:

Still bold in my happiness, I loved a God, who
was a woman.
Now I can see the shameless enormous water,
the uncouth
mountain, not only the iridescent air.

The "Holy Trinity" of water, mountain and air is created by human perception in moments when it is redeemed by love.

Mr. Blake

Now with an axe close to his hand the Fool returns the smiles of lovely women.
The light sunshine hardens.
Mr. Blake is coming here smiling, holding

the hand of a string of woven letters, a woman.
On his back the burden of books; he, too, is heavy and fat.
And then a black cloud rises up from the rock
and lead and dust and ashes settle around me.
The terrible emanation of the Sun hardens!

The false god that lives among the clouds, looks down.
You.
"My darling," says the boring, seedy mistress. And again
the light freezes;
nothing remains but what will be.

Taking the gold sunshine by the hand, the golden cloud is dissolving; in beauty and dignity cheap women emerge. Again.
Now with an axe close to his hand Mr. Blake returns the smile of the Lord God. And now from the black rock a dust of lead, cursing and devils arises.

But then empty talk is forbidden by the Lord.

The poem is probably an attempt to recreate the spirit of Blake which, however, ends in failure ("empty talk is forbidden by the Lord"). Kondor appropriates some of Blake's characteristic gestures and conveys his respect for a master he probably considers superior to himself. The axe is re-
peatedly mentioned as an attribute of Blake: Kondor has enigmatic knives, daggers, axes in his pictures as well; for instance, in one of his paintings, The Judge, which is a beautiful vision in soft pink, gold and white, the archangel has a blue dagger in his mouth. In a poem entitled "Three Preliminary Essays" ["Három előtanulmány"] he seems to suggest that the precision of expression must have the sharpness of a knife: "even as the knife, the words, the breath."

In Kondor’s definition of Blake’s artistic world a distinction is made between the false god hiding behind the barrier of the clouds and the Lord who seems "to establish his covenant" with the poet (another element of the romantic legacy in Kondor’s philosophy: the creative word of the poet has almost the status of the Holy Word): he smiles and his smile is returned, and then the poem is made. In Kondor, creative work, the work of the poet, of the artist is frequently expressed in imagery connected with mining. In "No Slave Is the Poem" ["Nem szolga a vers"], a document of his desire to transcend the personal ego, Kondor says:

The word resounds in the cavity of pillar-supported bright pits.
The audience is darkened,
the warm light dissolves
and in a loud voice the glittering coal burns to ashes.
He is pale then, he is empty,
the creator, now.

And eventually Kondor also seems to see that for Blake (probably in the same way as for himself) there is a mysterious connection between artistic creation and sexuality.

Kondor’s last public show in 1970 was opened by the poet Pilinszky, who was one of Kondor’s very few close friends in his utter solitude. Pilinszky defined Kondor’s art in the following words: “He is a relative of both Fra Angelico and Dostoevsky. . . . He is one of the tragically and cathartically great paradoxical artists. His lines have an ethereal clarity, his patches emanate bloodshot brutality. . . . The pictures exhibited here come back to us already from the bourne of articulation and silence” (Pilinszky 2: 165).

The chronology of the composition of the poems is not known. Kondor obviously wanted to disconnect his utterances from the temporal events of both his life and the history of his time (on the reverse side of one of his drafts Kondor wrote: “Mix up dates”), but one has the impression that Angel, Devil, Poet is already a preparation for silence. In its coda, "Funeral Oration," one of Kondor’s angel alter egos says: "I can’t help being amazed, since death appears not in a specific earthly form like birth, for instance, but it is hunger in the moment preceding a great feast, simple, certain and pleasant hunger since it promises a table laid. I know what kind of dishes are made ready for me,’ said the Angel, and he lost his body and he lost his soul, too, with thanksgiving. And he returned to nothing where everything is.”

Kondor’s historical experience left no room for much hope concerning the improvement of the human condition; he had no faith in redemption. Still, he shared Blake’s exalted
concept of art. In one of his poems, "An Essay on Colors" ["Értekezés a színekről"], he says:

And green is a thin hoop
So that the sea should not spill
—that angry sea—
smoke, sulphur and breath
should not erupt
when the Lord God is
too lazy to watch.

Until you are ready to "return to nothing where every­
thing is," it is creative work that can offer at least partial
redemption.

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Blake’s “Jerusalem” as a Hymn

By Michael Ferber

Blake’s poem “And did those feet,” given the title “Jerusalem” since its setting in 1916 by Hubert Parry, is Blake’s best known work, except perhaps for “The Tyger.” The second national anthem” of England and Wales, a staple of English hymnals and public schools, the last song of the Last Night of the Proms, it has been sung with equal fervor by suffragettes, Fabians, high-church Tories, Presbyterian missionaries, and American leftists. Having heard it and sung it many times myself and come to love it, I have grown interested in how it came to be written and what groups or causes adopted it—its “reception history”—as well as how it works as a song. The two standard biographies of Parry give the main facts about its inception and early performances, though there is more one would like to know.1 I have not found any extended discussion of it as a setting, and hence an interpretation, of Blake’s text.2 Nor have I found much concerning its later history in Britain or America. In this essay, then, I will present what is generally known about its origins and history and discuss it as a hymn. Some of what follows will be sketchy, but I hope it will at least provoke others, especially those with better access to British libraries, to fill in the gaps around this wonderful song.

“Jerusalem,” of course, is not Blake’s name for it, nor is it part of Jerusalem/The Emanation of The Giant Albion. The four-quatrains poem appears untitled at the end of the prose

“Preface” to Milton (E 95–96).3 Taken out of that immediate context, the poem’s opening is a bit mysterious—“And did those feet in ancient time, / Walk upon Englands mountains green”—for we can only infer whose feet “those feet” are when we are given the next two lines—“And was the holy Lamb of God, / On Englands pleasant pastures seen!”—and invoke the biblical stylistic principle of parallel members, whereby two or three successive verses are variants of the same general meaning. In the prose context there is a clear suggestion, though it is hardly obvious, that those are indeed Jesus’s feet, for the last words before the poem are “in Jesus our Lord,” while “Christ & his Apostles” have been named a sentence earlier.

On hearing the song for the first time, I imagine, many people must have asked “Whose feet?” as well as “Why feet?” (I remember feeling similarly puzzled over the opening of the second stanza of “America the Beautiful”—“O beautiful for pilgrim feet”—and wondered “Why feet?”). Blake took from the Bible and John Bunyan an interest in feet and their symbolism, which has to do with our pilgrimage through this world, our “walk” or way of life, our stance before life’s dangers and temptations, and what Bunyan in Pilgrim’s Progress calls our “conversation” or conduct. A passage from Isaiah may well lie behind Blake’s lines (and perhaps Katharine Lee Bates’s line in America the Beautiful):4 “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace” (52:7); the great bringer of good tidings is of course Jesus. Feet, moreover, or at least one foot, and sandals, or at least one sandal, are central symbols at turning points of Blake’s Milton, if we may widen the context for a moment. “Then Los took off his left sandal placing it on his head, / Signal of solemn mourning” M 8.11–12; Milton “on my left foot falling on the tarsus, enter’d there; / But from my left foot a black cloud redounding spread over Europe” (15.49–50); “Milton laboured with his journey, & his feet bled sore / Upon the clay now changed to marble” (19.3–4), but with red clay he builds Urizen, “Beginning at the feet” (19.12).

In the “Preface” Blake argues that Greek and Roman literature was stolen and perverted from the Bible, and set up against the Bible, which is the “more ancient” and inspired work. He calls on the “Young Men of the New Age” to com-


2 A recent article by Samuel J. Rogal, “Blake’s ‘And did those feet’ as Congregational Hymn,” in The Hymn: A Journal of Congregational Song 44:3 (July 1993): 22–25, is disappointing, indeed maddening. It confidently asserts that the “feet” of the first line belong to the Druids (per Stukeley), it thinks it important to track the chariot back to Gray and Milton, and is generally at a loss regarding the text. Worse is a peculiar suggestion that Parry’s “hymn tune known today as Jerusalem” existed independently of the text: “Blake’s ‘And did those feet in ancient time,’ set to the Parry tune Jerusalem….” Parry’s choral song, ‘Jerusalem,’ accompanying Blake’s ‘And did those feet in ancient time’…”, as if Parry had the tune lying around in his notebook and then found that it suited Blake’s verses. Rogal may have been misled by the existence of new lyrics to the Parry setting in certain unforgivable hymnals, such as A New Hymnal for Colleges and Schools, ed. Jeffrey Rowthorn and Russell Scholz-Widmar (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), where the “music” to hymn 567 is “Jerusalem” by Parry but the words begin: “O day of peace that dimly shines / through all our hopes and prayers and dreams, / guide us to justice, truth, and love, / delivered from our selfish schemes.”

3 The “Preface” (E pl. 1) is lacking in copies C and D, probably the last two of the four extant copies of Milton. Though Milton is dated “1804” on the title page, the paper of the two copies with the “Preface” (A and B) is watermarked 1808. See Erdman’s note, E 806.

4 When Apollonius wounds Christian in head, hand, and foot, Bunyan adds a note explaining that he means “understanding, faith, and conversation.”

bat the "Hirelings in the Camp, the Court & the University," who have promoted these thefts and perversions, the worst of which is the reduction of "Mental" war to "Corporal" war, brought about by "the silly Greek & Latin slaves of the Sword"—not only Achilles and Aeneas, of course, but also their inventors Homer and Virgil, who were hirelings of kings and emperors. The young men are to fight back with their "foreheads," not corporeal weapons.

The poem neatly echoes and amplifies these two points. In the first half the ancientness and priority of the Bible corresponds to the visit of Jesus to England and the building of Jerusalem there, presumably before the Roman conquest, while the theme of the second half is "Mental Fight," where the list of spiritual weapons culminates in the sword of line 14, which replies to the corporeal Greek or Latin sword that concludes the first paragraph of the prose "Preface." As Parry rightly shows in making his melody repeat only once, covering two stanzas each time, the poem divides satisfyingly into two equal parts. The first half is a series of four two-line questions each beginning with "And" while the second half is the resolute response. The latter falls into two parts as well, first a command (as if to a squire or valet) to bring the armor and then a vow to fight until Jerusalem is built, or rebuilt, in England. Each half concludes with the building of Jerusalem, while their two locales are set in contrast, the "Satanic Mills" of here and now as opposed to the "green & pleasant Land" of the future.

It is tempting to take the four questions of the first half as "rhetorical," as Nancy Goslee does in the only substantial article on the poem. Blake certainly makes extensive use of such questions throughout his work. I think, however, that these are not rhetorical in the usual sense, as questions implying obvious answers, as here those answers would be in the negative, and so they would "begin to call into doubt the validity of that vision," as Goslee argues, and generate bitter ironies that I believe are not in the poem. It is better to take them as genuine expressions of amazement at the good tidings—"Can it be true?" or "Was it really so?"—as exclamations as much as questions. They are what Mastronarde calls "apistic" questions, questions expressing disbelief or shock. Though it is never safe to rely on Blake's quirky punctuation, it is worth noting that Blake does not end the first two couplets with a question mark; the second ends in an exclamation point. These lines are the same exclamations of wonder, and over the same tidings, as those that begin the dedication to Chapter Two of Jerusalem: "Jerusalem the Emanation of the Giant Albion! Can it be? Is it a Truth that the Learned have explored? Was Britain the Primitive Seat of the Patriarchal Religion?" (E 171).

From the first to the second stanza the description of England darkens from "mountains green" and "pleasant pastures" to "clouded hills" and "dark Satanic Mills." On Goslee's reading this shift deepens the doubts and ironies. But surely its function is to dramatize the amazement of the speaker. The locale shifts subtly from "Englands mountains green" and "Englands pleasant pastures" to "our clouded hills" and "here," / "Among these dark Satanic Mills," almost as if we are not now living in England and will not do so again until we have rebuilt Jerusalem "In Englands green & pleasant Land." The speaker seems to leave the England of ancient time and slide, by means of deictic terms ("our," "here," "these") into the England of the present: How astonishing to think Jerusalem could be here, and now! At a stretch one could take the last question as strictly rhetorical, for a "No" would be a logically appropriate answer, there having been no Satanic Mills in that ancient time, yet as an expression of astonishment it still makes good dramatic and psychological sense. And to end on the Mills, however illogically, serves also to supply the motive for all the weaponry that follows, as opposed to the hammers and trowels that would be called for if the only mission were building, for surely the Mills must first be destroyed.

Parry's manuscript and the first published version (by Curwen) indicate "solo" for the first half and "all available voices" for the second.10 I have never heard it sung that way, but it is not a bad idea. The series of astonished questions gains poignancy when voiced by one man,11 as if he is alone,

8 As Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant point out in a note in their edition, Nehemiah 4 reports that during the rebuilding of Jerusalem half the people stood guard with weapons while the other half worked. In 4:17 we are told that each of the builders "with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon." Blake's Poetry and Designs (New York: Norton, 1979) 238. In the end, for Blake, spiritual weapons are constructive tools.

As commonly sung today, even by trained choirs, "these dark Satanic Mills" is altered to "those dark Satanic Mills," as if the shift to "those" is too visionary or threatening. It is "those" in the recordings by the Choir of Winchester Cathedral and the Choir of St. George's Chapel, listed here at the end; it is "those" in Hymns for Church and School, which is the fourth edition of The Public School Hymn Book (Henley-on-Thames: Gresham Books, 1964), but "these" in The Church Hymnary (Church of Scotland and Presbyterian Churches, 1927 and subsequent editions). Paul Robeson; Emerson, Lake & Palmer; and Billy Bragg get it right on their recordings.

9 For a discussion of the importance of spiritual warfare throughout Blake's work, see Michael Ferber, "Blake and the Two Swords," in Steve Clark and David Worrall, ed., Blake in the Nineties (London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's, 1999). Goslee connects the spiritual weapons to "the Petrarchan or Ovidian convention of love as warfare" (114), but this is to narrow the meaning of "desire" to the erotic. The primary source is Ephesians 6:11-17.

10 As Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant point out in a note in their edition, Nehemiah 4 reports that during the rebuilding of Jerusalem half the people stood guard with weapons while the other half worked. In 4:17 we are told that each of the builders "with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon." Blake's Poetry and Designs (New York: Norton, 1979) 238. In the end, for Blake, spiritual weapons are constructive tools.

11 Donald J. Mastronarde, Contact and Discontinuity: Some Conventions of Speech and Action on the Greek Tragic Stage (Berkeley: U of California P, 1979) 12. Mastronarde distinguishes 10 sorts of "rhetorical questions; of which "apistic" is one.
cut off from the ancient spiritual community of England that he has just heard tell of. Indeed it is a basic Blakean tenet that it is the very illusion of being alone, no longer a member of Albion’s body, no longer a brother in loving contention with brother, that brings about the fall into this dark Satanic world, and that the first step toward restoring the original community is to act in concert with one’s fellows in waging spiritual war against all that divides them. With that realization, when the narrator calls for his weapons, all available voices (300 at the first performance) join in. It is true that they sing “Bring me” rather than “Bring us,” and one might momentarily note the absurdity of a host of knights all calling on their squires, but then the words become a vow, a collective vow like the oath on the Rütli (painted by Fuseli) but where each must swear in his own name and on his own sword. Then the pronoun shifts to “we” at the climax of the hymn, where Parry wrote “allargando” (slowing down and increasing volume), leading to the highest note of the hymn (high E) on “built,” over which Parry wrote “ff,” almost superfluously, one would think, for if the chorus or congregation are following the words as well as the melody they irresistibly sing these lines with full throat and heart.

Building a city, after all, can only be a collective act. But these stanzas of demands and vows are also a kind of prophecy: Jerusalem will be built in England, again, as it once was. Blake, as we know, dismissed prophecy and prophets “in the modern sense of the word” in favor of what we might call a conditional sense: “Thus / If you go on so / the result is So” (anno. Watson, E 617). So here he may be saying, If we do not cease from mental fight (as I will not), the result is Jerusalem. It all depends on us, and I am ready. This prophetic edge to what is literally a demand and an oath is implicit in the poem alone, I think, but it is brought out by the quotation from Moses that Blake places immediately following it: “Would to God that all the Lords people were Prophets.”

The other phrase whose meaning is affected by the context of the poem is the famous “dark Satanic Mills,” but here the case may be the opposite of that with “those feet.” For almost everyone assumes it refers to the smoke-producing industrial mills and they enslave workers the way Samson was bound to the mill in Gaza, but they are the outcome of the doctrines of Newton and Locke now inculcated in the minds of the youth: “I turn my eyes to the Schools & Universities of Europe / And there behold the Loom of Locke whose Woof rages dire / Washd by the Water-wheels of Newton. black the cloth / In heavy wreathes folds over every Nation” (J 15.14-17). The common assumption about the “Satanic Mills,” then, is not so much mistaken as overly simple, but it gives a satisfying reading, and who is to say Blake would not have endorsed it in 1916?

Sir Charles Hubert Hastings Parry (1848-1918) was a prolific and much admired composer, held in his day to rank with Purcell and Elgar. He was knighted in 1895 and appointed Professor of Music at Oxford in 1900. He wrote an immense number of choral settings, hymns, part-songs, unison songs (of which “Jerusalem” is one), solo songs, canticles, and anthems, as well as five symphonies, a piano concerto, an opera, theatre music, chamber music, and piano and organ solos. He set texts from the whole history of English poetry from Skelton to Robert Bridges, including Scenes from Shelley’s “Prometheus Unbound” (1880) and his best-known piece (after “Jerusalem”), At a Solemn Music: Blest Pair of Sirens (1887), a choral setting of Milton’s poem. Among the romantic poets he set five poems by Shelley, one by Coleridge, four by Scott, two by Byron, and two by Keats, but nothing else by Blake. Blake must nonetheless have been a part of Parry’s literary culture, for one of his longtime friends was William Blake Richmond (1842-1921), an artist who was steeped in Blake; he was the son of George Richmond, who admired Blake in his later years and was present at his death. The impulse to set Blake’s “And did those feet” came from Parry’s friend Robert Bridges, then the Poet Laureate, whom he had known since their days together at Eton and Oxford. They had collaborated on at least seven of Bridges’ own poems from 1895 to early 1916, and Parry set another later that year. For his part Bridges had a deep interest in music, and had worked with Edward Elgar, Gustav Holst, and Charles Villiers Stanford as well as with Parry. Eden, an ora-

In Parry before Jerusalem (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), Bernard Benoliel says that “Parry intended the first stanza of Jerusalem to be sung by a solo female voice” (134), but the manuscript does not specify the sex. No doubt at some women’s rights rallies it was sung that way.

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13 I am using the categories in Dibble, Appendix 2.
14 George Richmond (1809-96) made one of the “Ancients” with his friends Samuel Palmer, Edward Calvert, and Frederick Tatham; he married Tatham’s sister Julia; William was their second son.
Bridges, who had been Laureate since 1913, and several musicians, including Elgar and Parry’s former student Walford Davies, to help with a concert for a rally at Queen’s Hall on 28 March 1916. Parry, a man of liberal political views, was no jingoist, and had doubts about “Fight for Right.” Perhaps he was visited in his dreams by Blake, who reminded him that in nearly all his work, and in Milton in particular, he had set his forehead against corporeal war, that General Sir Francis was a hireling of the camp, that “Mental Fight” is the opposite of artillery barrages, barbed wire, machine guns, and gas. Perhaps Blake prophesied the Easter Rising in Erin’s green and pleasant land less than a month later, and warned against corporeal retribution. Nonetheless Parry gave the hymn to Davies the day after he wrote it and it was performed at Queen’s Hall under Davies’s direction with 300 voices from several London choirs. If Blake’s ghost stalked the Hall that day so did William Morris’s, for Elgar presented a setting of a part of Sigurd the Volsung.

Parry’s “Jerusalem” was a rousing success, and Davies got it published right away. It quickly caught on. The original version was scored for organ or piano accompaniment, but Parry soon orchestrated it, and it was performed everywhere in Britain at concerts and rallies. (Elgar’s more elaborate orchestration, first performed at the Leeds Festival of 1922, has displaced Parry’s version in nearly all performances since then.) “Fight for Right” was happy with it, but Parry soon grew unhappy with “Fight for Right,” and in May 1917 he wrote to Younghusband withdrawing his support for it. He was delighted, however, that the women’s suffrage movement took it up, and on 17 March 1917 he himself conducted it for the Women’s Demonstration meeting. A year later it was sung at a Suffrage Demonstration concert, after which Millicent Garrett Fawcett, for many years the president of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies and an old friend of Parry’s, wrote to thank him for it and propose that it become the Women Voters’ hymn.

14 Albert Guerard, Robert Bridges: A Study of Traditionalism in Poetry (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1942) 288. “Mock on Mock on” might have made an interesting unison song had Bridges suggested it to Parry.
16 Letter from Bridges quoted in Graves, 2: 92; Dibble 483. Bridges had long disliked both the words and the tune of “God Save the King” and hoped Parry’s “Jerusalem” might replace it, as it very nearly has. In April 1918 Bridges was asked to write new words for the second and third stanzas of the national anthem; he did so, but they were rejected as “not simple enough” (Phillips 264).
17 Francis Edward Younghusband (1863-1942) had a remarkable career as a soldier and explorer in India, the Himalayas, Manchuria, and the Gobi Desert before retiring to England 1910. He was also a devout Christian and a mystic who studied Hinduism and Buddhism. He wrote a dozen books of travel, mysticism, and memoirs. His biographer gives half a page out of nearly 400 to the “Fight for Right” society, and nowhere explains why Younghusband felt called upon to organize it. See George Seaver, Francis Younghusband: Explorer and Mystic (London: Murray, 1952) 292.

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replied, "Thank you for what you say about the "Jerusalem" song. I wish indeed it might become the Women Voters' hymn, as you suggest. People seem to enjoy singing it. And having the vote ought to diffuse a good deal of joy too. So they would combine happily." It was soon adopted as the national hymn for the Women's Institutes.

It is hardly surprising that the women's movement should want to make the song its own, as indeed nearly everyone seemed to enjoy singing it, and felt stirred by both its words and melody. The biblical imagery of spiritual warfare captures echoes of several intense eras and movements in British history from the seventeenth-century sects to nineteenth-century Anglican reform movements, the "Satanic Mills" and the building of Jerusalem make it attractive to laborers, and its wondrous claim that Jerusalem can be built or rebuilt here in England make it seem both patriotic and revolutionairy, and even restorationist. In 1916, however, the imagery of spiritual weaponry culminating in the sword may have struck home, as it were, particularly in the women's movement, for that movement, or some branches of it, had made great use of it. A poem printed in *Votes for Women* in March 1912, for instance, reads "Woman! Arise! And take thy fitting place. / Amid the armies of the human race. / Gird on thy sword of justice and of right, / Nor rest till victory crowns the valiant fight." The Suffragette of June 1913 carried a cartoon of a woman walking out of Holloway Prison, still shackled, bearing a flame and a flaming sword labeled "Spirit." For some factions of the women's movement the sword was less a metaphor than an archaic synecdoche, for they were using literal weapons such as explosives in their campaigns. As Millicent Fawcett firmly disagreed with their tactics, her enthusiasm for Parry's song may have been due to its subsuming of warrior imagery under strictly "mental fight."

Parry died in October 1918, a month before the armistice that put an end to the war that he had watched with despair. A tablet to his memory is mounted in Gloucester Cathedral, with an inscription by Bridges. For his part, Bridges celebrated the Allied victory with a truly awful poem called "Britannia Victrix," which belongs in a select anthology with Wordsworth's "Thanksgiving Ode" of 1816.

Blake's poem is a four-square structure: four quatrains of iambic tetrameter, with half a dozen trochaic inversions but consistently octosyllabic (except possibly line 7, if one gives "Jerusalem" four syllables). In an actual recital of the poem, of course, one will give some syllables intermediate stresses: "those" will take more weight than "And" or "in," for example, while "Shine" might take a stress almost equal to "forth." To my ear the poem is metrically interesting throughout, for it escapes sing-song monotony through just enough inversions and semi-stresses. The final stanza, for instance, is perfectly regular except for the inversion in the third foot of line 14, putting the stressed "sleep" next to "sword," a striking effect that brings out the suggestion that the sword is not only spiritual but conscious.

Once Parry decided to couple the stanzas and compose an eight-line melody, he was faced with certain difficulties, for neither as quatrains nor as octets are they metrically equivalent or "strophic." The four "Bring me" lines match only the second line of stanza one. The phrase "pleasant pastures" is a more substantial phrase than the corresponding "chariot of," though in metrical schema they are the same. Some inadequacies in the resulting setting seem to be due to the compromises required to fit the tune to two somewhat different metrical patterns; thus "chariot of" gets an almost absurd weight. I think too that Parry planned the melody of the sixth line to fit line 14 of the original, not line 6, for it is perfect for "Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand" ("sword" and "sleep" each receiving a full beat), but too portentous for "—on our." But there are few of these awkward moments. The tune seems right for the text in so many ways that it is difficult to return to the text alone without hearing it in the mind, and I have had students who think Blake wrote the music himself.

Parry's setting is in D major and three-four time. That it is in triple meter might be surprising when one thinks of the four beats and eight syllables of the poem, but musical rhythm, of course, is much less dependent on stress than on time or interval; it is quantitative rather than qualitative, to use the terms of classical metrics. The analysis will be a little easier if we think of the three quarter notes or crotchets as six eighth notes or quavers, whereby an eighth note gets one count or beat and there are six counts per measure. Since the quantitative equivalent of an iamb is three beats—one for "feet" and "time," along with "Eng(land)," "green," "ho(ly)," "God," and so on, fall on the opening beat or downbeat of the measure.

As an experiment I have tried to convey to those who do not read music the rhythmical structure of the setting by writing numbers above the syllables. This is how one would

14 Graves 2: 93; Dibble 485.

15 Both examples from Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp, "The Transfiguring Sword": The Just War of the Women's Social and Political Union (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P 1997) 91. This book deals mainly with British women who took up violence for the cause.
count it if each eighth note had one beat, with the symbol “&” representing a half-beat (sixteenth note).26

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Among these—dark satan-ic hills?

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Though Bridges insisted that it be “suitable, simple music to Blake's stanzas—music that an audience could take up and join in,” the setting is a good deal less simple than that of most congregational hymns. The organ or piano accompaniment is more elaborate than normal, with a three-and-a-half-measure prelude, a somewhat shorter interlude (or prelude to the second half), and a postlude of one and a half measures. There is enough going on in the harmony that even an experienced sight-reader of hymns will need to practice it carefully. In part to accommodate the different patterns of emphasis of the two halves, it is to some extent “through-composed” like a Lied or art-song, that is, it is not perfectly strophic like hymns in a hymnal, where each stanza has the identical music. Parry altered the “left-hand” accompaniment here and there, and the dynamic markings, but, more important, he varied the melody, or rather the rhythm of the melody, at three significant points.

Most of the lines begin, as the “counting” text shows, at the second half of the measure, that is, on the fourth beat (at six beats per measure); the exception in each half is the second line, which begins on the fifth beat (“Walk upon” and “Bring me my”), the words that end the preceding lines (“time” and “gold”) having each taken four beats. So far they are perfectly parallel strophically—even to the falling of the sixth beat on two syllables (“upon” and “me my”). But the opening word of the second half (“Bring”) begins one beat earlier in the first measure and lasts for two beats, the “O” of the third line does the same thing in the second measure, and the “sleep” following “sword” does the same thing in the second measure of the sixth. In all three cases Parry jumps the gun and slightly throws off the rhythm as established in the first half, but to good effect: the early arrival of the first “Bring” expresses its urgency (softened a little by its falling nearly at the bottom of the melodic range), as if the speaker cannot wait another beat to take up his bow, and so with the “O” on high D, an octave above the “Bring,” as if he can no longer contain himself. (All the more effective, I think, since the “O” is unstressed, or only lightly stressed, in the verse scansion.) As for “sleep,” also on high D, the melody seems made for it, as I suggested, and it gives proper weight to the metrical inversion of Blake's original poem.

Walford Davies was the first to see the setting, the day after Parry wrote it, and they discussed it at length. A few years later Davies remembered:

One momentary act of his should perhaps be told here. He ceased to speak, and put his finger on the note D in the second stanza where the words “O clouds unfold” break his rhythm. I do not think any word passed about it; yet he made it perfectly clear that this was the one note and one moment of the song which he treasured.27

As it is often printed in hymnals, in strophic form, the two stanzas lineated one above the other between the bass and treble clefs, the moment Parry treasured is obliterated, along with the comparable “Bring” and “sleep.” The second stanza is assimilated to the rhythm of the first, so “Bring,” “O,” and “sleep” all begin on the fourth beat and last half as long. No doubt the hymn is easier to sing that way, and it certainly takes up less space in the hymnal, but the result is a diminished thing. Two recordings, by Emerson, Lake and


27 Letter from Sir Walford Davies to The Times, 27 August 1927, quoted in Dibble 484.
Palmer in 1973 and by Billy Bragg in 1990, though they are both effective and interesting renditions (the former adding many syncopations and fermatas to the rhythm), are weaker than they should be because they depended on a strophic text.

The first hymnal to include “Jerusalem” was *A Students’ Hymnal*, published by the Student Christian Movement in 1923 (illus. 1 and 2-6). Founded at Cambridge in 1892, the SCM encouraged students to practice the Christian life and recruited them as missionaries. Hence it was exactly the right hymn to conclude the movie *Chariots of Fire* (1981), which deals with a Scottish Christian athlete called to be a missionary after he competes in the 1924 Olympic games. Probably through SCM the *American Student Hymnal* carried it in 1928, while the *Church Hymnary* (Church of Scotland and Presbyterian Churches) included it in 1927. The Church of England followed suit with the text but not the music in the 1933 revision of *The English Hymnal* (orig. 1906). The hymn is now very common in English public schools and American private schools.

Since its first appearance in an American hymnal, unfortunately, it has often been Americanized. The version in the *American Student Hymnal*, edited by H. Augustine Smith, begins:

And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon Zion’s mountains green?
And was the holy Lamb of God
In Zion’s pleasant pastures seen?

It would have been all right to substitute “America” for “England” if the meter had permitted, but to insert “Zion” is to destroy the point of the whole stanza and make the speaker into an idiot. Of course Jesus walked in Zion! So what?

There are several other tamperings that drain sense out of the text:

And could that countenance divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And could Jerusalem arise
Among these dark satanic mills?

What is the motive for denying that Jerusalem is built like any other city? The editor might have substituted “And could they build Jerusalem,” which would have paralleled line 15 and eliminated the weak “builted here”; instead he gives us the even weaker, almost unsingable, “arise,” with two beats on “a-.” Apparently he felt uneasy at the illogical slide from ancient time to the present and so substituted the conditional “could.” But it saps the dramatic tension, the sense of astonishment, while making it only a little more logical.

This version ends not with “Zion” again, which would be too absurd even for Mr. Smith, but with

Lyndon Johnson announced “We shall overcome” in 1965, but since for 10 years the song had been circulating widely among many groups it does not seem likely that the labor movement had made it distinctive for its own. It may have done so in 1945, however, for it was sung outside Transport House, the Labour Party headquarters, after the Labour electoral victory. In America labor unionists and leftists have often sung the song or had it performed at rallies. It was Walter Reuther’s favorite hymn. Paul Robeson sang it often and recorded it. Its manifest Englishness may have limited its appeal, but the American left has been strongly internationalist and has often sponsored concerts and published books with songs from around the world. At least the left has not, so far as I know, been guilty of rewriting it.

Two important motion pictures have drawn heavily on the hymn. It is the theme music to The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner (1962), directed by Tony Richardson, and based on the novel by Alan Sillitoe. The film tells of a young man (played by Tom Courtenay) in a reform school whose talent for long-distance running is exploited by the headmaster (Michael Redgrave) for the glory of the school. We hear instrumental variations of the melody during the boy’s long runs, and in one painful scene the boys sing the hymn in assembly while a captured runaway is beaten with a strap in an office. The bitterness of the irony here relies on the hymn’s revolutionary or reformist provenance. The other, as we noted, is Chariots of Fire (1981), directed by Hugh Hudson. Though the title is drawn from the hymn, the hymn itself is not heard until the final scene in a church. Most viewers of the film remember the music of Vangelis Papathanassiou, but, unless I am imagining things, the evocative main theme of his music is reminiscent of Parry’s melody. Yet here the associations of the hymn seem the contrary of those in the earlier film: idealistic, no doubt, but more concerned with missionary work and personal moral courage—the earliest context for the imagery of spiritual warfare, after all (Ephesians 6:11-17)—than with social reconstruction.

It is not surprising, then, that the socialist singer Billy Bragg has run into opposition in his championing of the song. “My belief that ‘Jerusalem’ is a left-wing anthem has got me into arguments with public schoolboys at Eton and Trotskyist newspaper sellers in Trafalgar Square. I remain convinced that the song does not belong alongside ‘Rule Britannia’ and ‘Land of Hope and Glory’ at the last night of the Proms.” I agree with Bragg about “Jerusalem,” but I think we should encourage the patriotic bourgeoisie to come and sing it anyway. It will do them good.

**Discography**

The song has been recorded too many times to make a thorough list possible or necessary. Here are some examples on CD:

- *Jerusalem*, with the Choir of Winchester Cathedral, the Waynflete Singers, and the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra (Argo D102372); orchestral version by Elgar. Includes “Blest pair of Sirens,” “I was glad,” and two more songs by Parry, as well as several by Stanford and Elgar, among others.

- *I Was Glad: Cathedral Music by Parry*, with the St. George’s Chapel Choir, Windsor (Hyperion CD66273); organ accompaniment. Includes “I was glad,” “Evening Service in D,” “Songs of Farewell,” and “Hear my Words, Ye People.”

- *Allegri: Miserere*, with the Choir of Trinity College, Cambridge (BMG/Conifer 16851). Includes Parry’s “I was glad” and a song by Walford Davies, as well as works by Allegri, Schubert, Barber, Bach, Mendelssohn, et al.

- *The Last Night of the Proms*, with the BBC Chorus, Choral Society, and Orchestra, recorded live at the Royal Albert Hall, directed by Sir Colin Davis (Philips 420-085-2); orchestral version by Elgar. Includes pieces by Elgar, Berlioz, Wagner, Mendelssohn, and Handel, and of course Arne’s “Rule Britannia.”

- *Paul Robeson, Ballad for Americans* (Vanguard B000000ECS); and *The Odyssey of Paul Robeson* (Vanguard Classics B0000239N).

Emerson, Lake and Palmer, *Brain Salad Surgery* (Rhino R2-72459). This is an acid-rock “trip-music” version with heavy synthesizer overlay and echoey voice. According to Greg Lake, however, “The lyrics are very bland except for one line, ‘Bring me my bow of burning gold / Bring me my arrows of desire.’ The rest of the song was all waffle. But when it came to that line, it was a moment that you had to sing the song for” (liner notes).

Billy Bragg, *The Internationale* (Utility/Wea/Elektra 60960-2); Bragg also has a CD called *William Blake*, but there is nothing by Blake on it.

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31 “Scholars will assert that the famous ‘Jerusalem’ hymn is crypto-Anglo-Israelitism or what not; but when it was sung in front of Transport House at the Labour victory of 1945 the singers showed that they understood it far better than such scholars did.” Northrop Frye, “Blake After Two Centuries,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 27 (1957), rpt. in Frye, *Fables of Identity* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1963) 140.

32 I owe this fact to Frank Wallick, editor of the United Auto Workers newsletter, in a personal conversation, June 1981.
11. And did those feet in ancient time

(JERUSALEM. 8888.8888)

Doh = D.

Slow, but with animation.

Copyright, 1916, by G. Hubert H. Parry.
time

Walk upon England's mountains green? And was the

Ho-ly Lamb of God On England's pleasant pas-tures

seen? And did the Coun-te-ness Divine Shine forth up-

poco cres.
on our cloud-ed hills? And was Je-ru-sa-lem build-ed

here A-mong those dark Sa-tan-ic mills?

Bring me my
bow of burning gold! Bring me my arrows of defe-

sire! Bring me my spear! O clouds unfold! Bring me my

Chariot of Fire! I will not cease from mental
fight; Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand Till we have

built Je-ru-sa-len In England's green and plea-sant

land.
John Diamond. *The Healing Power of Blake*. Bloomingdale, IL: Creativity Publishing, 1998. $14.95. The author of this charming little book is a medical doctor. Dr. Diamond, rather than relying on the current medical model of treating the disease rather than the patient, prefers to concentrate "on the positive—the sufferer's innate healing power, his spirit, his life Energy." In other words, Diamond posits that poetry has a therapeutic power to actuate a person's own ability to heal: "All creativity has the power to raise the Life Energy, the healing power within, the *vis medicatrix naturae* of Hippocrates. And poetry is no exception, in fact its ability is second only to that of music—and when it is sung it is, of course, the equal." As he says in the Introduction, he finds the poems of Blake to "have the greatest Healing Power."

The book is a compendium of extracts from Blake's works, the prophetic books for the most part. And, as such, may not be of much interest to Blake scholars. However, the book might find its way into the hands of other types of readers, such as those folks interested in alternative forms of medicine.

I can say that the book did nothing for the raging migraine I had, or for my back, when I pulled some muscles. But it did have a nice effect during a recent head cold, when I mellowed out with some ginger tea and *The Healing Power of Blake*. Also, if I put the book on my head, my posture straightens up quite nicely. For $14.95, that's not a bad deal.

— Patricia Neill

**Jah Wobble and Band Honor William Blake**

29 August 2000, British Library Auditorium

"Born in 1757 the son of an Irish hosiery merchant, Blake was an astonishingly talented man, who became a poet, painter, engraver and mystic, championing the freedom of the imagination and expressing a hatred of materialism and rationalism.

Jah Wobble's musical CV includes playing with the likes of Peter Gabriel, Brian Eno, Björk, Dodgy and Sinead O'Connor. In a rare, one-off London show, the former member of Public Image LTD pays homage to one of England's most famous Romantic Poets in an evening of dub-driven soundscapes and cinematic projections."

**The Blake Society at St. James's**

*"Programme 2000"*

19 September
May Sung (St. Mary's College)
A Reconsideration of Execution and Conception: The Evidence of Blake's Job Copperplates

May Sung is a Ph.D. student at St. Mary's College, Strawberry Hill. Her study of the surviving plates for Blake's illustrations to the Book of Job has thrown up fascinating evidence about Blake's working methods. The myriad corrections, erasures, and second thoughts (pentimenti) upon the copperplates contradict what has become, following Joseph Viscomi's *Blake and the Idea of the Book* (1993), the conventional view of Blake's creative process.

17 October
Susanne Schmid (Free University of Berlin)
Blake and Germany

Dr. Susanne Schmid has lectured at the Free University of Berlin since 1994. She has written a study on myth in contemporary women's fiction (1996), and an introduction to Byron, Shelley and Keats (1999).

1 December
Dee Drake (Stockholm University)
Blake's Hecate Color Print: A Celebration of Infernal Female Desire

Dee Drake was recently awarded a doctorate by Stockholm University for her study "Searing Apparent Surfaces: Infernal Females in Four Early Works of William Blake."

She writes: "It is my contention that the infernal constitutes an essential female element of the divine in Blake's early work but is demonized in the late work as an attribute of the Female Will."