The Blake Newsletter was able to continue for the past academic year only because of the assistance of Andrew Griffin and Donald Ault, who gave very generously of their time and energy during a trying period. Although the future of BNL is still far from certain, we owe thanks to Messrs. Griffin and Ault for its survival into a fourth year. Beginning with this issue, Dr. Michael Phillips of the University of Edinburgh joins us as an associate editor.

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Some mail sent to Morton Paley in London seems to have been lost in forwarding this past June. If you wrote at that time and received no answer, please write again (to Berkeley).

With this issue, we raise our subscription rates by one dollar per year. The Blake Newsletter is probably the only thing in America that has not increased in price since 1967; we are sure that our readers will understand the necessity.

The Autumn Newsletter will include a checklist of publications on Blake for the academic year 1969-1970. Offprints of articles and news of out-of-the-way items would be very much appreciated.

NEWS

MLA Seminar

There will again be a seminar on Blake at this year's MLA meeting in New York. The subject will be "Some Problems in Interpreting Blake's Designs for L'Allegro and Il Penseroso." John E. Grant will initiate the discussion; the chairman will be Morton Paley. Participants will find it convenient to bring with them a copy of Blake: The Mystic Genius by Adrian Van Sinderen (Syracuse, 1949), or John Milton, Poems in English, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Bentley-Nurmi no. 314). The former has color reproductions of the pictures, the latter black-and-white ones. The pictures are also reproduced, much diminished, in E.J. Rose, "Blake's Illustrations for Paradise Lost, L'Allegro, and Il Penseroso: A Thematic Reading," Hartford Studies in Literature, 11, 1 (Spring 1970), 40-67.

Some background reading which may also be of interest:


The precise time and place of the seminar are not yet known; it will probably be held on the morning of December 28th or 29th. Those wishing to participate should write directly to Morton Paley, c/o the English Department at Berkeley, who will send out a notice giving the necessary information.
More Works in Progress

From Sir Geoffrey Keynes: "The Blake Studies, much revised and greatly enlarged, is now printing at Oxford with 56 collotype plates by the Trianon Press. I am working on a revised edition of Mona Wilson's Life of Blake, expected this autumn. The Blake Trust will publish this year All Religions are One, for which I have written a brief introduction and description. Dover Publications Inc. have in hand a volume of 92 pencil drawings which I have introduced and edited. My Trianon Press edition of the Songs will be published as a paperback by Oxford in the autumn."

David Bindman is working on a book provisionally titled William Blake As an Artist, to be published by Phaidon in 1973.

Michael J. Tolley

A facsimile edition of ALL RELIGIONS are ONE has been published by the Trianon Press for the William Blake Trust. The reproduction is by color collotype with the occasional addition, by hand, of water-color washes through the stencils. To obtain a faithful reproduction, the entire text was silhouetted by hand on the collotype negatives. The facsimile is printed on pure rag. Price: £18 or $43.20.

NOTES

1. JERUSALEM 12: 25-29 - SOME QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Michael J. Tolley
The University of Adelaide

What are those golden builders doing? where was the burying place
Of soft Ethinthus? near Tyburns fatal Tree? is that
Mild Zions hills most ancient promontory; near mournful
Ever weeping Paddington? is that Calvary and Golgotha?
Becoming a building of pity and compassion? ...

The first question I shall answer is implicit: where was "Mild Zions hills most ancient promontory"? I fancy that even a "king of quiz" would have some difficulty in rousing his faculties to answer this one offhand. I think most of us get as far as assuming that it must be a reference to "Calvary and
Golgotha", but find it impossible to work back from there, neither name being mentioned in the Old Testament (both are descriptive names only, meaning "a skull"). However, the student familiar with biblical typology cannot complain that the question is unfair: finding its solution, we discover one of Blake's characteristic "poems-within-a-reference". The answer is in the traditional interpretation of Genesis 22, the account of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac. Briefly, this place of sacrifice, a mountain in "the land of Moriah", was identified with a hill in Sion (Jerusalem). The identification was common in Blake's time, Isaac naturally serving as a type of Christ crucified (though Swedenborg somewhat tendentiously found the whole story a type of Christ's temptations, Arcana Coelestia, par. 2766ff). Matthew Poole, for instance, whose commentary was first published in 1685 and republished throughout the eighteenth century, noted that in Moriah "particularly there were two eminents hills, or rather tops or parts of the same mountain; Sion where David's palace was: and Moriah, where the temple was built". Poole's qualification suggests that Blake's word "promontory" was chosen with care (Robert Young, in his Analytical Concordance, notes that "There is no sanction for the expression 'Mount Calvary' for it is only 18 feet high"). Various references could be cited, but it is sufficient to quote one of approximately the right date for Jerusalem, the Christian's Complete Family Bible, Liverpool, 1809, which has notes by "several eminent divines" (this is a new and revised edition). On Genesis 22.2 is noted: "The word Moriah signifies God manifested, and was so called from God's appearing to Abraham. Upon this very mountain the temple of Solomon was afterwards built, and upon one part of it, namely, Mount Calvary, our blessed Saviour offered himself a sacrifice for the sins of mankind." Moriah was also translated as "Vision" (by Samuel Clark, for instance, in his Family Bible of 1760) and if Blake accepted this meaning, he would have noted an interesting regression from Moriah, the place of the Divine Vision, to Golgotha, the skull. One answer to the question, "What are those golden builders doing?" (in building Golgonooza), is clearly that they are changing Tyburn-Golgonooza back into a place of vision, where divine pity intervenes to prevent human sacrifice. Golgonooza is also a version of the temple of Solomon: by referring to Moriah through such an oblique antonomasia, Blake manages to suggest that the progression, place of sacrifice to temple, is a type of the new Jerusalem that comes from Calvary and so of Golgonooza built near Tyburn and Paddington. (David Erdman has suggested that Blake's vision was prompted partly by the actual expansion of home building in 1811 and has given some cogent reasons for Blake's specification of "ever-weeping Paddington" in Blake: Prophet Against Empire, chapter 27, section 1.)

Although, in his recapitulation of this passage in Jerusalem 27:25ff, Blake avoids further reference to the intended sacrifice of Isaac, the plate is much concerned with human sacrifice and Abraham is mentioned twice in the prose address. Here Abraham is called a Druid, but a contemporary reference in A Des-
criptive Catalogue gives his more specific function: "Abraham was called to succeed the Druidical age, which began to turn allegoric and mental signification into corporeal command, whereby human sacrifice would have depopulated the earth". A similar movement, "From willing sacrifice of Self, to sacrifice of (miscall'd) Enemies/ For Atonement", is mentioned in Jerusalem 28:20-21 and in the following plate (in Keynes' arrangement), lines 1-4,

Then the Divine Vision like a silent Sun appeared above
Albion dark rocks: setting behind the Gardens of Kensington
On Tyburns River, in clouds of blood: where was mild Zion Hills
Most ancient promontory, and in the Sun, a Human Form appeared

The ensuing speech of "the Voice Divine" is partly concerned with Abraham's problem of obedience, for Albion "hath founded his reaction into a Law / Of Action, For Obedience to destroy the Contraries of Man" (14-15). A third, perhaps less pointed mention of "Zion Hills most ancient promontary" is also in a context of human sacrifice, Jerusalem 80:36.

My answer to the other big question in this passage, "where was the burying-place / Of soft Ethinthus?", perhaps asks more questions than it solves. This time the answer is in Genesis 23, recounting Abraham's purchase of a "burying place" (verses 4, 9 and 20) for his family, following the death of his wife Sarah. The association with the story of Abraham and Isaac is too close to be accidental, but I can see little value in pressing an identification of Ethinthus with Sarah. Probably the original coining of the name (which may have been pre-Europe, for all we know) had nothing to do with this passage, but it is curious that this burying-place belonged to the sons of Heth (it is not likely that "soft Ethinthus" is connected with the Hebrew, ethan, translated as "hard" once in A.V., Proverbs 13.15). The grave bought by Abraham was the "cave of the field of Machpelah" (verse 19), identified with Hebron, 22 miles south of Jerusalem (and so near to Tyburn only by association with Abraham at Moriah). Blake speaks of "the Caves of Machpelah" once, in Jerusalem 64:38, a cryptic passage. Exploring Blake's cave-grave imagery would take me too far afield here, but we should not miss the typological link with Joseph of Arimathea's grave where Jesus was buried. It is not Joseph but Los who, in FZ 106 and 110, hews the Sepulcher "in the rock / Of Eternity for himself" and his motive probably explains the significance Blake attached to Abraham's concern for a tomb: "he hewed it despairing of Life Eternal" (106:16). Thus to bury soft Ethinthus is to deny her a possibility of resurrection; Erdman notes that the accidental digging up of Tyburn bones in 1811 "recalled that after the Restoration the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw had been disinterred, hanged and beheaded, and then reburied here--another denial of the Resurrection."
However, the tomb of Jesus was the place of Christ's resurrection and Blake notes that, although the Western Gate fourfold of Golgonooza is "clos'd up till the last day", yet then "the graves shall yield their dead" (13:11). A possible parallel to the burial of Ethinthus is that of Ahania "in a secret cave" in FZ 121:38, which Paul Miner has related to Sarah's burial (William Blake Essays for S. Foster Damon, ed. Alvin H. Rosenfeld, Providence, 1969, p. 266).

Ethinthus remains a shadowy figure, but perhaps someone will be able to take these suggestions further. It is noteworthy that Ethinthus immediately precedes Moab in the list of the daughters of Los and Enitharmon (FZ 115:8), so being neatly contemporary with Sarah, for Moab was a son of Lot, Abraham's nephew (Genesis 19:37). (Moab is a daughter in Blake's list because of Numbers 25:1, as Damon has explained in William Blake, 1924 p. 388.)

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2. William Blake and Mrs. Grundy: Suppression of Visions of the Daughters of Albion

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The fact that William Blake found customers for his Visions of the Daughters of Albion caused its dispersion and prevented the certain destruction of this heterodox work at the hands of Frederick Tatham. But with prudish publishers controlling Victorian presses it still took a full century for the complete text of the poem to be printed, and its slow release is closely related to the publication history of other Blake material. In fact, the public had to wait over sixty years after Blake's death to view a substantial portion of his work in one collection and nearly a hundred years for a reliable text of the Blake corpus. Most Blake editions, beginning with J. J. Garth Wilkinson's 1839 edition of the Songs of Innocence and of Experience drew material from these two works as well as from The Poetical Sketches, the Pickering Manuscript, the Rossetti Manuscript, and Thel. William Michael Rossetti went a step further with the addition of Tiriel in his 1874 edition for Bell's Aldine Poets, but not until the Yeats-Ellis three-volume work of 1893, with its lithographic reproductions of many of the Illuminated Books, in addition to the first printed version of The Four Zoas, was most Blake material available. Visions itself had appeared earlier in a faulty lithographic facsimile of 1876, and in 1885 the "Blake Press at Edmonton," under William Muir, issued fifty copies of a color facsimile done from an original copy owned by Thomas Butts.
The first actual printed text appeared in Yeats' single-volume edition of 1893.3

The hesitation on the part of editors and publishers to go beyond the lyrics may be attributed perhaps to both the stigma of insanity surrounding Blake and the seeming incompprehensibility of the prophecies. But another important factor, one especially germane to Visions, was the supposed immorality of the author's poetry. Thus a fragile Victorian sensibility combined with the natural predilection of the early editors for the more lucid lyrics to forestall Visions publication until the Yeats edition. Not that earlier attempts were not made to publish the work or at least provide sensible commentary on it. When Alexander Gilchrist died of scarlet fever in November of 1861, his wife Anne asked the Rossetti brothers to assist her in completing the unfinished Life of William Blake left by her husband. William Michael in turn requested from his friend Swinburne an account of the prophetic books for inclusion in the biography. However, on October 6, 1862, Swinburne wrote Michael that he and Dante Gabriel Rossetti agreed it was foolish to wedge an extensive essay into the present material; such an intrusion would make the entire work "incoherent and unshapely." Other considerations influenced Swinburne's decision:

Much more I think might have been done at starting without any handling of the hot cinder or treading on the quagmire which a virtuous editor seems so abjectly afraid of. As it is, it seems to me the best thing for the book and for those interested in it is to leave it alone, for fear of bursting the old bottles - a Scotch publisher would no doubt receive a reference to the sacred text as unanswerable. I should have been delighted to help in the work originally, and coming in as a free auxiliary to the best of my means of work; but I see no good possible to do at this point, even if one disliked less the notion of doing service for Blake under the eye of such a taskmaster as the chaste Macmillan.4

Swinburne then discloses that he has been at work on a "small commentary" of his own. This independent study would eliminate his being "jabbered at by Scotch tongue virtues and 'the harlot Modesty.'"5

From this letter and similar evidence Macmillan emerges as one who by not allowing extensive analysis of the more difficult books precluded any demand for their earlier publication; he helped make them unseen curiosities. Swinburne believed this6 and continued in other letters to attack Macmillan. In a letter of November 7, 1866, to M. D. Conway Swinburne mentions the affinity between Whitman and Blake discussed at the end of his William Blake: A Critical Essay (1866) and maintains that the "unpublished semimmetrical 'Prophetic Books'" of Blake anticipated "in many points both of matter and manner—gospel and style—his Leaves of Grass". Swinburne continues: "This I have
proved in my forthcoming book on the suppressed works of that
great artist and thinker, whose philosphy...has never yet been
published because of the abject and faithless and blasphemous
timidty of our wretched English literary society; a drunken
clerical club dominated by the spurious spawn of the press. 7
And he later commented on William Michael Rossetti's 1874
dition of Blake to suggest that if one poem of the prophetic
order was meant to be in Rossetti's collection "surely the
Visions of the daughters of Albion would have been a better
sample than little Thel; unless indeed the ultra-paradiseal
morality expressed with hyper-Blakean frankness in the former
poem should be an objection. It is certainly very much finer
and more characteristic, and is quite as much as a regular
poem." 8 In this letter Swinburne again presses for a more com­
prehensive edition of Blake's works, even of the prose alone.
He feels that Rossetti is the man for the job if a publisher
be found; but he also feels that a publisher like Bell or
Macmillan would "turn shyer than the most timid hare at such a
proposal."

Given the youthful impetuosity and artistic fervor of
Swinburne, it is possible to see why he would strike out so
fiercely and even exaggerate the case against Macmillan. Yet
additional evidence corroborates Swinburne's charges. On
January 5, 1863, Dante Gabriel Rossetti wrote Mrs. Gilchrist:
"Pray do make a stand for the passage from the 'Everlasting
Gospel' about the Woman taken in Adultery. It is one of the
finest things Blake ever wrote, and if there is any thing to
shock ordinary readers, it is merely the opening, which could
be omitted...." 9 This letter refers to Rossetti's editing of
the poem contained in the second volume of the Life. It is
but another instance of the difficult position Mrs. Gilchrist
assumed as intermediary between the watchful Macmillan as pu­
lisher and the more liberal Rossetti brothers as coeditors.

This problem became more acute with Visions. William
Michael Rossetti wrote Anne Gilchrist that Visions depicts the
"unnatural and terrible results" which arise when "ascetic doc­
trines in theology and morals have involved the relation of the
sexes." 10 Despite George Birkbeck Hill's suggestion that Ros­
setti's letter involved "the republication of Blake's Daughters
of Albion," 11 Miss Dorfman is doubtless correct in stating the
letter contained expository matter on Visions to be placed in
the 1863 edition of the Gilchrist Life. Aware that such a vivid
exposition of Blake's ideas on sexual freedom might strike Mac­
millan as pure lubricity, however, Mrs. Gilchrist censored it.
The final commentary which appeared in the 1863 edition of the
biography suggests that Visions raises "formidable moral ques­
tions." But, the passage concludes, "we will not enter on
them here." 12

It is ironic then that Visions of the Daughters of Albion
survived Tatham's fires only to be confronted with the moral
rigidities of an important Victorian publisher. But of course
change did come. Yeats' cultivation of and assistance in the
Blakean Renaissance toward the end of the nineteenth century
helped to release Blake's work from the shackles of repression.
The spectre of moral and religious pressure yielded in the twentieth century to full commentary and publication, so that the poem now appears in most Blake collections, is widely discussed, and is the subject of two recent color facsimiles.


2Anne Gilchrist says: "He is the actual Tatham who knew Blake and enacted the holocaust of Blake manuscripts.... Tatham was at that time a zealous Irvingite and says he was instigated to it (the holocaust) by some very influential members of the Sect on the ground that Blake was inspired; but quite from a wrong quarter--by Satan himself--and was to be cast out as an 'unclean spirit.'" In Herbert H. Gilchrist, ed. Anne Gilchrist: Her Life and Writings (London, 1887), p. 127.

3For basic information on early Blake editions see Geoffrey Keynes, A Bibliography of William Blake (New York, 1921), pp. 261-304.


5Lang, I, 60.

6In a letter to Seymour Kirkup in the summer of 1864 (Lang, I, 102) Swinburne said: "...the publisher of the biography (a very contemptible cur) took fright and would not forsooth allow them (the prophetic books) to be duly analysed."

7Lang, I, 208-209.

8Ibid., II, 285-286.

See George Birkbeck Hill, Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham 1854-1870 (London, 1897), p. 250. There Rossetti writes Allingham about locating a potential publisher for his translations. He says he is not "very sanguine" about Macmillan's acceptance: "For one thing, I have been obliged to introduce, in order to give a full view of the epoch of poetry, some matter to which objections may probably be raised...."

10 Anne Gilchrist, p. 127.

11 Hill, p. 259.

12 Alexander Gilchrist, Life of William Blake, Pictor Ignorat, I (London, 1863), 108. In her article, Dorfman mentions that the resulting commentary in the 1863 edition was a "tepid adaptation of Rossetti's paragraph" which was eventually dropped in the 1880 edition because "the tone had become dated" (pp. 227-228).

MINUTE PARTICULARS

1. Toward a More Accurate Description of the Tiriel Manuscript

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Professor Bentley's description of the Tiriel manuscript in his facsimile edition (Oxford, 1967) is confused. Although I have not examined the original manuscript, it is clear from a study of the facsimile that Professor Bentley mistakes Blake's sectional numberings for foliations: "The rectos of the leaves are foliated 1-7 in ink, in the top centre of the page, on pages 1, 3, 5, 7, 10 [N.B. Bentley's emphasis], 11, and 13" (p. 52). He cannot "explain the misnumbering on page 10, which is a verso instead of a recto like the other numbered pages. The '5' on page 10 implies that the order of the pages should be 1-3, 10, 9, 11-15, but the continuity of the narrative clearly demonstrates that the present order is the correct one" (p. 52).

The present order is indeed correct. The simple explanation for "the misnumbering on page 10" is that section 4 is considerably longer than the other sections. Instead of occupying just one leaf, recto and verso, as do the preceding three sections, it spills over to the next recto, page 9. The next section, 5, then begins atop the next page, 10. That this page
is a verso instead of a recto is irrelevant. Blake's practice through the manuscript is to form sectional units by numbering, and by beginning each section at the top of a page. Although Professor Bentley agonizes at some length and to no conclusion over "the strange way in which the pages are filled with writing" (p. 55), the principle is clear: if a section ends part-way through a page, the rest of that page is left blank, and the next section begins atop the next page. Section 4 occupies two and nine-tenths pages; therefore, as Professor Bentley observes, there is a blank space of "a tenth of a page on [the bottom of] page 9" (p. 55). Section 5 fills one page exactly; and since this page is a verso, section 6 begins atop a recto, page 11, restoring what Professor Bentley mistakes for a pattern of foliation by rectos. Section 6 ends half-way through page 12, and after the familiar blank space, section 7 begins atop page 13. The shortest section, it fills only three-quarters of its page. Therefore, thenext section, 8, begins atop a verso, page 14. This is the very phenomenon that stymied Professor Bentley in the case of section 5; but he does not mention "8"—quite plain on the page—at all, not even as a "misnumbering."

Professor Bentley states that "the rectos are also correctly foliated in pencil 2-9 on the top right corner of pages 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, and 15. Probably neither foliation is Blake's" (p. 52). Part of this conclusion is unjustifyable. Since one "foliation" is not a foliation but a sequence of section-numbers, and since these numbers appear (in the facsimile) to be in the same hand and ink as the rest of the manuscript, they are very likely Blake's own. After all, "the same grey-black ink is used throughout the poem" (p. 55). However, the true foliation, in pencil, may well be someone else's. Whether it is or not, it indicates that if the first page is folio no. 2, there must be a missing page 1; possibly this could be the title page. One wishes that Professor Bentley had given us a more considered account of the manuscript in this otherwise splendid edition.

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2. Blake and "Cowper's Tame Hares"

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In A Blake Bibliography (p. 123) Professors Bentley and Nurmi describe one plate in William Hayley's The Life,...of William Cowper, Esq. (Chichester, 1803-04; 3 vols.) as follows: "(4) at Vol. 11, p. 415, the bottom of the page, is an unsigned engraving, not mentioned in the directions to the binder, repre- senting the Weather-house, 'The Peasants Nest,' and 'Cowper's Tame Hares,' 'Puss Tiney & Bess,' with a quotation from The
There can be little doubt, however, that Blake engraved this plate." However, in A Bibliography of William Blake (New York, 1921: p. 250) Sir Geoffrey Keynes noted that the signature "Blake d & sc" appears, not at the bottom of the plate as in the other five plates Blake did for Hayley's Cowper, but within the design.

Like Bentley and Nurmi I have examined two copies of the first edition (those of the Oberlin College Library and of Professor A. J. Kuhn) and one (my own) of the second edition. In all three the signature appears, above a garland and directly beneath the initial letters of the lines quoted from The Task. In these copies the inscription is clearly "Blake d e sc" (for "Blake d[elinesi] e[ti] sc[ulpsit]") rather than as Keynes reports. Perhaps there were two or more states of the plate, one with the signature, one without. The plate—plate-mark 23 x 17 cm., about two-thirds of the page—was moveable and independent of the type set at the top of the page, the distance between the type and the plate-mark varying from copy to copy. In one copy (Oberlin) the page is numbered ("415" but not "416" on verso) and bears the page head "APPENDIX." The other copies I have seen have neither page head or page number; the only clue to the binder is a flag ("Motto") at II.414. In my copy the plate appears at the end of the first volume—perhaps because "Cowper's Tame Hares" are described at I.89—90, or perhaps simply as an afterthought.

This plate is of some interest because it is the only one of those Blake engraved for Hayley's Cowper which he also designed. But all he has done, perhaps all he was free to do, was work into a rather conventional balance the weather man's dark, stormy side of the house with the woman's bright and pastoral half.

(When I thought that I had discovered an altogether new Blake signature, Mr. J. C. Maxwell of the Balliol College, Oxford, helped correct me. I am grateful to him for this.)

DISCUSSION

"With Intellectual Spears and Long-winged Arrows of Thought"

1. Discussing the Arlington Court Picture

Part II: Studying Blake's Iconography for Guidance in Interpreting the Picture

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When I began these remarks my intention was chiefly to
report on the discussion of the Arlington Court Picture at the MLA Meeting last year, especially to summarize the new interpretation of the picture presented by Janet Warner, and to add some observations that I had made while thinking about the meaning of the picture. I was particularly anxious not to challenge the Warner-Simmons theory since they had not put their ideas in final shape and I also wanted to avoid arguing for a theory of my own, partly because I did not have one that satisfied me. But after finishing my report, which was published in the previous issue of the Newsletter, it seemed that many questions had been raised that ought to be considered in more detail; these included methodological as well as substantial considerations. As I was writing down these observations, an interpretation of the picture occurred to me which is quite different from any other so far proposed, though certain elements in it are indebted to Dirby, Damon, and Warner-Simmons, the most illuminating previous interpreters. On consideration it seemed desirable to publish the rest of my methodological remarks in BNL but to seek publication in another journal for both the Warner-Simmons article and an outline of my interpretation in order that the readers would be able to judge for themselves which seems more satisfactory. Happily Studies in Romanticism has agreed to print both interpretations in a forthcoming issue.

In the first part of this discussion I mentioned Bronzino's Allegory as an example of a major painting in which the artist's intellectual concerns evidently led him to disregard the "usual" canons of compositional symmetry. I proposed, indeed, that critics should entertain the idea that there may be an "art of clutter," which has its own validity, and that ACP is an example of it. Such a theory will hardly seem hold in a time like our own when the Art Scene has found such "Invisible Art" as Conceptual and Street Art to be quite acceptable. But even if Blakists wish to disregard this anachronistic lesson in aesthetic anarchism, they are driven to reconsider the standards of Bronzino's age, implicit and explicit, as manifested in actual pictorial structures. Then it will be recognized that it is precisely such "usual" standards as compositional symmetry which came into question during Bronzino's age in the Mannerist movement. How the example of Bronzino may be germane to our subject becomes clearer when we recall that the school of Blake and Fuseli is not infrequently referred to as "Neo-Mannerist." It is possible that paintings of comparable periods may tend to be mutually illuminating even when there is no question of "influence" involved.

I suppose many Blakists have read the interpretation of Bronzino's painting in Panofsky's Studies in Iconology (1962 ed., pp. 86-91) where Bronzino's subject is described as "The Exposure of Luxury." Both because of Panofsky's deserved
eminence and because his interpretation appears to correspond with the inadequate reproduction of the picture, most readers have been satisfied with what Panofsky had to say. But recently a quite different, less moralistic, interpretation has been put forward by Michael Levey in "Sacred and Profane Significance in Two Paintings by Bronzino" in Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt (London and New York, 1967), pp. 30-33. By accurately observing that a figure taken by Panofsky to represent Lady Truth actually depicts a mask of Fraud, Levey arrives at what is unquestionably a more satisfactory interpretation of Bronzino's allegory, properly called Venus Disarming Cupid, than Panofsky had.

For a Blakist Levey's mode of scholarship is no less noteworthy than his conclusions. One must admire the precision, quiet vigor, and range of reference Levey deploys in calling attention to real excellences in the painting as well as in correcting Panofsky's errors. After all, the mask of Fraud cannot seem a very accomplished image of Lady Truth, but it must be a brilliant success as a mask since it has proven to be so plausible. As is often the case, an intellectual breakthrough leads the way to aesthetic validation of the picture and a vindication of the artist. The worst thing about inadequate allegorical theories is that their propounders feel compelled to say, when they encounter some symbolic detail which doesn't fit, that the artist must have nodded while imagining this particular. Scholarship has a special obligation to free itself from such imputations when they are not undoubtedly justified.

It should be clear that I am holding up Levey's piece for praise because it is excellent, not because it is an inimitable accomplishment. Since even Panofsky could err, no superhuman standard of scholarship need be assumed, but Blakists ought to demand a higher norm than has recently been evidenced in a number of publications. I refer particularly to unreliable books such as Miss Raine's huge Blake and Tradition and Beer's Blake's Humanism, as well as to unsound articles such as Mrs. Kostelanetz-Mellor's piece on the color prints in the Festschrift for Damon. To be sure, none of these is totally useless or motivated by an antipathy to Blake such as is evident in Matthew Corrigan's "Metaphor in William Blake: A Negative View," JAAC, XXVIII (1969). But the extreme caution that must be exercised while reading such uneven work can hardly be justified and the fact that these pieces have actually been commended by some reviewers is regrettable.1

1In the first part of this discussion I mentioned the general dissatisfaction with Miss Raine's interpretation of ACP expressed by American Blakists at the MLA. In the
Yet another book in this class, the author's second in two years, is John Beer's Blake's Visionary Universe, which contains a lengthy discussion of our subject, ACP; (pp. 286-294). Such productivity leads one nostalgically to recall Max Flowman's wonder at how fast his friend Murry was getting along with Blake, as well as Murry's still impressive book, which was published within a couple of years of his becoming interested in Blake. But, apart from other considerations, Murry was exceedingly gifted and in those days a critic of Blake was less clearly obligated to learn thousands of things about Blake's pictorial art. At least one of the critical inadequacies of Beer's book could not, however, be rectified by mere diligence--its frequent failure to describe a picture accurately. Evidently because he had happened on an engraving by Ghisi that looks a little like U 25 and J 75, Beer declares that the people in Blake's pictures are men, whereas the crucial figures are obviously female in both. Since every previous commentator had got the gender of Blake's figures correct, such mistakes are especially deplorable.

This interpretation of ACP is never deterred by negative evidence. For example, Beer quotes VLJ pp. 85-90 (E552) and then comments: "The scene described is palpably not the one in the present design; but the individual elements correspond so closely as to suggest a community of theme" (p. 291--my ital. in the same clause). As stated, this is not quite self-contradiction though the soft spots and fuzzy connections begin to appear in the words of the second clause I have italicized. And this, alas, is the part of the sentence that purports to justify the allusion in the first place. As the reader studies the succeeding sentences of amplification, he becomes aware that the proliferation of words like "appear" and "perhaps" allow the argument to drift into an equivocal world (which is confused with "vision") in which the wirey bounding line of rectitude becomes invisible. Intellectually the fundamental point is that the quoted passage is "not" relevant, but the subsequent expatriation tends to suggest

same issue of the Newsletter was a note from Miss Raine declaring that Sir Geoffrey Keynes had "confirmed in writing his agreement with my interpretations" (p. 90). To have persuaded so distinguished a Blakeist is greatly to Miss Raine's credit. The same week I saw her note, however, I also read that Frank Sinatra, who had previously supported a succession of liberal Democrats, had become an avid campaigner for Governor Ronald Reagan in California. Hopefully both English and American Blakeists will now be prepared to fly to the mountains of Atlantis to resolve their outstanding differences.
There must be some significant connection, though none is ever forthcoming.

The same tactics of claiming ACP is significantly illuminated by some literary text are repeated with the example of Rev. 22: 13-17; Beer even declares that "the picture as a whole may be described as Blake's vision of the Book of Revelation as miniaturized within these verses" (p. 294; my ital.). He finds the call in verse 17, "The Spirit and the Bride say 'Come'"--to the thirsty man who would drink, particularly relevant. But whatever the central man and woman in ACP are doing, they are not inviting anyone to drink. Even if the gesture of the man in the finished painting were taken to be an offer (an improbable interpretation), the gesture in the preliminary drawing (which Beer alludes to) could not possibly be construed as an invitation; moreover, since the water he gestures to is undoubtedly salt--hardly the "water of life"--such an invitation could only be malicious. And certainly the lady is indicating nothing attractive--except herself as she appears in the final version--but rather warns of disasters. The connections Beer claims to see between the text and the picture are without exception insubstantial, but he also tells the reader that, after he had become persuaded as to the validity of his theory, he ran across Keynes's article on the picture which informed him that on the verso of the pencil drawing is the inscription, written by another hand, from Rev. 17, "The Spirit and the Bride say 'Come'." This he took to be a corroboration of his interpretation. Alas for scholarship, there is no such inscription and Keynes never reported its existence; what he did say is that the picture is inscribed not in Blake's hand, "The River of Oblivion," and also (in a sentence of parallel structure) that some unnamed person (actually in the Philadelphia Catalogue, no. 205) had attempted, unpersuasively, to connect the drawing with the Biblical text.

It would hardly be worth dwelling on these blunders if the only moral to be drawn is that "haste makes waste." But it is instructive to recognize the root premise that encourages an informed person to propound an interpretation that has neither surface plausibility nor deep persuasiveness. The key word (which is also repeated on the dust jacket) I have italicized: "Blake's idiosyncratic interpretations" (p. 294). Without denying that Blake was sometimes "idiosyncratic," particularly about small things, we ought to observe how much pseudo-criticism seeks to justify itself by some form of this hypothesis. That is, when what Blake did does not correspond to the theory being presented by the expositor, the contradiction is merely dismissed as an example of Blake's odd way of going at things. This, in essence, is the difference between experiencing art and looking into
occultism, a distinction Blake insisted on in MHHP. With art the only possible assumption is that the artist makes sense, even if one happens not to agree with everything the artist has to say. But with occultism, which Beer seems to have read considerably, one encounters material that really is idiosyncratic and, at least intermittingly meaningless. It ordinarily has no infinite implications, as art does, and, if one is to read it at all, he must be content to get an obscure sense or a drift. To ask so little of Blake is to get nothing.

To insist that a distinction can, nay must be made between sound and unsound scholarship is not to demand that all scholars come to the same conclusions or even that they use exactly the same methods. It does, however, presuppose that there is a difference between valid and invalid argumentation, as Blake himself sometimes insisted when he was confronted by the obfuscations of Reynolds. If one is committed to standards of scholarship, he must be unwilling to tolerate shoddy published work. On occasion this may lead him to be as relentless and even impolite as Ralph Nader. Naturally a scholar must be prepared to have his own work judged with comparable rigor. Once readers recognize that unsound books and articles are no more inevitable than unsound automobiles, it is possible to hope, manufacturers and dealers of scholarship may be persuaded to slow down and create more reliable products.

I see no contradiction between striving to improve critical procedures by identifying unsound scholarship and attempting to achieve a more pluralistic conception of the ethical vision implicit in Blake's iconography. As interpreters we should heed Blake's exhortations, early and late, to stop dividing things up into cloven fictions, such as good and evil; we must expect that the Spectator is probably not going to understand ACP as Blake did if he studies the picture attempting to put his finger on a villain. Take the chief women in ACP, for example; some interpreters have contended that the Veiled Lady is pernicious, some that it is the Sea Goddess, and some have felt that the Water Carrier is up to no good. A review of several considerations indicates that these suspicions are unfruitful because they lead to a captiousness not based on things "in" the picture, even by implication. If we reconsider the interpretive perspective offered by the picture of Vala and Jerusalem in J 46 [32], we see how precisely the attributes in this polarized confrontation have been mixed in ACP. Evidently J 47 shows the two women getting entangled again, because they have turned Albion's head, and they do not get satisfactorily sorted out for many more pages of the poem. While the Veiled Lady is in a posture very like that of Jerusalem in J 46, she is wearing
a filmy costume with a head-covering that resembles that of Vala in the confrontation. Notice further, however, that whereas Vala holds up her veil to obscure her face from Jerusalem, the Lady in ACP has her veil pushed back so as to reveal her face and chest. For anyone aware of the traditional symbolism of the Veiled Lady Who is Truth (See Colin Still, Shakespeare's Mystery Play, etc.), the difference is profoundly significant: Truth is told when the Lady parts her Veils; indeed, Truth is the face revealed by parted veils. It is possible that the Conjurer may already have turned quite around and seen the Lady's face before he directs his attention back toward both the chaotic sea and the unmobilized Spectator. Such an interpretation would not require the Spectator to reprobate the Sea Goddess, even if the clouds she exudes seem soporific and the horses she drives are, at this point, divisive. Her energy, her connection with the musical group above, and her nudity, as well as some of her resemblances to other figures, to be mentioned later, all indicate that she is a Vala with a place in the Eternal economy.

The third most important woman, the Water Carrier, is probably also blameless, in spite of the scaled bucket of Storge water she carries in her right hand. I think the specially "musculated" look of her dress, which was commented on inconclusively at the MLA, is intended to be a "wet look," indicative of her having been immersed in the river Storge, like the sleeping Nixie, but probably more deeply. It is worth recalling that in Blake's time ladies of fashion were known to have poured water over their Empire-style dresses in order to achieve a more beguiling appearance. But lest we conclude that the Water Carrier must be that doxy Rahab, we should consider that in the Melbourne version of the Creation of Eve Christ himself wears a garment no less clinging and musculated. It is true that the left arm of the Water Carrier, as I mentioned in the first part of this discussion, is rather underdeveloped and perhaps deformed (cf. the right arm of the distorted figure at the left in J 45 [31]), but this gesture almost exactly repeats that of the woman at the right in The Baptism of Christ, the second design for Paradise Regained (Figgis, pl. 24), a presumably impeccable figure, who witnesses with joy this blessed deed that is effected with a vessel of water, while warding off the unregenerate devil who is flying away in frustration. To be sure this witness raises her right arm and she faces the Spectator, whereas the Water Carrier is back to the Spectator, but this difference does not seem decisive in the context of ACP where the women being encountered by the Water Carrier must be more sinister than she is. Nevertheless, life requires that she overcome this
trial, which seems formidable from the perspective of fallen innocence, and also that of Enitharmon and her daughters, the three frenetic weavers, and enter the cave where the furnaces of Los will burn the Storge scales from her bucket and her eyes. I am indebted to Beer (BVU p. 293) for the suggestion that these flames are from Los's forge. When she has risen above this trial she can carry her bucket in the organized procession of Innocence in the topmost bowery cavern above. Possibly the lineage of these buckets could be traced back to the enormous hats worn by a number of figures in Piero della Francesca's great murals at Arezzo as they may have been reported (or copied?) by Fuseli or Flaxman to Blake. In any case, if she succeeded in bringing the Water of Death through a transformation into the Water of Life, fit for Beulah, this nymph should also be able to say "Father & Mother I return from the flames of fire tried & pure & white" (E 730).

When dealing with Blake's iconography one can make quite a consistent and useful distinction between "symbolic similarities" where the figures may be closely connected even though they look quite different, and "visual similarities," in which the figures or objects look much alike whether or not they are supposed to represent the same thing. An example of the former is "Urizen," who may be represented either as the aged whiskery man in M 15 or (if we follow Damon) the beardless cloud-unfolding Apollo of Job 14. But visual similarities tend to be a somewhat more reliable guide to meaning. In the first part of this discussion I mentioned the resemblance between the posture of the Conjurer in Red in ACP and the posture of Philoctetes in Philoctetes and Neopotolemus, though the latter is depicted from the front and is under obvious duress. But in this case there is a visual parallel as well, since the two look much alike. There is no doubt that Philoctetes is defying Neopotolemus, the youthful recruiting officer, and that Blake considered such resistance to be admirable, whereas the Conjurer in Red, as I see him, is probably complicitous with the (un-)Veiled Lady who stands behind him. But the visual parallels indicate to me that the Conjurer in Red is on the side of freedom, like Philoctetes, and I have already suggested reasons for thinking his Lady is on his side. From this perspective one might hazard a guess that the Conjurer in Red is gesturing over the water toward the Pentagon with the intention of raising that home of sneaking villains fifty feet in the air.

One should also observe the symbolic rather than visual connection between the Sun God in ACP and the figure of the patriarch Enoch in Blake's only lithograph (Separate Plates, pl. 26, no. 16) is related to both in spite of his
differences in appearance. Obviously he has a longer beard, is presumably older, has his left foot thrust forward and his right evidently drawn back, holds a great book across his legs, presides over an untroubled scene, etc. When the picture is carefully studied, one first notices that Enoch's hands hold the book down, which is a different gesture from those of either of the other two, but then he notices that Enoch's fingers are in almost the same position as those of the Conjurer and that if Enoch raised his arms he would be making the identical gesture. If he spread them, however, he would resemble the posture of the "Cherub Contemplation" in the first design for Il Penseroso.

These symbolic connections are suggestive, but certain visual connections between Enoch and figures in other designs indicate a fragility in the posture of Enoch which might, in turn, be taken to qualify the prophetic image of the Conjurer in Red. Enoch certainly resembles the God of Job (as well as Job himself, of course) particularly as he is depicted in Job pl. 16, with the book, and even more as he appears in pl. 14, without the book, but with his right foot advanced. I take it that Enoch is represented favorably, though a case could be made that this picture shows a fragile prelinsarian condition of the Arts. Such an interpretation is strengthened when one recognizes that the relationship between Enoch and his poetical scribe on the stepped platform is derived from the one between the females Reason (right foot advanced) and Faith in Night Thoughts (no. 151, engr. 41) in which the dominant figure is undoubtedly sinister. But there is a more decisive resemblance between the Enoch design and the title page for ARC, where the patriarchal figure must be favorably presented. As is often the case, it is easier to discern a connection than to define the extent of contrariety.

Another design in the Job series more directly related to ACP is Job, pl. 11, "With Dreams upon my bed thou scarest me & affrightest me with Visions." In this picture, cloven-hoofed God-the-Satan points back and up at the tables of the Decalogue with his right hand while pointing forward and down into the raging fire with his left. Job himself is shown stretched out on Blake's characteristic rolled funeral woven mat, holding up his hands to ward off the infernal deity he has conjured up, and gazing with horror into the fire out of which two Satanic ministers have seized him, while a third brings up a chain to bind him. The relational connections to the Philoctetes are obvious, especially because Neopotolemus wears scaly armored drawers and a snaky strap over his shoulder, while the hellish God of Job becomes entwined in the serpent, but many of the details have distinct counterparts in ACP as well. The Veiled Lady likewise points up and down, though her hands are reversed,
and her left indicates the flames in heaven, while her right points to the flames below. In posture the figure of Job's deity generally resembles both the Horned shell-helmeted Man (shown from behind and on his back, of course), who manages the watery flames, as well as the Sea Goddess, who rides in the vehicular wake of the Neptunian horses of passion. One is bound to observe the anatomical strain involved in making the left leg of the former and the right leg of the latter so unmistakably prominent. In the case of the man it is clear that he is striving to touch the huge root of the tree with his toe (he does not touch a root in the preliminary drawing but there appears to be an explosion—or a net—at his toe), whereas in the case of the woman there are only the small bubbles that connect her with the Veiled Lady (in the drawing, where this figure is hardly developed, there is no indication of them). The analogy of position indicated by the devilish God of Job, pl. 11, allows for the suspicion that both the man and the woman may have something to hide, such as a cloven hoof, on their hidden feet but I cannot imagine anything so drastically at odds with their healthy appearances.

Another connection with Job pl. 11 is that Job's tormentors are three, like the Fates, though they are shown working from beneath, rather than from above, on their intended victim; their chain corresponds to the rope of the Fates. Doubtless this, Job's most desperate plight, is a product of his own self-righteousness and feelings of guilt, but note that there is a potential condition of degradation as a result of superstition that Blake else where depicts but to which his Job does not fall. That is, Job does not fall to worshiping Satan and his minions and, though he cannot exorcise, he can resist feebly and save his life. This is a precondition to receiving the blessing by Job's redemptive God in pl. 17, which is bestowed with a gesture very like that of the Conjurer in Red in ACP.

In this perspective one might argue that the serpent covering of the nightmare God in Job pl. 11 is the counterpart of the veil on the Veiled Lady and that one thus has a further sign of her sinister influence. But I am not persuaded: a cloven-footed God can be no other than the Accuser, but can the Veiled Lady be accusing the Man of having put the Sun God to sleep? I still see her neither as an accuser nor as a temptress but as an admonisher, carrying out an authentic prophetic task, the burden of which is expressed in the formula "If you go on So the result is So" (E 607). Or she may be saying, to whomever has ears, "Since the Sun has doubted, his light has gone out; will you then allow yourself to be woman-dominated like the nether god?"
The manner in which an indubitable tempter works is exemplified by Satan in the Second Temptation in the Paradise Regained series (Masters, pl. XII). Satan's crooked and insubstantial offer is partly expressed by the twist in his body and the sharp bends in the joints of his arms, as well as by his unsupported position standing in the middle air; all this is in maximum contrast with rigidly statuesque erect posture of Christ, whose hands (though reversed as to left and right) indicate the same directions as do those of the Devil. Blake is also careful to delineate the three kingdoms of this world that are the basis of this temptation, whereas the Veiled Lady in ACP really has nothing to offer that could seem desirable. In any case, Mrs. Warner, who called my attention to the relevance of the Paradise Regained picture in this context, does not feel that the similarities between Satan and the Veiled Lady are in themselves sufficient to discredit the Veiled Lady.

Positioned as he is between two women, it is natural to suppose that the Conjurer in Red is being subjected to a choice between two contradictory life styles such as is, for example, shown in Raphael's famous Vision of a Knight (--in the National Gallery, London. The fact that Raphael's lady who offers love is clearly identical with the left nude in the companion picture of The Three Graces and that both resemble the Veiled Lady is also suggestive). But Blake's point seems to be different from what Mrs. Warner would make it; not only is the Conjurer in Red turned away from the Sea Goddess, he is equally turned away from the Veiled Lady. If he had been absorbed into the Veiled Lady's sphere of influence he would have been turned wholly around like the spiritual portrait of Blake discovering Los in M 21 or, even more, like the youth who is learning the wisdom of the serpent from the malevolent lady teacher in A 14. Is it not more consistent with the penetrating look he gives in the direction of the Spectator to suppose that the Conjurer in Red knows what we need to know and that he is shown to be doing what needs to be done?

The Conjurer in Red must be related to another Watcher who also sits on a rock and eyes the Spectator. In J pl. 78, the eagle-rooster headed man, in the position of The Thinker, is both a fallen eagle vigiling while the sun goes down and an awakening cock (M 28:24-26) or eagle (M 39) who attends its coming up. He is evidently an avatar of Los (see FZ 7 a: 204-208, J 94:15, MHH 9:15), as Wicksteed and others have supposed. But he is not yet engaged in redemptive action partly because the lines indicate; beneath him, which probably represent the Polypus, have not, at this point, been sorted out—the task assigned
to the Fates and their horned shell-helmeted companion in AQP. When this Watcher becomes fully humanized, he will be ready to raise his hands to help, like the Conjurer in AQP. And he will doubtless continue to look to the Spectator to lend a hand, knowing that if the Spectator goes on so, refusing to get involved, there will be no result at all.

Some inconclusive evidence of what the Veiled Lady is capable of may be found in the sketches for the Book of Enoch and in the drawings for Night Thoughts. The chief female in the first three sketches for Enoch (Pencil Drawings II, pls. 45-47) rather closely resembles the Veiled Lady, in one way or another, particularly as she appears in the preliminary drawing for AQP (Pencil Drawings, II, Pl. 40), which was presumably done about the same time. The fact that none of the women in the Enoch designs is draped serves to distinguish them from the Veiled Lady, but it appears that in this series, nudity is not necessarily a virtue. The fact that clothing is not an unambiguous guide to meanings is one of the many complications in Blakean symbolism which upset ready and easy explanations of his "system." But no moralist of any stature would presume to pronounce on the general question as to whether nudity is a good or bad thing. Obviously for the artist, it all depends.

Mrs. Warner observed that in the drawing the Veiled Lady has stars in her veil and she takes this to be a sinister symbol. I believe Mrs. Warner would agree that it is risky to reason forward from the drawing to the much different picture, but in themselves the garment stars are not a propitious symbol. Still, in one of the designs for Gray's poems an indubitably Bardic figure wears a star-studded robe. Moreover, careful study of the actual drawing indicates that there are as many as six stars, together with what is perhaps an eye (comparison with other pictures makes this not improbable), and also four round objects which are more likely to be grapes than anything else and, as such, would tend to counteract the possibly sinister implication of the stars.

In the Night Thoughts designs there are a number of veiled admonitory or witnessing women who wear a veil and keep track of the transgressions of male figures. Blake certainly did not approve of all these avatars of "Conscience," but it is not yet clear that he always disapproved of them either. Toward the end of the series (IX, 83, no. 501) this figure is modulated into a huge impressive female angel "Night," who has a veil over her face and holds open before her a great book that contains the stars. The record here is sublime, not petty or captious,
and the record keeper worthy of admiration, not unlike the Sea Goddess in *ACP*, who also brings on the night. (In the previous picture (no. 50C) an impressive Diana is shown walking with a moon in her hair, another connection with the Sea Goddess in her aspect as Hecate.)

But of all the designs in the *Night Thoughts* series the one that is most closely connected to *ACP* is probably no. 465 (IX, 47), which illustrates the line "Nature herself does half the Work of Man." Here Nature is shown as a huge woman who reaches her left hand up to the crescent moon, and has her left leg still in the sea, while climbing up a cliff much like that in *ACP* with the assistance of her right hand and bent right leg. She is back to the Spectator but her face is not sinister. The porticos of at least two classical temples are visible in the middle of the hill she is climbing, and these are surmounted with church spires. The moral of this picture seems to be that if without assistance Nature can make it to the level of natural religion, it ought not to be so difficult to get her other foot free to achieve the next development for Mankind. But many of those who stop to rest in the temples of the detestable gods of Priam, we may surmise, find it too hard to take the final step. The wonder in this picture, however, is that so much progress has already been achieved. In the green foreground is a tent, presumably a prophetic vantage point from which to observe so prodigious and efficacious an event.

Probably the most decisive vindication of the Sea Goddess, in her being if not in all her consequences, is to be found in her close physical resemblance to the spiritual self-portrait of Blake himself which is drawn with the Upcott autograph (Erdman, ed. ii. 4). The Upcott figure is presumably of the opposite sex (though it could be an androgyne), but its posture is very similar and its face might even be that of the Conjurer in Red after he had had a rejuvenative shave. Moreover, the wiry bounding scroll wielded by the Upcott figure must be related to the vortex cloud cover (or smoke screen) issuing from the right hand of the Sea Goddess. Doubtless dark images of truth that must be read to be believed are written on both of them. The Spectator's success in reading part of this endless scroll will perhaps strengthen him to read other parts that he needs to know, until that time when the scroll is rolled together (Rev. 6:14), a text Blake must have thought about at least once a day.

Indeed I have come to believe that if one wishes to understand *ACP* he should look for still another avatar of this figure of the Interpreter. From a different angle he
appears in an important though a little-known picture identified by Essick as representing the "Genius of Shakespeare" (repr. Apollo N.S. LXXIX (1964), 321.) But the exact counterpart of the Sea Goddess is to be found at the center of the "Whirlwind of Lovers" (Divine Comedy nos. 10 and 10E) where she is working to overcome those deprivations which would forever forbid the return of mankind into paradise. I shall maintain that this great picture acts as an explanatory sequel to ACP.

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2. Blake and Tradition: "The Little Girl Lost" and "The Little Girl Found"

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In his review of Kathleen Raine's Blake and Tradition (BNL, Vol. III, Whole # 11), Daniel Hughes mentions my name in connection with a pair of Blake's poems on which I have taken a stand in print. Since Mr. Hughes does not examine any of the RaI ne readings he commends, I would like to supplement my incidental criticism of seven years ago.

For at least some of us who have needed no introduction to Thomas Taylor and have remained unconverted, what is at issue in the Neoplatonist chapters of Blake and Tradition is what was at issue when they were published first as separate essays: not the "poetic process," but critical method; not whether Blake knew Taylor's translations and commentaries (he probably did, as he knew other books of the time), but how close they can or should be brought to his poetry; not what Taylor said, but what Blake means. With respect to the Lyca poems, I still believe that there is something of the Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries in "The Little Girl Lost", and something less and of a different kind in "The Little Girl Found." The images in the first poem (I would not call them "symbols") of the moon and the caves, the desert, the "southern clime," the animals and their ceremonial behavior, do gain from the associations of both the Mysteries ritual and the Neoplatonic concept of the descent of the soul, which Taylor brings together in a confused mixture of metaphor, abstraction, and allegory compounded upon allegory. But I still maintain also that the Dissertation contributes less to the whole poem, and less to some of the same images, than such other sources of analogy as the ballad "The Children in the
Wood," the first canto of the Inferno, and the episode of Una and the lion in The Faerie Queene—as I have already argued. Even the theme of initiation, which comes to the fore in the second poem and could very well have been suggested by the general subject of the Dissertation, is dependent primarily on Inferno I when it first emerges.

Reading Kathleen Raine, Mr. Hughes thinks of the poetic process, which seems to concern the poet less than the audience, and he is content to leave the poems themselves in the background. Miss Raine, in turn, is thinking of Thomas Taylor, and her method is to translate the poems into the rigid, allegorical terms of the Dissertation. The "fullest possible content" that Taylor is able to find in the Eleusinian Mysteries is considered full enough for Blake's purposes, which are assumed not to differ from Taylor's; here, at least, the operation of "tradition" allows only one meaning, and by implication turns any new work of poetry into a devotional exercise in repetition. Such a premise may be useful to the commentator herself as a personal poetic, but in relation to Blake it is open to objections so obvious they should not have to be raised in answer to a reviewer writing for an audience of Blake scholars and critics. The least that can be said against the conception of Blake in these chapters of Miss Raine's book is that it makes the vigorously dissenting poet submissive to the arid and obsolete doctrines of Neoplatonism as he never was to any still viable system of belief in his own time, and that it denies him the subtlety, imagination, and independence we take for granted in the handling of received or borrowed material by other poets, both earlier and later.

There are other considerations of importance to critics of Blake, which Mr. Hughes neglects. Although it is the transaction between Miss Raine and her readers that interests him most, her statements are about a text which has an objective existence and can be consulted, even without the guidance of a Mystagogue; and checked against any convenient edition of the Songs, the Neoplatonist reading of "The Little Girl Lost" shows signs of strain from the beginning. (About "The Little Girl Found" Miss Raine finds relatively less to say, and less use for the Dissertation in her discussion.) Lyca's act of lying down to sleep, for example, can be fitted into the pattern only by being made into both an effect and a cause, and the metaphor of a metaphor. The emphasis is continually on isolated images taken out of their own context and delivered to Taylor and his Neoplatonists for a systematic reduction in meaning. Repeatedly, from the first stanza to the last, Lyca is seen as the pre-existent soul descending by various metaphorical means into the realm of "generation" and corporeal life, all without regard for time.
relations, allegorical consistency, or the narrative itself. In the last stanza, however, something interesting happens: the text rebels against the commentator. Blake seems about to confess his allegiance by using a standard Neoplatonic metaphor, but he immediately overturns it; whereas the soul descending from eternity ends by putting on the mortal body as a garment, Lyca's "slender dress" is "loos'd," and when she is carried to the caves, she is naked.

Such a jolt to conventional expectations (if Blake did indeed know the Dissertation, he would have been aware of how conventional they were to Taylor) would usually be recognized as a signal from the author, and so I believe it should be here. Coming as it does at the climax of a poem in which there have been earlier ambiguities and disparities (unfortunately lost in Miss Kaine's absolutist reading), it is Blake's indirect assertion of his own meaning, an evocation of the Dissertation for the purpose of rejecting the values assumed there. We are being notified, in effect, that the story of Lyca is to be separated from Taylor's allegory and understood according to a different set of values, which are also accessible through the imagery of the poem. Lyca is "dying from this world," not into it, and she is descending to an even lower state, not like the space-travelling soul of the Neoplatonists but like Aeneas in the Underworld or like Dante's pilgrim, whose wandering and sleep she has reenacted in the earlier stanzas and who descended, going by "another way," so that ultimately she could rise out of his own lost state. It is at this point, through the associations of the Inferno most especially, that the initiation theme comes to the surface and reflects back to the opening prophecy to suggest how the sleeping earth one day may be able to "rise and seek/ For her maker meek."

The last stanza of "The Little Girl Lost" is a test of the kind of commentary to which Miss Kaine has committed herself, and she does not try to bridge the distance that opens up between Blake's poem and Taylor's Dissertation at the very moment she is preparing to wind up a triumphant demonstration that, in effect, Blake is Taylor versified. Instead of questioning either her premise or her method, however, she responds by patronizing Blake. Lyca can only be the fallen soul, which necessarily puts on a garment; therefore "it seems as though Blake, in attempting to keep all his multiple meanings in mind simultaneously, has failed at this point....Yet the line is beautiful and imaginatively satisfying, if we do not insist....In the total impression one would not wish...." This must be what Mr. Hughes is remembering when he finds Blake "confused or even careless."
In the analogy he sets up between initiation into the Mysteries and "experiencing" Blake, Mr. Hughes at first assigns the role of Mystagogue, the sponsor and guide of the initiate, to Blake himself, although his, Mr. Hughes's, own practical choice is Kathleen Raine speaking through her commentary. A better role in the Mysteries ritual for the actual author of the poem would be that of the Hierophant, the high priest of Eleusis, who at the supreme degree of initiation spoke the sacred words and exhibited the sacred objects. Those were the "secrets," neither concealed nor explained but uttered and exhibited—presented for understanding directly to the initiate by their official guardian. Such a ritual exhibition, the epopteia, takes place as part of the narrative in "The Little Girl Found" when the transformed lion-king allows Lyca's parents to see their sleeping daughter. There the formal Hierophant is the "Spirit arm'd in gold," who in the first poem, in his animal shape, has been an epopt himself, "viewing" the same sleeping figure. In both poems, presiding over the enlightenment of the personages in the narrative and of the reader as well, the ultimate Hierophant is Blake, and he too presents his meanings directly, in words and images that are the equivalent (according to the analogy introduced by Mr. Hughes) of the sacred words and objects revealed during the epopteia at Eleusis.

It is such an exhibition, I submit, that is being offered in the last stanza of "The Little Girl Lost," and all the reader-initiate needs to learn for his "salvation" is contained in what Blake the Hierophant puts before him. Mr. Hughes, alas, seems prepared to turn his back and join Kathleen Raine in rearranging the objects in a counter-display.

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REVIEW


Although this book makes no mention of the name of Blake, there being no reason why it should have done so, I would like to draw it to the attention of all of us who are working on the matter of Blake's drawings and paintings.
It will prevent our making fools of ourselves by suggesting that Blake might have used pigments which were not available to him.

Dr. Harley, as technical liaison officer with Winsor & Newton, has, I might mention, been more than generous in her replies to my questions about the pigments which Blake might have used, and I greet the appearance of her book with delight, as it helps to make this information available to everyone. Her bibliography is the only full one, covering the period, which has ever been attempted, and, as a dabbler in the field which she has covered so fully, I cannot fault it in any way. Hitherto, we have had to make do with the admirable Rutherford J. Gettens & G.L. Stout, Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopaedia (latest edition: New York, Dover, 1966), but that covers too wide an area so far as the pigments are concerned (although it remains invaluable for Mediums and Supports), and Dr. Harley's book fills the gap so far as Blake students are involved.

In his long letter to George Richmond, written in September 1828, Samuel Palmer says: "I have been sketching a head from life, and life size on gray board, in colours, and heightened with Mrs. Blake's white, which is brighter, and sticks faster than chalk; & it seems such a quick way of getting a showy, but really good effect,..." (Geoffrey Grigson, Samuel Palmer The Visionary Years, London, 1947, p. 75). This may well have been barium white, as that was well known among watercolor painters from at least 1815 (see p. 165), but it seemed to me strange that Palmer would not have referred to it under its commonly accepted name of permanent white. In her correspondence with me Dr. Harley says that it is possible that, although the pigment Zinc White was not introduced to the watercolor public, commercially, until Winsor & Newton offered it in their 1834 catalogue, Blake, an inveterate experimenter, might very well have been trying it out a good many years earlier, and her book makes it clear that it was available from the London factory of de Massoule from the close of the 18th century, but was not satisfactory as an oil-pigment until a proper vehicle was found some half a century later. This, however, would not have concerned Blake and it seems to me more than possible that, in view of its otherwise admirable qualities (it is non-poisonous for one thing—an important consideration for a man who drank walnut oil instead of trying it out as a medium), he might have used it in his watercolors and temperas.

I merely mention this one point in the hope that others, inspired by Dr. Harley's book, will feel free to speculate
within the limits which she has set. And it seems probable that, in some cases, pigments which are included as acceptable, in watercolor at least, by the latter date of 1835, may well have been a part of the experimental equipment of artists a considerable number of years before. I hope that others will agree with me in finding this book one of those which, while not dealing with Blake directly, are indispensable to those who would know roughly what he could have known in his time.

Ruthven Todd

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Bogen, Nancy, a critical edition of The Book of Thel with a new interpretation; a study of Blake's development as a self-styled prophet in light of 18th century Bible study; directing a thesis on Blake and Whitman as Visionaries.

Duerksen, Roland A., a book-length study dealing with self and society in the poetry of Blake, Coleridge, Keats and Shelley.


Helmstadter, Thomas, an article on Blake's ideas and symbolism in selected Night Thoughts illustrations.

Johnson, Mary Lynn, a study of the relationship of the Bard's song to the rest of the poem in Milton.

Singer, June, The Unholy Bible, a psychological study of Blake (item contributed by Mary Lynn Johnson).

Spencer, Jeffry, a study of Blake's illustrations to Milton's poetry.

Todd, Ruthven, a new, annotated edition of Gilchrist's Life; a "Picture-back" on Blake to be published by Studio Vista/Dutton; a study of Blake's illustrative techniques to be called William Blake: The Technical Man.

Tolley, Michael J., Ph.D. thesis: "William Blake's use of the Bible"; a project to edit (for the Clarendon Press) Blake's Night Thoughts illustrations, co-editor with John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose (co-ordinated by David V. Erdrman); articles: one on "The Fly" in the next issue of Blake Studies (an exchange with Hagstrum); one on Europe in the Princeton collection edited by Erdman and Grant.