

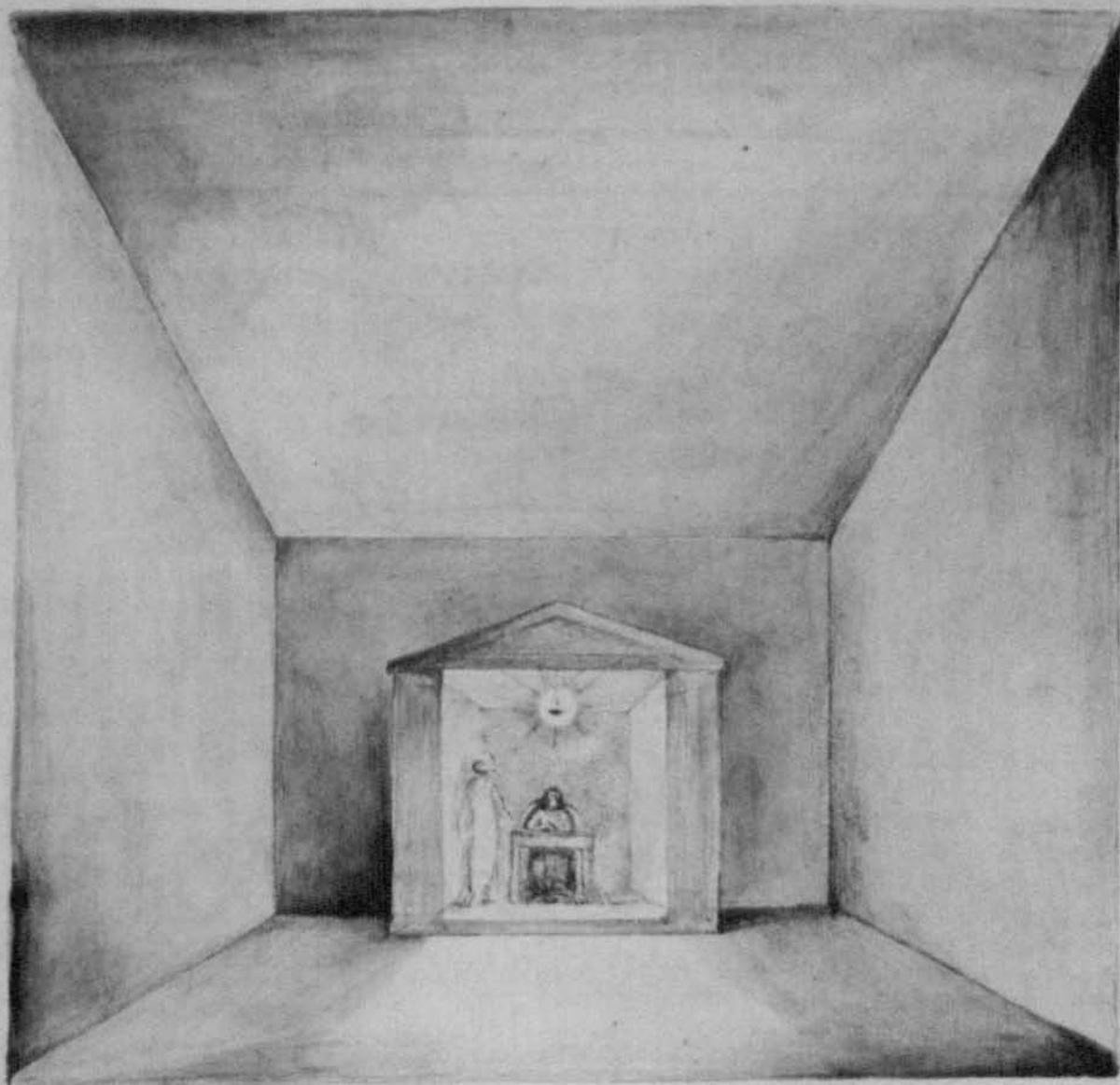
Blake

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOLUME 23

NUMBER 4

SPRING 1990



William Blake.
I suppose it to be a Vision
I never remember a
conversation with W. Blake. Frederick Tatham

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Cover: William Blake, *A Vision: The Inspiration of the
Poet*, c. 1819-20. Courtesy of the Tate Gallery, London,
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Sources and Etymologies of Blake's "Tirzah"

by Sheila A. Spector

Unlike many of the other names in Blake's myth, Tirzah has always been considered relatively straightforward. Found in two different biblical contexts, the name provides critics with their choice of associations by which to measure the development of Blake's personification. As a woman, Tirzah is the fifth of Zelophehad's daughters (Num. 26.33, 27.1, 36.11; Josh. 17.3), who, along with her four sisters and Rahab, is transformed by Blake into Milton's wives and daughters—"Rahab and Tirzah, & Milcah & Malah & Noah & Hoglah."¹ More frequently referred to, though, is the city Tirzah, originally mentioned in Joshua (12.24) as an ancient Canaanite city, though later in Kings (2:14.17-18, 2:15.14,16) as a royal city whose beauty is extolled in the Song of Solomon (6.4). Thus, in *Jerusalem*, "Reuben return'd to his place, in vain he sought beautiful Tirzah" (32.1, E 178). Because of these biblical sources, critics have been fairly confident about their interpretations of the character, especially in the poem "To Tirzah." In *Fearful Symmetry*, Northrop Frye combines the two biblical Tirzahs in his interpretation, to conclude: "The five daughters represent the five senses and imply the passive dependence on sense experience which is symbolized in our being born from a mother. This is the meaning of the little poem 'To Tirzah' which ends the *Songs of Experience*."² Harold Bloom asserts in *Blake's Apocalypse* that "all we need to know of her for this poem is in her name. . . . By 1801, Jerusalem, for Blake, symbolizes Milton's Christian Liberty, the spiritual freedom of man. Tirzah therefore stands for man's bondage to nature."³ And in *Innocence*

and *Experience*, E. D. Hirsch describes Blake's Tirzah as

an ingenious and imaginative combination of allusions. . . . In this poem Tirzah represents the natural, physical world and the natural, physical aspect of man belonging to that world.⁴

Influenced by Geoffrey Keynes's explanation that "The mother's name, . . . signifies physical beauty, that is sex,"⁵ Thomas F. Berninghausen interprets "To Tirzah" as a poem about "a convergence, a marriage of contrary elements. Though the persona remains ignorant of the need for convergence, the poet is fully aware of this need."⁶ Finally, in *Blake's Innocence and Experience Retraced*, Stanley Gardner asserts: "Blake used the Biblical Tirzah, a city in Canaan, as a counter-symbol to Jerusalem, associating the name as the degrading labour for bread in the Lambeth Asylum, and with deforming self-depression."⁷

While these interpretations are all good as far as they go, an examination of Blake's attitude towards contemporary linguistics suggests that none goes far enough. It is quite possible that when he developed the personification found in "To Tirzah," *The Four Zoas*, *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, Blake coordinated the biblical sources with a series of what he believed to be appropriate Hebraic roots to produce the Tirzah found in his mature work.

Historically, most language studies from the Renaissance through the nineteenth century have fallen into two basic categories: artificial versus natural language.⁸ Theorists like Bacon and Locke, who believed language to be artificially constructed and culturally determined, posited an arbitrary relationship between a word and its meaning (signifier and signi-

fied), and consequently, a gap between the sign as a whole and the reality it represented.⁹ This distrust of language, commonly referred to as the "cheat of words," became the basis for Bacon's rejection of Aristotelian logic. As he said in the fourteenth statement of the *Novum Organum: Aphorisms Concerning the Interpretation of Nature and the Kingdom of Man*:

The syllogism consists of propositions, propositions of words; words are the signs of notions. If, therefore, the notions (which form the basis of the whole) be confused and carelessly abstracted from things, there is no solidity in the superstructure. Our only hope is in genuine induction.¹⁰

Similarly, Locke's epistemology can be said to rest on the theory of artificial language. In "Of Words or Language in General," book 3 of his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke says that language is the artificially constructed means by which we express our ideas.¹¹ Because the ideas signified by words are subjectively produced, and because the relationship between a word and its meaning is arbitrary, man is, according to Locke, two removes from objective reality.¹²

In contrast, the proponents of natural language based their theories on the two references to language in the Bible: Adam's naming of the animals (Gen. 2.19), and God's confounding of language after the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11.7). A literal reading of the first reference led to the belief that language was not arbitrary but divinely inspired. From this perspective, Adam was not merely assigning arbitrary signifiers, but identifying essences when naming the animals. Thus, in contrast to Locke, who repeatedly asserted that the relationship between the signifier and its signified

was as arbitrary as that between the sign as a whole and the concept it represented, Jacob Boehme felt that words were literally the divine material out of which the natural world was created:

As the first creation of Adam and all kinds of creatures was so brought to pass, the Verbum Fiat coagulated each ens, and the manifested word severed itself in the ens according to its property, and formed the creature according to its astrum and kind; where also, in every ens, the matrix was separated from the limbus, and formed into a male and female. . . .¹³

The second biblical reference accounted for the existence of so many languages in the world. While Locke considered linguistic multiplicity proof of its artificiality and cultural relativism, his opponents asserted that post-Babylonian languages were later derivatives of the Adamic language. As Boehme explains in chapter 36 of the *Mysterium Magnum*, "Of the Antichristian Babylonical Whore of All Nations, Tongues and Speeches; shewing what is contained under the Languages and Tower of Babel":

[The Tower of Babel] denotes and declares the divided tongues, where every property had brought itself forth out of the universal sensual tongue into a selfishness and a peculiar selfly understanding, so that they did not any longer understand one another. . . . (36.6)

Therefore, "when we bring all these images [and several semblances] again into one language and speech, and mortify them, then the only quickening Word of God, which giveth power and life to all things, is again manifest; and strife ceaseth, and God is all in all" (36.40).

Almost all linguists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became interested in the origin of language, the first group as a measure of the development of civilization, and the second as the means of tracing language back to its origins in divine speech.¹⁴ And most theorists postulated some sort of ur-language from which modern tongues developed. In

his mammoth six-volume study *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (Edinburgh, 1772-92), James Burnet, Lord Monboddo asserted that "all the languages spoken in Europe, all Asia, . . . and some part of Africa" were all "dialects of one parent-language," which was "probably invented in Egypt."¹⁵ More germane to a study of Blake, Jacob Bryant explained in his three-volume *New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology* (London, 1774-76):

There was once but one language among the sons of men. Upon the dispersion of mankind, this was branched out into dialects; and those again were subdivided; all which varied every age; not only in respect to one another; but each language differed from itself more and more continually. It is therefore impossible to reduce the whole of these to the mode, and standard of any one. (1: 54)

In order to trace language back to its origin, some scholars assembled etymological dictionaries predicated on the assumption that cognates found in different languages had to be remnants of the parent tongue. Thus, Bryant compiled "A Mythological, Etymological, and Historical Dictionary," intended to list and define the extant roots of the ur-language. While the dictionary was originally included as part of the *Mythology*, Bryant published it separately in 1793.

There was a fairly broad consensus that the most logical choice for the ur-language was Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament.¹⁶ However, there was less agreement about the nature of the Hebrew spoken by Moses. For a variety of reasons, some Christian Hebraists in the eighteenth century questioned the authenticity of rabbinic Hebrew, the most extreme critics asserting that what was then accepted as the Hebrew scripture was actually a fabrication by the Jews. For example, in *The Integrity of the Hebrew Text* (London, 1754), the radical Julius Bate claimed:

So that the Scriptures, unless we get a better Set of them, by the Help of a Cor-

rupted, interpolated Copy; and a vague, loose, irregular, and in many Places unintelligible Version, are lost; and we have no Scripture at all since the Jews have played such Tricks with it, and made a new Scripture for themselves, not us. . . . who can give us any Security that they have not done unto them [scriptures] whatsoever they listed? and where then will their Credit be? (48)

More neutral was Thomas Sharp who, in his *Discourses Touching the Antiquity of the Hebrew Tongue and Character* (London, 1755), advised objectivity, even though "the Rabbinical Jews" produced grammars "not only without any authority, but, I think, irrationally":

I should rather chuse to judge of [the Hebrew tongue] with impartiality, and to speak of it with caution, according to the best intelligence we can get concerning it, and according to the most rational conclusions, or most probable inferences we can make from thence. (81-82)

At the other extreme were those who asserted that what passes for Hebrew is not really the authentic Hebrew at all. For example, James Parson's *Remnants of Japhet: Being Historical Enquiries into the Affinity and Origin of the European Languages* (1767) explored the thesis that

those who speak the dialects of the *Japhetan* language to this day, which are the *Gomerian* and *Magolian*, or *Scottish* languages; and yet these are the only unmixed remains of the children of *Japhet*, upon the Globe; and the King of *Great Britain*, the only monarch upon the earth who rules the remains of that original people.

Parsons did refer to

a suspicion of its being related to the *Hebrew*, among some ingenious gentlemen, either as a mutilated dialect of it, or as a sister dialect with that of some more ancient antediluvian tongue: . . . However this may be, since we cannot think that *Japhet's* people, or those of *Shem*, were at all concerned in the affair of *Babel*, we must suppose them both to have been languages of the antediluvian world, and both in the house of *Noah*.¹⁷

While Parson's thesis is extreme, there is a long history of associating

Hebrew and English. In his *Rights of the Kingdom* of 1649, John Sadler traced the etymology of the name Britain back to the Phoenician *Berat Anac*, meaning "the Field of Tyn and Lead" (47); and in *Court of the Gentiles* (London, 1672), Theophilus Gale took the Phoenician back to the Hebrew: "As for the other European Languages, the Italian, Spanish, French, German, English, &c. its evident, that they are, as to their present constitution, made up, for the most part, of the Latin, and so originally from the Hebrew" (84). Closer to Blake, Edward Davies attempted to demonstrate in his *Celtic Researches on the Origin, Traditions & Language, Of the Ancient Britons* (London, 1804), that

the *Irish* names unite with corresponding terms, in *Hebrew*, and *Greek* This union of the import, conveyed by similar sounds, in the names of the letters, demonstrates to me the original identity of the languages, and of the conceptions entertained by the several nations, respecting their elementary character, or *symbols* of sounds. (334)

In order to establish the antiquity of English, Davies included in the *Celtic Researches* an "Essay on the Celtic Language: in which its radical principles, are appreciated and compared with primitives, and simple terms, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin" (347-561), showing the commonality of Hebrew and English.¹⁸

As should be expected, the most popular Hebrew-English dictionary of the period, John Parkhurst's *Hebrew and English Lexicon, without Points* (1762; 4th ed. London 1799), incorporated most of this scholarship. Parkhurst explained in the preface to the second edition, reprinted in the fourth:

It appears evident from the Mosaic account of the original formation of Man, that *Language* was the immediate Gift of God to *Adam*, or that God himself either taught our first parent to speak, or, which comes to the same thing, inspired him with language. And the language thus communicated to the first man was, notwithstanding the objections of ancient or modern cavillers, no other (I mean as to the main and structure of it) than that *Hebrew* in

which Moses wrote. Else what meaneth the inspired historian when he saith, Gen. ii. 19, *Whatever Adam called every living creature that [was] the name thereof?* (viii)

Therefore, all languages descend from Hebrew:

Indeed I believe that many other languages, not only the *Greek* and *Latin*, but even our own, and the rest which are not spoken in *Europe*, might, notwithstanding their apparent confusion, be, by persons properly qualified, reduced to their *primitive Roots*, and by consequence the *Ideality* (if the term may be allowed) of *such languages* be recovered. (viii)

In compiling and revising his lexicon, the two practices of which Parkhurst was most proud have the least foundation in what today is considered to be responsible linguistics. First, he relied almost exclusively on orthography for locating roots:

. . . the Hebrew language is ideal, or that from a certain, and that no great, number of primitive, and apparently arbitrary, words, called *Roots*, and usually expressive of some idea or notion taken from nature, i.e. from the external objects around us, or from our own constitutions, by our senses or feelings, all the other words of that tongue are derived, or grammatically formed; and that wherever the radical letters are the same, the leading idea or notion runs through all the deflexions of the word, however numerous or diversified. . . . (viii)

Because Parkhurst assumed that words with similar spelling must have derived from a single root, he grouped together sometimes linguistically disparate words and then contrived explanations for their relationship. This would be comparable to explaining how all English words based on the consonants *sng* (e.g., sing, snag, snug, singe) developed from a single root. Also, Parkhurst included with many entries so-called derivatives, words of other languages which he asserted developed from the Hebrew parent, for he felt it "might entertain [the learner] to see so many words still preserved in English, from the common mother of all tongues, and set him upon new enquiries of this kind, both in our own and

other languages." This effort was so well received that in the second edition of the lexicon, Parkhurst "considerably enlarged this etymological part of my Work, by the addition not only of many English, but of many Greek, Latin, and Northern words" (xii).

Blake probably sided with the biblically oriented linguists.¹⁹ Not only did he identify Bacon and Locke, along with Newton, as the infernal trinity, but he repeatedly asserted that his language was divinely inspired, writing to Butts on 25 April 1803, "I have written this Poem from immediate Dictation twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time without Premeditation & even against my Will" (E 728-29); and on 6 July 1803, "I may praise it since I dare not pretend to be any other than the Secretary the Authors are in Eternity" (E 730). Therefore, "Every word and every letter is studied and put into its fit place" ("To the Public," E 146), for "Poetry admits not a Letter that is Insignificant" (VIJ, E 560). However, while he agreed that there was a single ur-language, Blake apparently questioned the primacy of the language of the Jews:

The antiquities of every Nation under Heaven, is no less sacred than that of the Jews. They are the same thing as Jacob Bryant, . . . and all antiquaries have proved. How other antiquities came to be neglected and disbelieved, while those of the Jews are collected and arranged, is an enquiry, worthy of both the Antiquarian and the Divine. All had originally one language, and one religion, this was the religion of Jesus, the everlasting Gospel. (DC, E 543)

Although Blake may seem to have rejected Hebrew as the original language, there are still several reasons for assuming that he used it as the vehicle for deriving the language of "the everlasting Gospel." Historically, regardless of whether or not Hebrew was the original language, its antiquity would have made it closer to Adam, so logically, it would contain more remnants of the pre-Babylonian tongue. On a more practical level, because most scholars of the time did believe

in the primacy of Hebrew, there were more Hebraic resources available, many of them coordinating roots from various languages. Therefore, it is conceivable that Blake culled among the different resources so that Los could "buil[d] the stubborn structure of the Language" (*J* 36.59, E 183).²⁰ Finally, similarities between Parkhurst's unique definitions for the Hebraic roots *orand* *razon*, and Blake's Urizen strongly suggest that Blake consulted Parkhurst's *Hebrew and English Lexicon* for the etymology of the name Urizen, so it is reasonable to infer that he used the dictionary for other names as well.²¹

If Blake did seek Hebraic roots for the names of his personifications, then he probably followed the procedure outlined in most Hebrew/English grammars of the time, like Parkhurst's *An Hebrew and Chaldee Grammar, without Points*, published with the *Dictionary*. Specifically, the grammars advised removing any affixes from a word in order to derive its radical. In the case of Tirzah, Blake would have eliminated the prefix *ti* and the suffix *ab* to reveal the root letters *rz* (the second letter of the root, *tsadi*, is often transliterated *z*). He then would have checked the dictionary, where he would have found four different entries. In Parkhurst's alphabetical order, the first is *ratz*:

- I. ... *To run, move or ride swiftly.... To cause to run, put to flight.... To move or cause to move hastily or swiftly.... To carry quickly.... A running, course... Course of action... Incur-sion, invasion... Or, Force, violence.*
- II. ... *To run, to cause to run, to drive, or force one thing against another, to dash, crush.*
- III. As a N. with a formative [*alef, eretz*], sometimes masc....but much more frequently fem.
 1. *The earth or earthy matter, as distinguished from the waters.... Various etymologies have been by learned men proposed of this word; the most probable seems to be that which derives it from [ratz] breaking in pieces, crum-*

bling.... And it is manifest, that on this remarkable property of *earth*, it's answering the end of it's creation, or it's usefulness in continually supplying the waste of vegetable and animal bodies, must depend; and it is not improbable that the Greek ... from Heb....*to pound, beat to pieces*, the Lat. terra, from tero *to wear away*, and the Eng. *ground* from *grind*, all aimed at the same etymological reason.

2. *The compounded chaotic globe of earth and waters, as distinguished from the heavens....*
3. *A particular part of the earth, a land, or country....*
4. *The ground, in opposition to somewhat elevated above it.... Hence German Erde ... and Eng. Earth,... (700)*

Second, *rotzeb*:

- I. ... *To be pleased with, to like, affect.... Will, delight.... Favour, affection.... Desire.... Will, pleasure.... Wilfulness, self-will.*
- II. ... *To be pleased with, enjoy*
- III. ... *To be pleased with, accept kindly or graciously.... To be satisfactorily expiated.... To make oneself accepted or acceptable.... Acceptableness, acceptance.*
- IV. ... *To accept with complacence and patience, as punishment for sin, to acquiesce in.*
- V. ... *To please, conciliate the affections of*
- VI. ... *To agree or consent with.... (701)*

Third, *ratzab*:

Denotes *manslaughtier* or *murder*, i.e. either the accidental or wilful taking away of a man's life. *To kill, slay, murder... To be slain, murdered.... A manslayer or murderer.... A murdering instrument, a sword, or the like.*

Der. *Massacre* (702)

Fourth, *ratzab*:

To pierce through, perforate, bore.... A piercing instrument, an awl, a piercer. (702)

Evidence of all four roots can be found in the characterization of Tirzah. The first, arguably the most significant, is based on one of Parkhurst's linguistic fancies. The Hebrew word *eretz*, "earth," begins with an *aleph*, a letter

frequently used as an affix to indicate grammatical relation, though in this case, part of the root. Parkhurst erroneously considers the letter a servile and removes it to reveal what he considers to be the root, *ratz*, the Hebrew word for "run." Though wrong, he provides Blake with the linguistic basis for associating several properties of materialism in the single name Tirzah. In its most simple sense, the root involves the idea of movement: "To run, move or ride swiftly," "Runners, running attendants," "Course of action," "Force, violence." Thus, in *Milton*, Los's "Twelve Sons successive fled away in that thousand years of sorrow / ... were Generated, because / They left me, wandering with Tirzah" (23.62-24.5, E 199). Similarly, in *Jerusalem*, Reuben wanders, "in vain he sought beautiful Tirzah / ... [Los] sent him forth over Jordan / In the love of Tirzah" (32.1-7, E 178). In contrast, her victim in *The Four Zoas* provokes her complaint, "Why dost thou wander away from Tirzah why me compell to bind thee" (8.105.32, E 378). Transitively, *ratz* becomes "To run, to cause to run, to drive or force one thing against another, to dash, crush," as in "she dashed his skull." Thus, Tirzah operates the looms to "prepare webs of torture / Mantles of despair girdles of bitter compunction shoes of indolence / Veils of ignorance covering from head to feet with a cold web" (*FZ* 8.113.19-21, E 376-77); and the three classes of men are, in a line deleted from copy CD of *Milton*, "Spun beneath the Spindle of Tirzah" (7.1, E 807).

From the verb "to crush," Parkhurst derives the nouns "Broken pieces, fragments"—rocks: "And the Twelve Daughters of Albion united in Rahab & Tirzah / A Double Female: and they drew out from the Rocky Stones / Fibres of Life to Weave" (67.2-4, E 220). This leads to the key of Tirzah's identity, "The earth or earthy matter," which derives from "breaking in pieces, crumbling." Specifically, the "compounded chaotic globe of earth

and waters" is to be "distinguished from the heavens," as indicated in *Milton* when the sons of Los

were Generated, because
They left me, wandering with Tirzah:
Enitharmon wept
One thousand years, and all the Earth
was in a watry deluge
We calld him Menasseh because of the
Generations of Tirzah
(24.3-6, E 119)

(Joseph called his son Manasseh "For God, said he, hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house" [Gen. 41.52]).

The material earth is associated with the material body in "To Tirzah": "What-e'er is Born of Mortal Birth, / Must be consumed with the Earth / To rise from Generation free" (ll. 1-3, E 30). In *The Four Zoas*, Tirzah has her sisters bind the human form down,

Come circumscribe this tongue of sweets
& with a Screw of iron
Fasten this Ear into the Rock Milcah the
task is thine
Weep not so sisters weep not so our life
depends on this
Or mercy & truth are fled away from
Shechem and Mount Gilead
Unless my beloved is bound upon the
Stems of Vegetation
(8.105.49-53, E 379)

for her own sake, reversing the traditional perspective on the Fall. Instead of viewing mortality as the loss of immortality, Tirzah explains that her existence requires the vegetation of man. Being thus associated with the material body, Tirzah becomes the means through which the incarnation can be achieved. While, as the speaker of "To Tirzah" laments, the "Mother of [his] Mortal part. / . . . Didst close [his] Tongue in senseless clay / And [him] to Mortal Life betray," at the same time, "The Death of Jesus set [him] free" (ll. 9, 13-15, E 30). In *The Four Zoas*, the Lamb comes "first to Give his vegetated body / To be cut off & separated that the Spiritual body may be Reveald," through his encounter with "The false Female . . . / Which christ must

rend & her reveal Her Daughters are Calld / Tirzah" (8.113.37-38, 105.25-27, E 378); "Then Jesus Came & Died willing beneath Tirzah & Rahab" (8.115.50, E 381). At the Last Judgment,

. . . Jesus stood beside them in the Spirit
Separating
Their Spirit from their body. Terrified at
Non Existence
For such they deemd the death of the
body.

.....
their bodies lost they stood
Trembling & weak a faint embrace a
fierce desire
.....

Their bodies buried in the ruins of the
Universe
Mingled with the confusion. Who shall
call them from the Grave

Rahab & Tirzah wail aloud in the wild
flames they give up themselves to
Consummation
(9.117.4-6, 118.1-2, 5-7, E 386-87)

The second root, *rotzeb*, seems to reflect Tirzah's association with the Female Will, imposing her will on her victim: "Why dost thou wander away from Tirzah why me compell to bind thee" (*FZ* 8.32, E 379); and taking pleasure in the fulfillment of her willful desires: "Therefore bright Tirzah triumphs: putting on all beauty. / And all perfection, in her cruel sports among the Victims" (*M* 19.44-45, E 113).

The third root, thematically related to the first, is *rotsab*, the Hebrew ending with a guttural sound frequently left unvoiced in English transliterations.²² Denoting "manslaughter or murder," the word is most frequently associated with the seventh commandment, *lo tirtsab*, "thou shalt not kill," as included by Blake in the early version of "Job's Evil Dreams," from the Butts Job series, completed around 1805.²³ The root's association with the name Tirzah is obvious. The "Mother of my Mortal part" who "to Mortal Life

betray" in "To Tirzah" (ll. 9, 14, E 30), is the same figure who, in *Milton*, watched with Rahab as Milton struggled against Urizen: "Rahab and Tirzah trembled to behold / The enormous strife. one giving life, the other giving death" (*M* 19.28-29, E 113); for "Tirzah & her Sisters / Weave the black Wool of Death upon Entuthon Benyhton" (*M* 29.55-56, E 128). And in *Jerusalem*, "Tirzah sits weeping to hear the shrieks of the dying: her Knife / Of flint is in her hand: she passes it over the howling Victim" (67.24-25, E 220).

The fourth root, *rotzeb*, closely related to the third, describes the means by which Tirzah commits her murders: "To pierce through, perforate, bore," and as a noun, "A piercing instrument, an awl, a piercer." Thus, in *Jerusalem*, "The Twelve Daughters in Rahab & Tirzah have circumscribd the Brain / Beneath & pierced it thro the midst with a golden pin" (67.41-42, E 220).

Although we cannot derive firm conclusions from a single name, these Hebraic etymologies of Tirzah do yield several inferences for further consideration. First, it is possible that Blake was more proficient in Hebrew than has heretofore been assumed.²⁴ While virtually any Bible dictionary could have provided Blake with a list of passages containing the name Tirzah, as well as the traditional attribution of beauty, none would have then broken the name down to an Hebraic root. Rather, it would seem that on 30 January 1803, Blake truly was, as he wrote his brother James, "now learning my Hebrew" (E 727). During this same period, he added "To Tirzah" to *The Songs of Experience*, wrote Nights the Eighth and Ninth of *The Four Zoas*, and painted the earlier Job series.²⁵ Therefore, it is conceivable that, noting a similarity between the name and the Hebrew word from the commandment, Blake could have applied the lessons learned from contemporary Hebraists and sought a common root.

Second, if Blake did distinguish between source and etymology, then the

names in his myth do mean something. For the past decade or so, several Blake critics, especially those dealing with onomastics, have been exploring various formal patterns found in Blake's work, but without associating those structures with the content in any way. For example, V. A. De Luca bases his exploration of "Proper Names in the Structural Design of Blake's Myth-Making" in part on "the principle of the autonomy of the names, that is, their frequently arbitrary use and the primacy of their status as self-referential and irreducible elements in his poetry."²⁶ Similarly, in "Pictures of Speech: On Blake's Poetic," Aaron Fogle asserts that the names are not descriptive, but "comprise [Blake's] own 'pictures of speech.'"²⁷ Nelson Hilton's *Literal Imagination: Blake's Vision of Words* explores linguistic patterns from the perspective that "These constructions, of course, do not disclose anything about the narrative, but they do create aspects of the background and frame—. . . the words of the plates have their own plots."²⁸ And the editors of *Unnam'd Forms: Blake and Textuality* pointedly reject "this vision of Blake as a poetic Adam naming his creatures . . . of Blake as the founder of a poetry of nouns that must be translated back into their meanings through a process of *definition*" (6). If, as the name Tirzah suggests, Blake did consider the Hebraic etymologies when characterizing the personifications found in his myth, then we must carry these formal studies to their logical conclusions by considering the ways in which structure and meaning, along with pictures in the composite art, all interact with each other.

Finally, if Blake did incorporate Hebraic etymologies into his work, then he was probably using language transformatively as well as descriptively.²⁹ Had he been concerned simply with describing his vision, Blake would have used language that was familiar to his audience. But by exploiting hid-

den meanings of relatively familiar names or by creating entirely new ones, Blake seems deliberately to have placed obstacles in the path of understanding, wishing "to evoke a change in the attitudes and mechanisms of apprehension" because "words can function either to bind a person to, or release a person from, the world that one is helping to construct" (Streng 166, 160). As Blake explains in the oft-cited passage from *Jerusalem*:

(I call them by their English names:
English, the rough basement
Los built the stubborn structure of the
Language, acting against
Albions melancholy, who must else have
been a Dumb despair.)
(36.58-60, E 183)

The biographical William Blake of South Molton Street had no choice but to use "English, the rough basement" in the Lockean sense, to describe the subjective ideas produced by his senses. But because he had the visionary faculty, named Los, he was able simultaneously to transform English into "the Language, acting against / Albions melancholy, who must else have been a Dumb despair." Thus, he was able to give Albion the words necessary for release from Tirzah's world, in order to construct the New Jerusalem. Ultimately, Blake's purpose was to transform "the mechanisms of apprehension" so that we no longer need words at all:

To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the
immortal Eyes
Of Man inwards into the Worlds of
Thought: into Eternity
Ever expanding in the Bosom of God.
the Human Imagination
(J5.18-20, E 147)

According to Robert F. Gleckner, Blake recognized that after the Fall, language was a means of "giving of form to what otherwise would remain an eternal abstraction (and therefore unredeemable)"; but then,

Words thus become part of the vast machine of the physical world, cogs in a cerebral wheel to turn the adverse wheel

of the reader's mind in a kind of perpetual motion machine producing nothing—which is to say, producing mere images drawn from Nature. From these, laws are abstracted that men impose upon themselves; and gods are invented, as the source of the laws, before which men then prostitute themselves. The viciousness and self-enslavement of the reading process could not be made more graphic.³⁰

The name Tirzah seems to have provided Blake with the means of transcending the "viciousness and self-enslavement" of words. In the prophecies written before he incorporated Tirzah into his myth, Blake's apocalyptic visions were "eternal abstractions," vague depictions of conflagration. For example, in *America*, "the fierce flames burnt round the heavens, & round the abodes of men" (16.23, E 58). In *Europe*:

The sun glow'd fiery red!
The furious terrors flew around!
On golden chariots raging, with red
wheels dropping with blood;
The Lions lash their wrathful tails!
The Tigers couch upon the prey & suck
the ruddy tide:
And Enitharmon groans & cries in
anguish and dismay.
Then Los arose his head he reard in
snaky thunders clad:
And with a cry that shook all nature to
the utmost pole,
Call'd all his sons to the strife of blood.
(15.3-11, E 66)

In *The Song of Los*, the capitalized "Grave" seems to be an early name for Tirzah:

Forth from the dead dust rattling
bones to bones
Join: shaking convuls'd the shivring clay
breathes
And all flesh naked stands: Fathers and
Friends;
Mothers & Infants; Kings & Warriors:
The Grave shrieks with delight, & shakes
Her hollow womb, & clasps the solid
stem:
Her bosom swells with wild desire:
And milk & blood & glandous wine
In rivers rush & shout & dance,
On mountain, dale and plain.
(7.31-40, E 69-70)

Though he apparently believed in St. Paul's mystical assertion of two bodies—"It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor. 15.44)—until Blake discovered the hebraic etymologies of Tirzah, he lacked the vocabulary necessary for translating the abstraction into a concrete image. Thus, the name Tirzah seems both to have confirmed the mystical concept and to have verified the authenticity of Blake's vision. With the introduction of the personification, Blake was then able to create poetry that would give form to this "eternal abstraction." However, because the name could also establish a direct link between words and the Word, Blake was also able to overcome what Gleckner calls the "viciousness and self-enslavement of the reading process" by creating language that would self-destruct. That is, the name Tirzah initially functions like a signifier pointing to specific biblical meanings. But because the sign's underlying reality is so obscure, the name ultimately ceases to function descriptively at all. Instead, those who have no access to Parkhurst's *Lexicon* are forced to contemplate imaginatively the undifferentiated reality reflected by the death of Tirzah. After all, as Blake says in his *Vision of the Last Judgment*,

This world of Imagination is the World of Eternity it is the Divine bosom into which we shall all go after the death of the Vegetated body. This World <of Imagination> is Infinite & Eternal whereas the World of Generation or Vegetation is Finite & [for a small moment] Temporal There Exist in that Eternal World the Permanent Realities of Every Thing which we see reflected in this Vegetable Glass of Nature
(E 555)

Through Tirzah, Blake sows the natural body "that the Spiritual body may be Reveald."

¹ Milton 17.11, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, newly rev. ed. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1982) 110. All Blake citations are from Erdman, hereafter referred to as E. Individual works will be abbreviated as follows: *The Descriptive Catalogue of 1809, DC*; *The Four Zoas, FZ*; *Jerusalem, J*; *Milton, M*; *A Vision of the Last Judgment, VIJ*.

² (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1947) 127.

³ (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1963) 144.

⁴ (New Haven: Yale UP, 1964) 282.

⁵ Ed., *The Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (New York: Orion, 1967) 154.

⁶ "The Marriage of Contraries in 'To Tirzah,'" *Colby Library Quarterly* 20 (1984): 195.

⁷ (New York: St. Martin's, 1986) 152.

⁸ A brief overview of the topic can be found in R. H. Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman, 1979). Also useful is Hans Aarsleff, *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860* (1966; Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1983), and his essays collected in the anthology *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1982); and Stephen K. Land, *The Philosophy of Language in Britain: Major Theories from Hobbes to Thomas Reid* (New York: AMS Press, 1986).

⁹ While the terminology is that of twentieth-century structuralism, Aarsleff points out in his introduction that Ferdinand de Saussure's theories were preceded by those of Locke in the seventeenth century, and Wilhelm von Humboldt in the early nineteenth. However, says Aarsleff, "We need not assume that Humboldt had read Locke, though that is possible, or that Saussure had read Locke and Humboldt, which would seem unlikely. But the obvious similarity of the three statements and the crucial position of each in the writer's thought cannot be dismissed as merely fortuitous. We are forced to assume that there is a demonstrable connection, a course of coherence that links Locke, Humboldt, and Saussure" ("Introduction," *From Locke to Saussure* 25).

¹⁰ Published with the *Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952) 107-08.

¹¹ Peter H. Nidditch, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1975) B2.

¹² Interestingly, the third member of Blake's infernal trinity, Newton, attempted to construct an artificial language (see Ralph W. V. Elliott, "Isaac Newton's 'Of an Universall Language,'" *Modern Language Review* 52 [1957]: 1-18).

¹³ *Mysterium Magnum, or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called Genests*,

John Sparrow, tr., C. J. Barker, ed., 2 vols. (London: Watkins, 1924) 19.26.

¹⁴ See Aarsleff's essay "An Outline of Language-Origins Theory Since the Renaissance," 278-92; and Gordon W. Hewes, *Language Origins: A Bibliography* 2 vols. (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

¹⁵ (Reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1970) 1: 655.

¹⁶ The discussion of Hebrew is based on my article "Blake as an Eighteenth-Century Hebraist," in David V. Erdman, ed., *Blake and His Bibles* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 1990) 179-229. I am currently compiling *Christian Hebraism: A Source Book of English-Language Materials* for Garland Publishing.

¹⁷ (Reprint, Mentson, England: Scolar P, 1968) x, xix-xx.

¹⁸ This "Anglo-Israelite" tradition, which became intermixed by the followers of Richard Brothers with eighteenth-century millenarianism, continues into the twentieth century, Anglo-Israelites still compiling dictionaries to demonstrate how English derived from the original Hebrew tongue. On Blake and Richard Brothers, see Morton D. Paley, "William Blake, the Prince of the Hebrews, and the Woman Clothed with the Sun," in *William Blake: Essays in Honour of Sir Geoffrey Keynes*, ed. Paley and Michael Phillips (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1973) 260-93.

¹⁹ In "A Wall of Words," V. A. De Luca asserts the opposite: "Blake understands language not only as having human origin but also as being the quintessence and the glory of our humanity" (Nelson Hilton and Thomas A. Vogler, eds., *Unnam'd Forms: Blake and Textuality* [Berkeley: U of California P, 1986] 239).

²⁰ In the same paragraph of the *Descriptive Catalogue*, Blake also asserts the need for scholarly objectivity: "Tell me the Acts, O historian, and leave me to reason upon them as I please; away with your reasoning and your rubbish. All that is not action is not . . . worth reading. Tell me the What; I do not want you to tell me the Why, and the How; I can find that out myself, as well as you can, and I will not be fooled by you into opinions, that you please to impose, to disbelieve what you think improbable or impossible" (E 544). It seems reasonable to infer that Blake could have used the "facts" without accepting the premises of his sources.

²¹ See my articles "The Reasons for 'Urizen,'" *Blake* 21 (1988): 147-49; and "Hebraic Etymologies of Proper Names in Blake's Myth," *Philological Quarterly* 67 (1988): 345-63.

²² Much of my discussion of this root was anticipated by Thomas A. Reisner in

"Blake's 'To Tirzah,'" *The Explicator* 33 (1974): item 3.

²³ Regarding the earlier Job series, Martin Butlin says, "The watercolours painted for Thomas Butts have until recently been thought to date from shortly before the Linnell set [1821], but in fact stylistically they are much closer to the biblical watercolours of circa 1805; indeed, it is difficult to see why Blake would have needed to have had the outlines traced when he painted the second set had there not been a considerable lapse of time between them. A further reason for dating the Butts set to about 1805 is that some of the watercolours are signed with the 'WB inv' monogram, a form of signature that Blake seems to have abandoned in 1806" (*William Blake* [London: Tate Gallery, 1978] 98).

²⁴ Harold Fisch's original judgment that Blake "knew little or no Hebrew" ("William Blake," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* [Jerusalem: Keter, 1971] 4: 1071-72), has been amended

by Arnold Cheskin to "he was not entirely without Hebrew" ("The Echoing Greenhorn: Blake as Hebraist," *Blake* 12 [1978-79]: 183).

²⁵ Regarding "To Tirzah," Erdman says that "The style of lettering points to a date later than 1803, . . . Actually the first copy of *Songs* that contains 'To Tirzah' and has any firm evidence of date is copy P (on the paper watermarked Buttanshaw 1802), followed by Q (with watermark dates of 1802 and 1804) and E (sold to Butts in 1806)" (E 800). Dating passages from *The Four Zoas* has always been problematical, but Erdman believes that "the date of 1804 or later which has been accepted for Night VIII on the basis of allusions to the renewal of war and of strikingly different symbolism or idiom from the main body of the poem . . . may need correction to 'much later.' The writing of VIII, at least, . . . must have occurred after Blake had begun if not completed *Milton and Jerusalem*" (E 817).

²⁶ *Blake Studies* 8 (1978): 6.

²⁷ *Studies in Romanticism* 21 (1982): 220.

²⁸ (Berkeley: U of California P, 1983) 4.

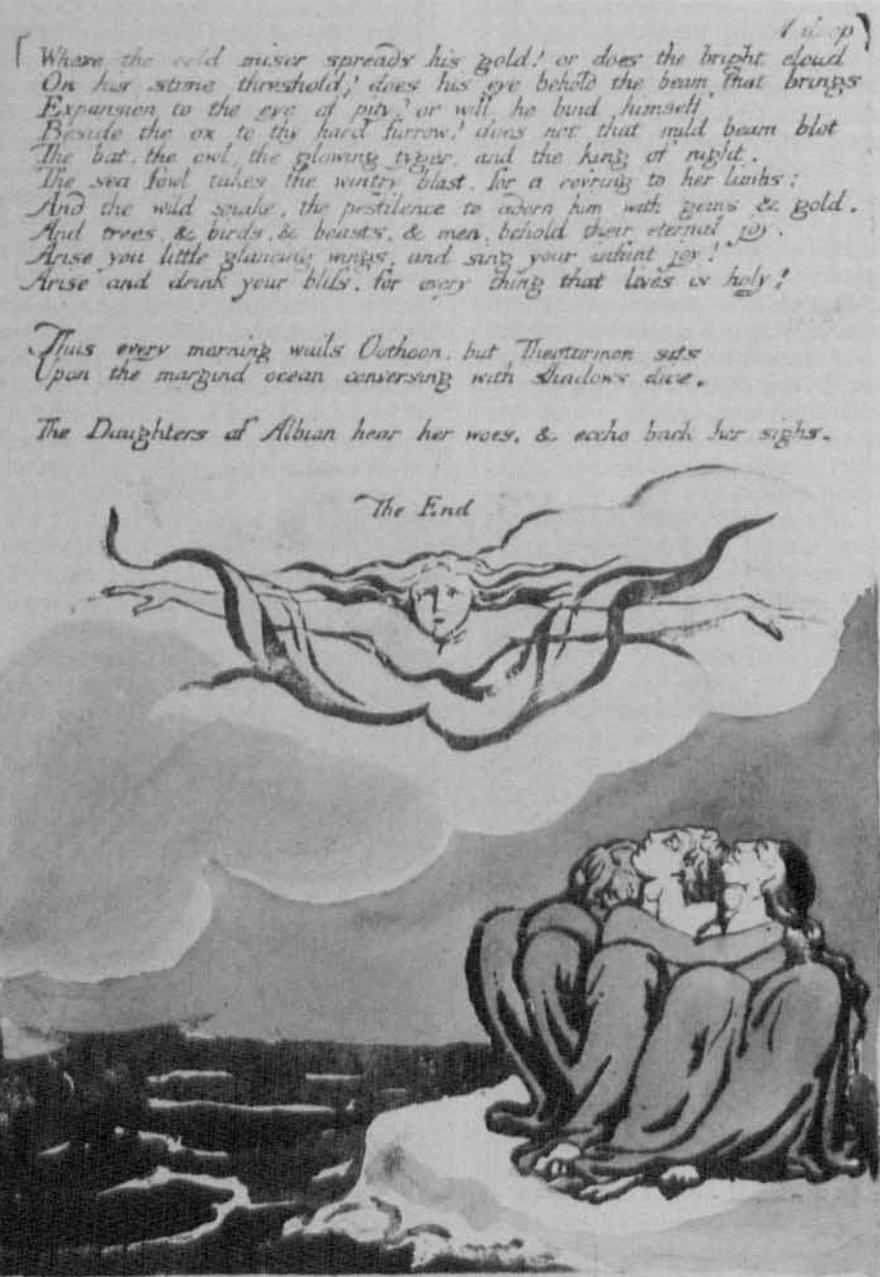
²⁹ The distinction is discussed by Frederick J. Streng in his "Language and Mystical Awareness," in *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, ed. Steven T. Katz (New York: Oxford UP, 1978) 141-69.

³⁰ "Most Holy Forms of Thought: Some Observations on Blake and Language," *ELH* 41 (1974): 569, 574-75. Though with different terminology, Vogler makes virtually the same point in "Re:Naming MIL/TON": "The naming function is associated with the acquisition of an alienating identity whose rigid structure (the Selfhood under the Law of the Name) limits the subject's entire mental and emotional development" (*Unnam'd Forms* 160).

Revisioning Blake's Oothoon

by Harriet Kramer Linkin

In applying feminist perspectives to Blake studies critics continue to explore the disparity between Blake's larger advocacy of human liberation and his more limited representation of the female in his poetry. Arguing for a Blake who is alternately feminist, sexist, engendered, beyond gender or struggling towards a truly androgynous vision, most implicitly accept Fox's general categories for Blake's portrayal of the female: positive/passive, pernicious/active, and, in the rarest of instances, active/good.¹ Disagreements occur in slotting specific figures into those categories, perhaps none quite as frustrating as Oothoon in *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*. Early modern critics hailed Oothoon as the perfect vehicle for Blake's psychosexual beliefs, hearing the poet's voice resound in her cries for "Love! Love! Love! happy happy Love! free as the mountain wind!" (7:16, E 50).² Although critics celebrated her imaginative awakening as active and good, they still placed the poem within the cycle of Experience because Oothoon remained unable to share her newly organized desires with Theotormon.³ In 1973 Peterson broke with standard readings of *Visions* by positing imperfections in Oothoon herself as the source of her lack of fulfillment.⁴ Since then, more and more critics fault Oothoon rather than her situation for the seeming paralysis and prophetic failure that ends her story, suggesting she adopts the strategies of her oppressors to become pernicious or passive or, for some, both.⁵ This shifting characterization of Oothoon foregrounds recent sociocultural history in that the liberated Oothoon of the decades culminating in the 1960s is revisioned as the co-



1. William Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1793, plate 8. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

opted Oothoon of the 70s and 80s. Because I believe Oothoon stands for something uniquely positive through-

out Blake's poetic career—in *Visions*, *Europe*, *Milton*, and *Jerusalem*—I hope to challenge current negative

estimations of her by questioning whether *Visions* ends in stasis as well as in her complicity. Instead, I argue (1) that Blake concludes *Visions* with two strategic disjunctions to prompt double vision: the emotive power of Oothoon's language counters the narrator's assertion of paralysis, which is subsequently undermined by the illuminator's image of Oothoon in flight, and (2) that Oothoon's experience is ultimately progressive rather than degenerative.

Assessments of Oothoon's general failure derive from a negative reading of the ending, where the darker visions of the narrator follow Oothoon's last joyous exhortations:

Arise you little glancing wings, and sing
your infant joy!
Arise and drink your bliss, for every
thing that lives is holy!

Thus every morning wails Oothoon, but
Theotormon sits
Upon the margind ocean conversing
with shadows dire.

The Daughters of Albion hear her woes,
& eccho back her sighs.
(8:6-13, E 51)

By dramatically shifting both the temporal and emotional planes of the text, these concluding lines replace conventional narrative past tense with a continuing present and move from exultation to resignation. Just as Oothoon reaches the apex of her awakening, the narrative reduces her culminating vision to daily activity; her resounding proclamations of liberty turn into the narrator's "wails," "sighs," and "woes." Given the narrator's disconcerting summary view of Oothoon's orations, many readers believe her prophetic insights conclude with failure, since she does not appear to free Theotormon or her sisters.

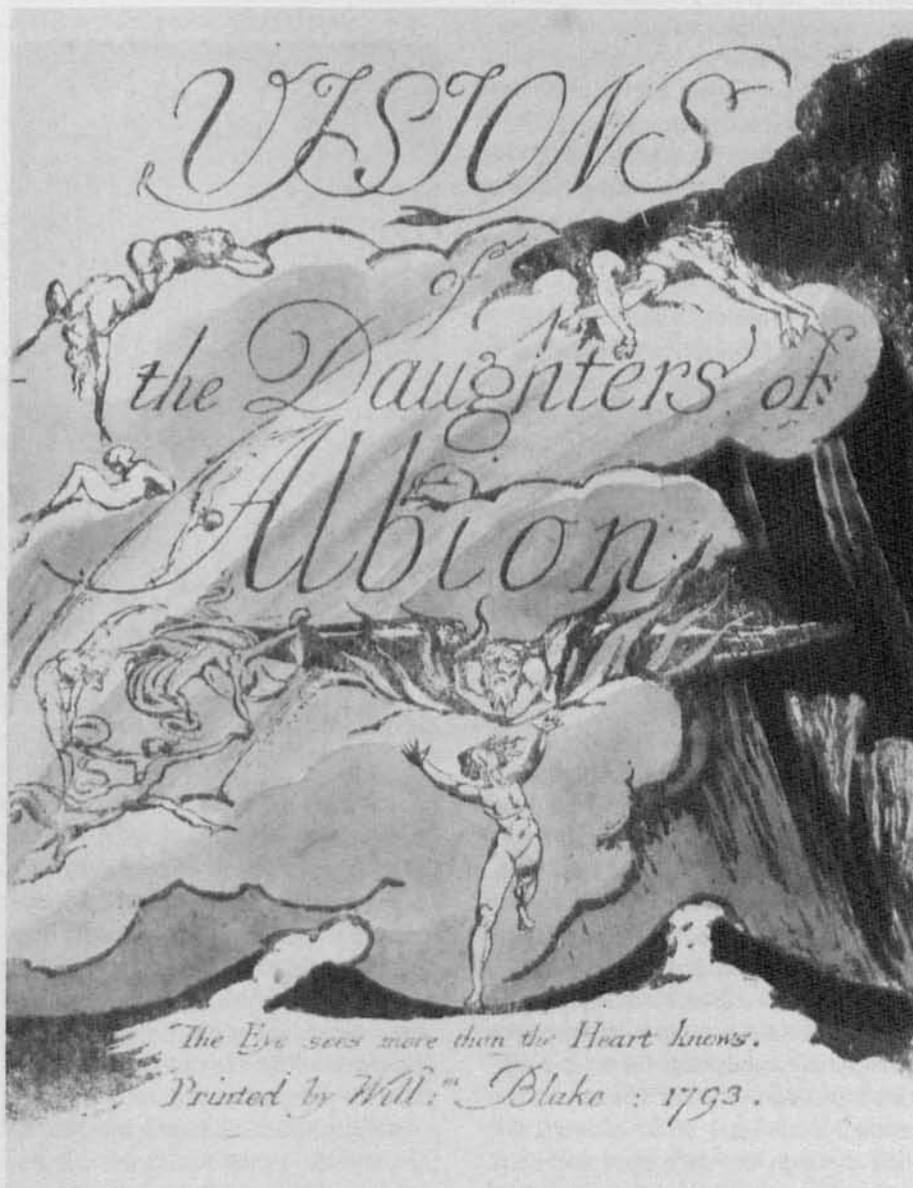
Although the illumination that follows the last three lines depicts Oothoon in flight (pl. 8, illus. 1),⁶ supplanting the Urizenic pursuer illustrated on the title page (pl. ii, illus. 2), and possibly bearing the word to her

sisters, most critics envision her at tale's end locked in the static tableau Blake illustrates in his frontispiece (pl. i, illus. 3). Even the more optimistic Johnson and Grant believe the bound tableau scene eclipses the final visual impression of hard-won freedom:

Oothoon never actually escapes from the two warped lovers she is bound to. The three appear locked in their situation in the full-page frontispiece (or tailpiece in one copy), plate i, in a sort of "No Exit" triangle, even though Oothoon has achieved psychological liberation and brings her

message to the Daughters of Albion in the final design.⁷

As Johnson and Grant indicate, Blake used the frontispiece as a tailpiece in the early (if not original) copy A of *Visions*, but then consistently positioned it as frontispiece in every other copy;⁸ while shifting plates is the easiest mode of revision for a poet who loves to play with textual orderings, I believe Blake deliberately presented the tableau scene as frontispiece to avoid leaving viewers with a closing image of paralysis. Neverthe-



2. William Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1793, plate ii, title page. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

less, readers find the frontispiece an apt illustration of the poem's ending, accepting verbatim the narrator's vision of Oothoon.

Imaging that bound Oothoon, critics track back through the tale to uncover the character faults that account for her defeat. To some extent doing so reenacts Bromion's labeling of Oothoon as harlot after he rapes her; the narrator tells us Oothoon wails daily, and rather than question how this is true, we return to her story for the reasons why. Why, however, do we so readily take the narrator's final despairing description at face value? A work that impugns the validity of individual perceptions and perspectives, notes their dependence on the identity of the perceiver, refrains from identifying the narrator (unlike many other Blake books),⁹ and repeatedly points to the imaginative necessity of double vision requires us to question the authority of the narrative conclusion.

Rather than support or even describe the ending, the frontispiece establishes how individuals shape or frame what is seen. Circumscribing the primary image—Oothoon and Bromion bound back to back while Theotormon covers his head—is a cave whose outline forms a human skull while the sun above Bromion's head doubles as an eye (in many copies). As mere illustration of the text, the image might refer to two specific passages: the narrator's description of how Theotormon "folded his black jealous waters round the adulterate pair / Bound back to back in Bromions caves terror & meekness dwell" (2:4-5, E 46) and Oothoon's glance at the sun through Theotormon's eyes, where "Instead of morn arises a bright shadow, like an eye" (2:35, E 47). As illumination, Blake's sun-eye and cave-skull indicate how perspective influences perception; both the eye and I of the perceiver (narrator and reader) determine what is seen. We look through our own eyes and skull to see the mirroring eyes and skull of the narrator peering back at us. And

the frontispiece's primary image of the trio recedes into these reflecting mirrors, frustrating efforts to "converge upon a critical center; Oothoon wails on just at the margin of our comprehension."¹⁰ Instead of revealing the way Oothoon's story ends, the frontispiece diagrams how visions accrue through individual perspective.

The title page that follows similarly comments on the nature of perception through its illumination and language. The title emphasizes plural vision with a grammatical ambiguity that calls attention to the identity of the perceiver-



3. William Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1793, plate i, frontispiece. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

narrator by making us wonder whose visions constitute *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*. Does Blake use "of" as a possessive indicating the Daughters who see these visions or as a preposition pointing toward an external narrator who envisions the Daughters? Why are the visions multiple? The plurality of vision could refer to the three participants in the tale, or the three days over which the tale ensues, but these plurals still occur within a single overall narrative

vision.¹¹ Are they "visions" because textual narration differs from visual narration? Is the narrator also the illuminator, as Blake's title page to *The Book of Urizen* suggests (where Urizen writes with one hand and illustrates with the other, pl. 1, illus. 4), or do narrator and illuminator offer separate and equally unreliable visions? Perhaps the visions are plural because internal evidence offers the viewer more than one way of seeing Oothoon's experience, overriding any single reading of the conclusion. The motto warns, "The Eye sees more than the Heart knows" (pl. ii, E 45): beyond its obvious application to Theotormon, Bromion, Oothoon, and her sisters, the motto speaks directly to readers whose eyes see more of Blake's composite intent than either the verbal or visual text establishes.¹²

Among the visual cues of the title page, the vertically and horizontally centered "i" of "Albion" is augmented by a figure crouching over the "bi"; reminiscent of the bowed (unseeing) head of Theotormon (pl. i) and anticipating the bowed (unseeing) Daughters depicted later (pl. 7), the figure implicates the unitary perspective of a seeing eye/I. Plate 1 (illus. 5) similarly attacks the seeing eye/I through the annotated "i"s of "Visions": the first is dotted with a dreamy female figure on a cloud while an archer aims his arrow through the second. Other figures on the top of plate 1 slyly undermine the closure of narrative vision: the illuminator frames the printed word "Visions" with a curved "V" on the left and a sinuously robed figure on the right—just as the narrator frames Oothoon's story with introductory and concluding present tense statements. That same "V" sets off the text's enlarged first word—"Enslav'd"—when paired with the comma that follows. A robed figure also appears to drip paint or tears over the word "weep,"¹³ hinting, perhaps, at a narrative inability to see beyond enslavement. As the illuminator suggests, the



4. William Blake, *First Book of Urizen*, 1794, plate 1. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

narrator may well be locked in a vision of slavery precluding other visions; the illuminator's efforts to undermine the narrator's vision here, however, dangerously minimize the morally irreducible fact of slavery. Both visions invite serious scrutiny.

While the frontispiece, title page, and annotating figures above the text on plate 1 incriminate unitary perspective, the third preliminary plate illuminates double vision. Almost evenly divided into text and image, plate iii (illus. 6) provides another instance of the discrepancy between various views. Oothoon's first-person account in "The Argument" summarizes the opening actions of *Visions* from a fairly physical perspective (in what critics identify as a flat, repressed voice¹⁴): she loves Theotormon, hides in a vale, plucks a flower, rises to meet him, and is raped by Bromion. Probably for Theotormon and Bromion, Oothoon's plot summary accurately describes her story; even the Daughters—and some critics—might accept her eight lines as the shell of what happens to Oothoon, since she

never seems to move beyond the rape in her relationship with Theotormon.

The illumination below the text provides a counter-image by depicting the glorious imaginative awakening "The Argument" omits: Oothoon not only reveals and revels in double vision by seeing the Marygold as flower and nymph (as do we), but also demonstrates her prophetic response in kissing "the joy as it flies."¹⁵ When we view the entire page in context, "The Argument" shows Oothoon's enslavement and enlightenment as well as the need to connect emotional truths with physical experience. Most important, it offers a holistic way of reading the conclusion: just as "The Argument" requires text and image for cohesion, the final plate of *Visions* achieves balance when we conflate the illumination with the narration. Like Oothoon and the Marygold, we could welcome Oothoon as she flies.

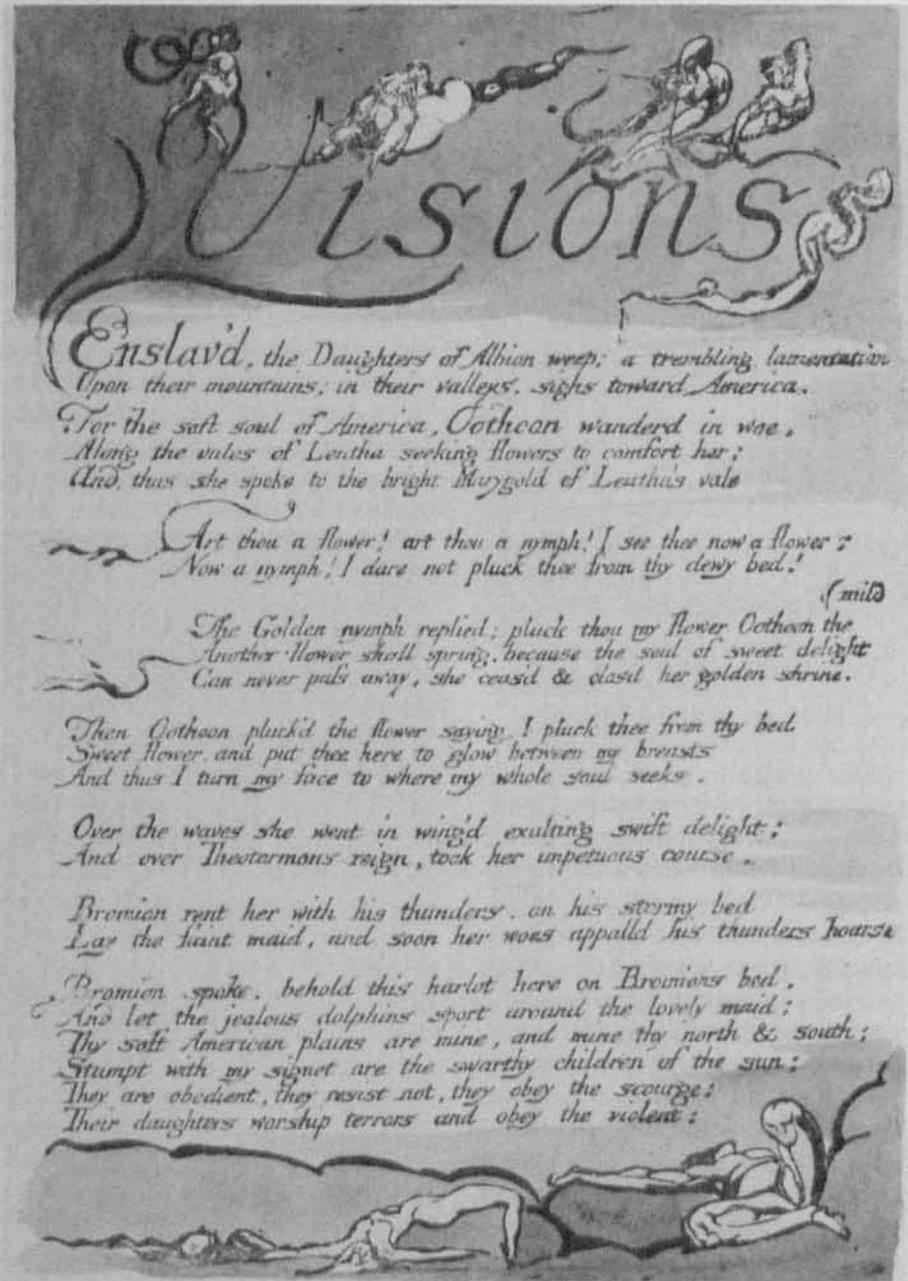
To credit the illuminator with a true vision, and castigate the narrator for a limited one, however, abrogates the larger implication of double vision. Just as the narrator's perspective determines perception, so too the illuminator's. Oothoon's story contains more than rape, as "The Argument"'s illumination shows; at the same time, nothing mitigates the painful horror of rape or victimization or slavery, despite the illuminator's optimistic efforts here. And the illuminator is not always an optimist. When Oothoon asserts she is "Open to joy and to delight where ever beauty appears" (6:22, E 50), she goes on to describe how she would "in evening mild. wearied with work; / Sit on a bank and draw the pleasures of this free born joy" (7:12, E 50); directly above her words the illuminator ironically juxtaposes an image of the weary Daughters sitting on such a bank (pl. 7, illus. 7), bringing to mind the hard truth of the Daughters' enslavement. Earlier the illuminator undercuts Theotormon's anguished "and in what rivers swim the sorrows? and upon

what mountains / Wave shadows of discontent?" (3:25-4:1, E 47-48) by presenting Oothoon chained in a shadowy wave that not only hovers over Theotormon's bowed head but also ironically rises out of his very words "Wave shadows of discontent" (pl. 4, illus. 8). In viewing the conclusion's disjunctive components, we should not reject the narrator's vision for the illuminator's image or Oothoon's words, but see how these visions oppose one another to effect plural understanding: "Without Contraries is no progression" (*Marriage* 3:6, E 34).

The preliminary plates establish hermeneutic principles that condition our reading of the narrative plates, where narration and illumination often present competing perspectives on how to interpret the physical and emotional events in *Visions*. Rather than repeat the excellent critical accounts of what happens in *Visions*, the symbolic identities of the main participants, and the nature of Oothoon's prophetic awakening,¹⁶ I turn now to a brief summary of the criticism that tends to blame Oothoon's ostensible failure on her own imperfections. One group sees Oothoon as flawed because (1) she depends so much on Theotormon for her identity that she becomes no more than a reflection (Peterson, Latin, Anderson, Hilton), (2) she decries the virgins and priests who use nets and snares, is "snared" by Bromion, but offers to trap girls for Theotormon (Peterson, Cooke, Anderson, Haigwood, Hilton), (3) she is inactive despite her prophetic stance on action, neither forcing a relationship with Theotormon (Peterson) nor leaving him (Peterson, Anderson), and (4) she reveals Urizenic traits through her manipulative use of language (Haigwood). A second group looks to Blake himself for Oothoon's shortcomings: too engendered by his times to conceive of a truly liberated woman, he does not make Oothoon powerful enough to change her situation (Fox,

Mellor, Ostriker). Although I share the critical bias of this second group, I disagree that Oothoon ultimately fails. While her progress towards prophecy is not constant or direct, she undergoes what I outline below as a developmental process that results in her acquiring prophetic stature by the conclusion of the poem; whatever discrepancies remain stem from Blake's historical inability to see beyond fundamental inequities in his system.

On the first day her reactions to the rape demonstrate real psychological complexity: some instances seem to suggest she accepts the guilt thrust upon her by Bromion and Theotormon while others hint at the beginnings of a visionary response. Unlike the weeping, paralyzed Theotormon, Oothoon does not weep; the narrator's characterization of her writhing limbs and "howl incessant" may point to active, Rintrah-like rage.¹⁷ Although she seeks to purify herself of someone else's pollution (despite the Marygold's assertion that "the soul of sweet delight / Can never pass away" 1:9-10, E 46), she wants to cleanse the bosom bathed in the Marygold's glow and not her rent loins: "Rend away this defiled bosom that I may reflect. / The image of Theotormon on my pure transparent breast" (2:15-16, E 46). Defining Oothoon's desire to reflect Theotormon as limiting ignores its affirming dimension: rather than replace Bromion's signet with Theotormon's eagle-inscribed insignia, she hopes to revive the Marygold's glow through Theotormon's image (although her call for a Urizenic, self-lacerating method of purification indicates feelings of culpability). The narrator's summary statement sheds more light on narrative perspective than the consequences of Oothoon's demand; calling Theotormon's responding smile severe, the narrator declares "her soul reflects the smile; / As the clear spring mudded with feet of beasts grows pure & smiles" (2:18-19, E 46), but it is impossible for us to ascertain much less



5. William Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1793, plate 1. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

accept the validity of the narrator's judgment: can the narrator see her soul? It is the narrator, and not Oothoon, who concludes the first day with a simile that represents her as no more than a reflecting spring.

On the second day she surges beyond the limitations of the first by asserting her essential purity and rejecting Urizen's definition of the five

senses, explaining how former teachings falsely restrained her vision: "They told me that I had five senses to inclose me up. / And they inclos'd my infinite brain into a narrow circle" (2:31-32, E 47). Moving beyond personal understanding, she offers the first of the several glorious, image-specific orations that decimate Urizen's law of the senses:

With what sense is it that the chicken
shuns the ravenous hawk?
With what sense does the tame pigeon
measure out the expanse?
With what sense does the bee form cells?
have not the mouse & frog
Eyes and ears and sense of touch? yet are
their habitations.
And their pursuits, as different as their
forms and as their joys:

(3:2-6, E 47)

Through language that evolves from the innocent, revelatory query Oothoon asks of the Marygold—"Art thou a flower! art thou a nymph!" (1:6, E 46)—to the powerful, rhetorical questions offered to Theotormon and Bromion, Oothoon's expanded sensory awareness moves her further and further towards prophecy.

While they acknowledge Oothoon's increasing awareness, critics also note two instances of regression on this second day. After Oothoon rejects the limited schooling of the five senses, she turns to Theotormon to celebrate the new morning; because he fails to share or confirm her perceptions, his eyes take in a very different landscape, uniformly colored by his despair: "Instead of morn arises a bright shadow, like an eye / In the eastern cloud: instead of night a sickly charnel house / That Theotormon hears me not! to him the night and morn / Are both alike" (2:35-38, E 47). Worried by her apparent dependency on Theotormon's perception, some cite this moment to show how Oothoon's vision fails.¹⁸ Instead, we might see Oothoon's desire for visual intercourse with Theotormon as confirmation of her double vision: her ability to see the world through his eyes indicates a strength, rather than a weakness. What she sees saddens her, but does not destroy her progress towards prophecy, her sense of her own identity or her independent vision of the landscape; it is after she looks through Theotormon's shadowy perception that she offers her powerful assertion of multiple sensory experience for different creatures.

The second instance of regression is problematic, for Oothoon appears to bribe Theotormon with silence and uses images of defilement to establish her purity:

Silent I hover all the night, and all day
could be silent.
If Theotormon once would turn his
loved eyes upon me;
How can I be defiled when I reflect thy
image pure?
Sweetest the fruit that the worm feeds
on. & the soul prey'd on by woe
The new wash'd lamb ting'd with the
village smoke & the bright swan
By the red earth of our immortal river: I
bathe my wings.
And I am white and pure to hover round
Theotormons breast.

(3:14-19, E 47)

Like the dissembling virgin she attacks the very next day, Oothoon extends a promise of silence in exchange for one look from Theotormon. Not yet a hypocrite, Oothoon actually might learn to condemn the virgin's silence because she keeps her promise when Theotormon finally responds.

More disturbing than her promise, she seems to go back on her prophetic declaration of essential purity in asking how she can be defiled when she reflects Theotormon's "image pure." Given the linguistic ambiguity we do not know whether she means Theotormon himself or his image of purity; in either case Anderson considers her metaphors for purity defiled through external forces revelatory of how Oothoon continues to see herself in Theotormon's terms (5). I believe Oothoon consciously adopts Theotormon's terms to focus her message for his level of awareness. Just as Oothoon's address on sensory differentiation speaks directly to Bromion, her semantic choices here disclose immense sensitivity in trying to lead Theotormon to her own position with images culled from his perceptual system. Because the responses of Theotormon and Bromion echo the words Oothoon offers, they show how well she reads them. That her speech



6. William Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1793, plate iii. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

does provoke a response from the nearly paralyzed Theotormon demonstrates the efficacy of her language. When Theotormon finally "turns his loved eyes upon her" through his reply, she keeps her word and maintains silence.

As the third day begins, Oothoon concludes her vow of silence with an exponential leap of awareness, turning her attention from Theotormon to Urizen with a lamentation so sweeping and long it constitutes roughly half of the text.¹⁹ Extending her basic denial of Bromion's "one law for both the lion and the ox" (4:22, E 48) to human systems, Oothoon attacks Urizen through a brilliant series of prophetic utterances that connect economics, agriculture, religion, education, and marriage:

How can the giver of gifts experience
the delights of the merchant?
How the industrious citizen the pains of
the husbandman.

How different far the fat fed hireling with
hollow drum;
Who buys whole cornfields into wastes,
and sings upon the heath:
How different their eye and ear! how
different the world to them!
With what sense does the parson claim
the labour of the farmer?
What are his nets & gins & traps.
(5:12-18, E 48-49)

Just as the forms, habitations, and pursuits of animals point toward multivalent experience, human systems demonstrate such vast differences we cannot impose one code of interpretation. The giver of gifts and the merchant may perform the same basic function—transferring an item to a new owner—and even require one another to perform that function, but any effort to evaluate their actions demands completely separate scales.

No one disputes the depth and range of Oothoon's prophetic statements on human systems; some become uneasy when Oothoon moves from her broad analysis of limited Urizenic morality to refocus attention on her own situation. Describing how the child's natural sexuality is further and further repressed until that child grows up to be a virgin hypocrite, Oothoon expresses her frustration through a direct attack on Theotormon:

Then com'st thou forth a modest virgin
knowing to dissemble
With nets found under thy night pillow,
to catch virgin joy,
And brand it with the name of whore; &
sell it in the night,
In silence, ev'n without a whisper, and
in seeming sleep:
. . . And does my Theotormon seek this
hypocrite modesty!
This knowing, artful, secret, fearful,
cautious, trembling hypocrite.
Then is Oothoon a whore indeed! and all
the virgin joys
Of life are harlots: and Theotormon is a
sick mans dream
And Oothoon is the crafty slave of selfish
holiness.
(6:10-20, E 49-50)

As Haigwood points out, Oothoon's language limits rather than invites

Theotormon's response through her does/then construction, which "doesn't ask Theotormon what he thinks and feels; she tells him, 'enslaving' his experience to her own 'system'" (88).²⁰ Haigwood's point is well-taken: Oothoon not only exhibits Urizenic behavior through syntax, but also adopts Bromion's reductive name-calling by conditionally branding herself a whore and Theotormon a "sick mans dream."

In Oothoon's defense, however, let us consider her self-righteous wrath. Oothoon lashes out in justified anger after her description of the virgin hypocrite's decorous silence; perhaps Oothoon *has* been made into "a whore indeed" if it is her silence rather than her great verbal sensitivity which finally prompts Theotormon's longed-for response. That the two lines describing how the hypocrite virgin brands sexuality with "the name of whore" and keeps silent constitute the exact center of Oothoon's one hundred and two line oration on the third day highlights their importance to her experience. Potentially co-opted by Urizen's system, Oothoon recoils from her similarity to the virgin with rage. Although she quickly retracts the names she calls herself—"But Oothoon is not so" (6:21, E 50)—she never corrects her nomination of Theotormon as a "sick mans dream." In fact, she perpetuates the image later on by describing someone who closely resembles Theotormon as sickened with self-love (7:17-22, E 50).

What critics cite most frequently as proof of Oothoon's downfall is her offer to catch girls for Theotormon:

But silken nets and traps of adamant will
Oothoon spread,
And catch for thee girls of mild silver, or
of furious gold;
I'll lie beside thee on a bank & view their
wanton play
In lovely copulation bliss on bliss with
Theotormon:
Red as the rosy morning, lustful as the
first born beam,

Oothoon shall view his dear delight, nor
e'er with jealous cloud
Come in the heaven of generous love;
nor selfish blightings bring.
(7:24-29, E 50)

Although her "silken nets and traps of adamant" are meant to contrast with the web of age spun by the jealous, weeping lover in the section above, "grey and hoary! dark!" (7:19, E 50), Oothoon's apparent willingness to use these Urizenic tools awakens suspicions, given her denunciation of both the parson and the virgin for their nets and traps. Despite the negative connotations nets and traps generally bear, they may not be innately tainted in *Visions*: in measuring the parson's labor against the farmer's, Oothoon suggests a legitimate use for nets and traps: "With what sense does the parson claim the labour of the farmer? / What are his nets & gins & traps?" (5:17-18, E 49). At the same time *Marriage* insists that "All wholesom food is caught without a net or a trap" (7:13, E 36).

Even more troubling than her means, the offer itself alerts many critics to a weakness in Oothoon. Most wonder why Oothoon intimates she would be content to watch Theotormon copulate with other girls, as it exemplifies the voyeuristic sexuality Oothoon condemns in attacking "The self enjoyings of self denial" (7:9, E 50). Several points bear consideration: first, Blake's lines are sufficiently equivocal to suggest that Oothoon lies beside Theotormon "in lovely copulation" while the pair watch the wanton play of the girls; second, Oothoon never says she will only and always watch. Third, the entire episode sets up an antimony to the kind of looking the jealous lover performs in the section above, whose "lamplike eyes watching around the frozen marriage bed" (7:22, E 50) lock lovers into fruitless relationships. Fourth, and most important, she clearly follows the path Blake demarcates for enlightened Emanations by advocating a form of polygyny;²¹ as Damon writes, "To save the marriage,

the Emanation must renounce her thirst for dominion and sacrifice her selfishness" (*Dictionary* 122). Oothoon's offer to trap girls for Theotormon justifiably distresses recent critics, but perhaps we should be troubled by Blake himself.

Oothoon goes on to end the third day's lamentation with a rousing finale that validates her tremendous progress towards prophetic stature. Rather than seize upon the negative aspects of her experience, I propose we consider that progress is not always swift and direct. Like the Los of *Milton* who succumbs to Satan's pleas only to recall that pity divides the soul, or who first joins Urizen to block Milton's journey before he remembers the prophecy of Eden, Oothoon must work through the obstacles in her path towards prophecy. Not at all static, Oothoon's language and experiences reveal increasing visionary awareness through leaps and surges. Although at first she addresses Theotormon alone (after the rape), she soon includes Bromion and then moves outward to Urizen, expanding the range of her commentary from sensory differentiation to human systems. She begins the second day with a call inviting Theotormon to "Arise," but by the end of the third, she broadens her scope immeasurably: "Arise you little glancing wings, and sing your infant joy! / Arise and drink your bliss, for every thing that lives is holy!" (8:9-10, E 51).

The narrator's conclusion not only undermines the emotional affect of Oothoon's visionary exhortations but also reverses any sense of progress: "Thus every morning wails Oothoon, but Theotormon sits / Upon the margin'd ocean conversing with shadows dire" (8:11-12, E 51). Because Oothoon imagines turning into such a shadow through Theotormon's continued rejection, "Till beauty fades from off my shoulders darken'd and cast out, / A solitary shadow wailing on the margin of non-entity" (7:14-15, E 50), Hilton wonders if Theotormon's dire shadows might be Oothoon herself (102-



*In happy copulation; if in evening mild, wearied with work,
Sit on a bank and draw the pleasures of this free barn joy.*

*The moment of desire! the moment of desire! The virgin
That pines for man; shall awaken her womb to enraging joys,
In the secret shadews of her chamber; the youth shut up from
The lustful joy, shall forget to generate, & create an amorous image
In the shadews of his curtains and in the folds of his silent pillow.
Are not these the places of religion, the rewards of continence?
The self-enjoyings of self-denial? Why dost thou seek religion?
Is it because acts are not lovely, that thou seekest solitude,
Where the horrible darkness is unpress'd with collections of desire.*

*Father of Jealousy, be thou accurs'd from the earth!
Why hast thou taught my Theotormon this accurs'd thing?
Till beauty fades from off my shoulders darken'd and cast out,
A solitary shadow wailing on the margin of non-entity.*

*I cry, Love! Love! Love! happy happy Love! free as the mountain wind!
Can that be Love, that drinks another as a sponge drinks water?
That clouds with jealousy his nights, with weepings all the day;
To spin a web of age around him grey and hoary! dark!
Till his eyes sicken at the fruit that hangs before his sight,
Such is self-love that envies all! a creeping skeleton
With lamplike eyes watching around the frozen marriage bed.*

*But silken nets and traps of adamant will Oothoon spread,
And catch for thee girls, of mild silver, or of furious gold;
I'll lie beside thee on a bank & view their wanton play
In lovely copulation blue on blue with Theotormon:
Red as the rosy morn'ng, lustful as the first born beam,
Oothoon shall view his dear delight, nor e'er with jealous cloud
Come in the heaven of generous love; nor selfish blightings bring.*

Does the sun walk in glorious raiment, on the secret floor

7. William Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1793, plate 7. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

03). Does the narrator merely echo Oothoon's despairing possibility? Like Bromion, whose second speech initially supports Oothoon's vision—"knowest thou that trees and fruits flourish upon the earth / To gratify senses unknown" (3:14-15, E 48)—and then abruptly rejects it in asserting "eternal fire, and eternal chains" (3:23,

E 48), the narrator tells Oothoon's story sympathetically but finally denies the larger truth of her progress through time: "the true meaning of time lies in its identity with the spirit of prophecy, for by speaking out, the prophet can reverse the cycles of history and make time an agent of mercy, rather than of destruction."²²

Much more than a shadowy reflection of Theotormon, Oothoon actually presents a model that Theotormon shadows; not only rent by Bromion after Oothoon is rent, Theotormon also mimes Oothoon's rhetoric, as the following call by Oothoon and response (albeit reductive) from Theotormon reveals:

They told me that the night & day were
all that I could see;
They told me that I had five senses to
inclose me up;
And they inclos'd my infinite brain into a
narrow circle.

.....
And then tell me the thoughts of man,
that have been hid of old.
(2:30-3:13, E 47)

.....
Tell me what is the night or day to one
o'erflowed with woe?
Tell me what is a thought? & of what
substance is it made?
Tell me what is a joy? & in what gardens
do joys grow?

.....
Tell me where dwell the thoughts
forgotten till thou call them forth
Tell me where dwell the joys of old! &
where the ancient loves?
(3:22-4:4, E 47-48)

Already a shade when we meet him, Theotormon's past grace and glory exist, like Ahania's Urizen or Ophelia's Hamlet, in the memories of those who loved him. The text's final image of Theotormon suggests he becomes a shadow conversing with shadows, fulfilling the dictum of Blake's prophecy on restrained desire: "being restrained it by degrees becomes passive till it is only the shadow of desire" (*Marriage* 5:4-5, E 34). Despite the narrator's grim summary view of Theotormon, Oothoon's insistent questioning effects some small but real progress. On the first day he stops weeping to smile (severely); on the second day Oothoon elicits a verbal response from him. By the end he no longer weeps in front of his cave but engages in conversation.

Given Theotormon's corresponding fall, does Oothoon err in her efforts to awaken him? Those who see Oothoon's failure in her inability to free herself from dependence on Theotormon neglect to consider Oothoon's real options and prophetic commitments. As Theotormon's Emanation, she must effect reintegration with him; choosing another partner unleashes devastating consequences for other pairs in *The Four Zoas* or *Jerusalem*. Nor does Blake present Oothoon with any options: in order to fulfill her desire she can only turn to Theotormon or Bromion the rapist (who Gillham argues is Theotormon).²³ If anything binds Oothoon, it is Blake's system of Emanations. Beyond the constraints imposed by that larger, later system, however, lies the compelling responsibility of the true prophet. Oothoon's daily lamentation signifies her wonderful determination to awaken those around her, providing an early version of the persistent visionary Blake clearly endorses in *Jerusalem*:

Of the Sleep of Ulro! and of the passage
through
Eternal Death! and of the wakening to
Eternal Life.

This theme calls me in sleep night after
night, & ev'ry morn
Awakes me at sun-rise, then I see the
Saviour over me
Spreading his beams of love, & dictating
the words of this mild song.

Awake! awake O sleeper of the land of
shadows, wake! expand!
I am in you and you in me, mutual in
love divine:

.....
Trembling I sit day and night, my friends
are astonish'd at me.
Yet they forgive my wanderings, I rest
not from my great task!
To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the
immortal Eyes
(4:1-7, 5:16-18, E 146-47)

Rather than castigate Oothoon's seeming dependence on Theotormon, let us recognize the depth of her resolution. Just as Los must work with his Spectre to build Golgonooza, Oothoon must bring Theotormon to a new level of awareness. And just as Los "built the stubborn structure of the Language, acting against / Albions melancholy, who must else have been a Dumb despair" (*Jerusalem* 36:59-60, E 183), Oothoon moves beyond dumb despair—beyond embracing her own silence and Theotormon's—to use the stubborn structure of language for enlightenment. Taking action through words, Oothoon never surrenders; although Theotormon, Bromion, and Urizen fail to comprehend her prophecy by the end of *Visions*, she embodies the healing mercy of time: in describing an Oothoon who continues to wail, the narrator provides evidence to support the possibility of change. While the narrator does not yet understand, as Oothoon does, how "they inclos'd my infinite brain into a narrow circle" (2:32, E 47), narrative disjunction enables readers to go into and out of the circle Blake's Notebook taunts God with: "If you have formed a Circle to go into / Go into yourself & see how you would do" ("To God," E 516). By framing the narrator's despair with two positive instances in the text—Oothoon's triumphant calls for freedom and the illumination depicting her in flight—Blake enables alternate viewings of the conclusion. Jumping back and forth between the image of Oothoon called up through the narrator's words²⁴ and the illuminated Oothoon in flight²⁵ effects the double vision Oothoon possesses when she first sees the Marygold: "I see thee now a flower! now a nymph!" Although I believe we should follow Oothoon's prophetic response and kiss "the joy as it flies" ("Eternity," E 470), the illuminator's final image does not correct the narrator's version so much as balance it. Eyes may see more than hearts know, but hearts

know that at the end of *Visions*, Oothoon remains without Theotormon. The determined expression on Oothoon's face warns us not to condone her lack of fulfillment; at the same time we should heed her words—"Arise and drink your bliss, for every thing that lives is holy!"—to joy in her progress towards prophecy.

While Oothoon does not and cannot approximate a contemporary feminist ideal, she comes closest to bridging the curious gap between Blake's belief in human liberation and his poetic representation of the female. As the best (and perhaps only) active, good female figure, Oothoon occupies a special place in Blake's canon; unlike his more conventional portrayal of females as positive through self-sacrifice (Oolon, *Thel's Lilly*) or perniciously manipulative (Enitharmon, Vala), Oothoon acts through prophetic speeches that render the philosophical principles generally stated by male figures. After *Visions* Blake offers limiting images of women; the feminist possibilities Oothoon embodies seem to disappear. Oothoon herself, however, periodically resurfaces as if Blake means to hold on to the fleeting possibilities she embodies; the rebellious daughter who goes against Enitharmon's reign of sexual delusion in *Europe*, the guard who enables the fulfillment of Leutha's desires after Elynitria brings Leutha to Palamabron's bed in *Milton*,²⁶ she is, finally, a way into Beulah in *Jerusalem*:

There is a Grain of Sand in Lambeth that
Satan cannot find
Nor can his Watch Fiends find it: tis
translucent & has many Angles
But he who finds it will find Oothoons
palace, for within
Opening into Beulah every angle is a
lovely heaven

(37:15-18, E 183)

In our current revisioning of Oothoon, I propose we view her through that translucent angle of vision that opens into Beulah.

¹ Susan Fox, "The Female as Metaphor in William Blake's Poetry," *Critical Inquiry* 3 (1977): 507-19. Along with Fox, key articles discussing Blake's representation of the female include Irene Taylor, "The Woman Scaly," *Blake's Poetry and Designs*, ed. Mary Lynn Johnson and John Grant (1973; New York: Norton, 1979) 539-53; Anne K. Mellor, "Blake's Portrayal of Women," *Blake* 16 (1982-83): 148-55; Alicia Ostriker, "Desire Gratified and Ungratified: William Blake and Sexuality," *Blake* 16 (1982-83): 156-65; and Brenda S.

Webster, "Blake, Women, and Sexuality," *Critical Paths: Blake and the Argument of Method*, ed. Dan Miller, Mark Bracher, and Donald Ault (Durham: Duke UP, 1987) 204-24.

² All quotations of Blake's poetry are from *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman (Berkeley: U of California P, 1982), hereafter cited as E followed by the page number.

³ S. Foster Damon identifies *Visions* as a poem of Experience in his *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols* (Boston:



Wave shadows of discontent,¹ and in what houses dwell the wretched
Drunkens with woe forgotten, and shut up from cold despair,

Tell me where dwell the thoughts forgotten all thou call them forth
Tell me where dwell the joys of old! & where the ancient loves;
And when will they renew again & the night of oblivion past?
That I might traverse times & spaces far remote and bring
Comforts into a present sorrow and a night of pain
Whom poest thou O thought! to what remote land is thy flight?
If thou returnest to the present moment of affliction
Will thou bring comforts on thy wings and dew and honey and balm;
Or poison from the desert wolds, from the eyes of the envious.

Then Brumion said: and shook the cavern with his lamentation

Thou knowest that the ancient trees seen by thine eyes have fruit;
But knowest thou that trees and fruits flourish upon the earth
To gratify senses unknown? trees beasts and birds unknown:
Unknown not unperceived spread in the infinite microscope,
In places yet unvisited by the voyager, and in worlds
Over another kind of seas, and in atmospheres unknown;
Ah! are there other wars, beside the wars of sword and fire!
And are there other sorrows, beside the sorrows of poverty?
And are there other joys, beside the joys of riches and ease?
And is there not one law for both the lion and the ox?
And is there not eternal fire, and eternal chains,
To bind the phantoms of existence from eternal life?

Then Oothoon waited silent all the day, and all the night.

8. William Blake, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, 1793, plate 4. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Houghton-Mifflin, 1924) 107 and *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake* (1965; rpt. Shambhala P, 1979) 437, Northrop Frye considers it part of the doomed Orc cycle in *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake* (1947; rpt. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1969) 245, and Harold Bloom notes that Oothoon achieves Organized Innocence but Theotormon never receives her message in *Blake's Apocalypse: A Study in Poetic Argument* (New York: Cornell UP, 1963) 113-16.

⁴ Jane E. Peterson, "The Visions of the Daughters of Albion: A Problem in Perception," *Philological Quarterly* 52 (1973): 252-64.

⁵ Though the following critics condone aspects of Oothoon's imaginative awakening, they find fault as well; the listing is not meant to be exhaustive but to reflect recent critical trends: Michael G. Cooke, *Acts of Inclusion* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979); Vernon E. Lattin, "Blake's Thel and Oothoon: Sexual Awakening in the Eighteenth Century," *The Literary Criterion* 16 (1981): 11-24; Mark Anderson, "Oothoon: Failed Prophet," *Romanticism Past and Present* 8 (1984): 1-21; Laura Ellen Haigwood, "Blake's Visions of the Daughters of Albion: Revising an Interpretive Tradition," *San Jose Studies* 11 (1985): 77-94; and Nelson Hilton, "An Original Story," *Unnam'd Forms: Blake and Textuality*, ed. Nelson Hilton and Thomas A. Vogler (Berkeley: U of California P, 1986) 69-104.

⁶ All illustrations of Blake's illuminations are from *The Illuminated Blake*, annot. by David V. Erdman (New York: Anchor P, 1974), and follow Erdman's plate numbers.

⁷ Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant, eds., *Blake's Poetry and Designs* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979) 69.

⁸ Erdman (*Illuminated Blake* 125) argues that copy C is the first because of the angel sitting on the female rider's lap; even so, only one of the earliest copies of *Visions* used the frontispiece as tailpiece until Blake changed his mind.

⁹ While the issue of who actually narrates what in Blake's works is a complex one, Blake often provides an ostensible narrator, such as the piper of the *Songs of Innocence*, the bards of *Songs of Experience* and *America*, or the Blakean personae of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, *Europe*, *The Book of Urizen*, *Milton*, and *Jerusalem*. *Visions* contains no comparable figure or persona.

¹⁰ Mary Lynn Johnson, "William Blake," *The English Romantic Poets*, ed. Frank Jordan, 4th ed. (New York: MLA, 1985) 218.

¹¹ John Middleton Murry suggests there were to be other *Visions*, perhaps as there were to be books beyond *The [First] Book*

of *Urizen*, in "A Note on William Blake's Visions of the Daughters of Albion," *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, reproduced in facsimile (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1932) 11.

¹² W. J. T. Mitchell writes "For Blake, writing does not move in a straight line toward a single version (or vision) of the story. It traces the clash of contraries and subverts the tendency to settle into the fixed oppositions he calls 'Negations,' whether these are the moral antitheses of law and prophecy, the sensory divide between eye and ear, or the aesthetic gulf between word and image" in his "Visible Language: Blake's Wondrous Art of Writing," *Romanticism and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. Morris Eaves and Michael Fischer (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1986) 80.

¹³ Erdman (*Illuminated Blake* 130) likens the figure to an "apocalyptic angel [who] pours liquid from a thin vial to drip beside 'weep,'" while Johnson and Grant see "a draped figure [who] holds out what appears to be a dripping paintbrush" (71).

¹⁴ See Harold Bloom, "Commentary," *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, Berkeley: U of California P, 1982) 901 and Peterson 255.

¹⁵ D. G. Gillham points to Blake's Notebook entry on "Eternity" to gloss Oothoon's response to the Marygold in his *William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973) 210: "He who binds to himself a joy / Does the winged life destroy / But he who kisses the joy as it flies / Lives in eternity's sun rise" (E 470).

¹⁶ Excellent accounts abound; readers might turn to Anderson, Gillham, or Peterson for a start.

¹⁷ While we cannot blindly accept the narrator's interpretive statements (does she "howl" or "scream" or "cry"?), we must, at some point, work with the basic physical outline of events (that, for instance, Bromion intercepts her flight towards Theotormon). Like Haigwood (81) I disagree with Bloom's view that Oothoon's writhing limbs indicate her need for sexual fulfillment from Theotormon ("Commentary," 901).

¹⁸ See Hilton 100 and Peterson 259.

¹⁹ *Visions* comes to two hundred twenty-two lines if we include "The Argument" and the motto; Oothoon's final lamentation goes for one hundred two of those lines.

²⁰ Earlier Haigwood identifies how Oothoon's "either/or construction slams shut the door of dialogue at the same time that it seems to open it: that is, the possible responses are limited in such a way that if the answer doesn't fit the asker's pre-

scribed categories, the person addressed can only be mute" (88).

²¹ In *Milton*, for instance, several of Blake's figures promote polygyny, such as the Divine Voice:

She shall begin to give
Her maidens to her husband: delighting
in his delight
And then & then alone begins the happy
Female joy
As it is done in Beulah, & thou O Virgin
Babylon Mother of Whoredoms
Shalt bring Jerusalem in thine arms in the
night watches; and
No longer turning her a wandering
Harlot in the streets
Shalt give her into the arms of God your
Lord & Husband.

(33:17-23, E 133)

²² Mollyanne Marks, "Time as Hero in Blake's Major Prophecies," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, vol. 5, ed. Ronald C. Rosbottom (Wisconsin: U of Wisconsin P, 1976) 59.

²³ Unlike the heroines of numerous 1960s and 70s novels, Oothoon cannot walk out on Theotormon to find a more enlightened man.

²⁴ Gillham sees the three figures on the bank in the final plate as Oothoon, Theotormon, and Bromion (195).

²⁵ See Janet Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1984) 94-95 and E. B. Murray, "A Pictorial Guide to Two-Fold Vision: Copy 'O' of VDA," *Sparks of Fire: Blake in a New Age*, ed. James Bogan and Fred Goss (California: North Atlantic Books, 1982) 165, among others for very different discussions of how to view the final image of Oothoon in flight.

²⁶ Oothoon also hovers with Leutha over Orc "Opening interiorly into Jerusalem & Babylon shining glorious / Into the Shadowy Females bosom" (18:41-42, E 112) to suggest the kind of female form Orc would have the Shadowy Female wear. Although many read her appearance as negative, I believe she initially represents the possibility of a polygynous marriage that the Shadowy Female rejects; that rejection accounts for the turn towards perversity. Oothoon appears again in the poem's concluding movement toward apocalypse: "soft Oothoon / Pants in the Vales of Lambeth weeping oer her Human Harvest" (42:32-33, E 144).

MINUTE PARTICULAR

Urizen and Orc, Cortés and Guatimozin: Mexican History and *The Four Zoas* VII

Martin Bidney

"Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?"¹

(*Guatimozin, defying the tortures imposed by Cortés*)

"Sure thou art bath'd in rivers of delight on verdant fields"²

(*Urizen, mocking the tortures endured by Orc*)

A surprising number of detailed verbal parallels and analogous images makes it likely that in composing Night VII of *The Four Zoas* Blake was building in part on the episode of Cortés' torture of Guatimozin (Montezuma's nephew, son-in-law, and eventual successor) in *The History of America* by William Robertson, a work of continuing popularity first published in London in 1777. Similarities in wording and image patterns between the Blake and Robertson works shed light on the Urizen-Orc conflict as well as on the grotesque predicament of Los in his relation to each of the deadlocked contenders. Robertson helps us understand these struggles both from the psychological and political points of view. By doing so, he helps illuminate the dynamics of Blake's mythmaking at a crucial point in the poem's progress since it is in Night VII that the epic's central act of conversion or awakening (Los's recognition and embrace of the Spectre) takes place. The need for such an awakening—as well as Blake's impetus for providing

it—becomes clearer when we understand the Urizen-Orc conflict within the historical and psychological context provided by Robertson's history.

I find no mention in the Blake literature of Cortés or Guatimozin. But the story of Cortés' cruelty and Guatimozin's mocking defiance was well known to other British romantics. In *Peter Bell the Third* Shelley describes Peter's (or Wordsworth's) dullness as sufficient to deaden Guatimozin's pains:

But in his verse, and in his prose,
The essence of his dullness was
Concentred and compressed so close,
'Twould have made Guatimozin doze
On his red gridiron of brass.
(ll. 718-22)³

Donald H. Reiman, whose annotation clarifies this reference, further explains (in a letter to me dated 8 August 1988) that he had first become aware of the Guatimozin story—and had first become interested in seeking its source, which he found in Robertson—after reading an expurgated journal entry (21 October 1838) wherein Mary Shelley complains of being maligned by Jane Williams. Mary writes:

When I first discovered that a trusted friend had acted thus by me, I was nearly destroyed—my health was shaken. I remember thinking of Guatimozin's [sic] bed of torture & with a burst of agonizing tears exclaiming I would prefer that to the unutterable anguish a friend's falsehood engendered!⁴

Reiman adds that Keats knew Robertson's history too.⁵

Blake never mentions Robertson's work, but it was published early enough for him to have used it imaginatively in composing *The Four Zoas*.⁶ Blake's interest in Mexico, expressed as early as the passage in *America* (1793) where Orc sees "In Mexico an Eagle, and a Lion in Peru" (2:13), was stimulated, as Erdman informs us, by Mallet's account of "human sacrifice" practiced in Mexico and Peru as a "harvest rite."⁷ In *America* Blake is thinking about human sacrifices and harvest rites, and

about the tragic confounding of life and death-directed motives in various traditional cultures. He has begun, too, to imagine the psychology of Orc, Spirit of Revolution, in a context shadowed by awareness of (among many other things) the Mexican historical heritage. Later, in *Jerusalem*, Blake will also imagine "Tharmas dash'd on the Rock of the Altars of Victims in Mexico" (J38:70).⁸

The struggle involved in Cortés' seventy-five-day siege of Mexico was, Robertson says, both "more obstinate" and "more equal" than "any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds," a fact owing in no small measure to the "great abilities of Guatimozin," who had acceded to Montezuma's throne after the brief interim reign of the latter's brother. Quetzlavaca had been cut short by the pox (2: 387, 364). Guatimozin's "great abilities" are counterbalanced by the extraordinary shrewdness of Cortés in Robertson's account. When Cortés' own men begin to rebel, his unmasking of a conspiracy reveals Urizenic cunning. Cortés coolly professes ignorance of the conspiratorial activities of all participants except the main organizer; the rest of the plotters, relieved to be exonerated, redouble their zeal in the commander's service to prove their loyalty, and the cynical Cortés meanwhile observes in detail the behavior of each, mentally organizing his observations while he quickly musters his troops for new onslaughts (2: 368-70). The outstanding leadership capabilities of both Cortés and Guatimozin, taken together with the larger impression presented by Robertson that the Spaniard-Aztec conflict was conducted on terms more nearly equal than other such struggles in the western hemisphere, make the parallel with the Urizen-Orc standoff an inviting one since Urizen and Orc are the (co-equal, co-eternal) Zoas whose conflict is "more obstinate" than any in the Blakean psychic world.

But it is specifically in the accounts of Guatimozin's tortures and those of

Orc that the parallels in wording and imagery become precise. Cortés imposes the torment partly to defend himself from disaffection in the ranks when his men feel dismay at the lack of available booty, though Robertson insists that the sadistic deed to which Cortés has recourse “stains the glory of all his great actions” (2: 389). When the Spaniards take possession of all the treasure still remaining for them to capture, the amount of it proves disappointingly small: the “Indian auxiliaries” of the Spaniards have made away with much of the treasure during the siege, and Guatimozin himself, having directed the rest of it to be “thrown into the lake,” refuses to divulge its whereabouts (2: 388). So Cortés subjects “the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favourite, to torture” (2: 389) to make them talk. The wording of Robertson’s account here seems to have impressed Blake:

Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict, with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected eye towards his master, which seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. But the *high spirited* prince, darting on him a look of *authority mingled with scorn*, checked his weakness by asking, “Am I now *reposing* on a bed of flowers?” Overawed by the reproach, the favourite persevered in his dutiful silence, and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of *torturers*, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings. (2: 389-90; emphases added)

Fire is not mentioned, but most readers (see the above-quoted Shelley stanza, especially the phrase: “red gridiron of brass”) will assume Cortés used fire, a parallel with the fiery torture of Orc: “Yet throw thy limbs these fires abroad that back return upon thee” (FZ 78:33). We also learn that Orc’s “awful limbs cast forth red smoke & fire / That Urizen approachd not near but took his seat on a rock / And rangd his books around him brooding Envious over Orc” (FZ 77:17-19). The theme of

envy fits both situations; Urizen envies Orc his invincible fortitude, while Cortés and his men covet Guatimozin’s treasure. (The treasure is largely submerged in a lake; note that Orc is punished in a “lake of fire” [FZ 78:28].) As Orc begins to organize a serpent body Urizen, still “envious,” watches him “Flame high in pride & laugh to scorn the source of his deceit” (FZ 80:49-50); here we note similarities to Robertson’s phrases: “high spirited prince,” “authority mingled with scorn.”

Urizen’s taunting speech to Orc presents still more analogues, in both wording and dramatic situation, to Robertson’s account:

Pity for thee movd me to break my dark
& long repose
And to reveal myself before thee in a
form of wisdom
Yet thou dost laugh at all these *tortures*
& this horrible place
Yet throw thy limbs these fires abroad
that back return upon thee
While thou *reposes* throwing rage on
rage feeding thyself
With visions of sweet bliss far other than
this burning clime
Sure thou art bathd in rivers of delight
on *verdant fields*
Walking in joy in bright Expanses
sleeping on bright clouds
With *visions of delight so lovely* that they
urge thy rage
Tenfold with fierce desire to rend thy
chain & howl in fury
And dim oblivion of all woe & desperate
repose
Or is thy joy founded on torment which
others bear for thee
(FZ 78:30-42, emphases added)

Variations on the word “repose,” prominent in this passage, are reminiscent of Guatimozin’s “Am I now *reposing* on a bed of flowers?” The “verdant fields,” the “visions of delight so lovely,” and the image of “sleeping” on something “bright” further suggest a strong Blakean memory of Guatimozin’s imagined flowery rest. “Desperate repose” is a particularly nice characterization, quite applicable to Guatimozin’s extraordinary attempt at stoic indifference. Even Urizen’s claim that “Pity” aroused him to appear

before Orc in a “form of wisdom” has its grisly analogue in Robertson’s history, for we recall Montezuma’s scornful response to the Spaniards’ hypocritically compassionate attempts to convert him to their enlightened religion: “In a transport of rage he tore the bandages from his wounds, and refused, with such obstinacy, to take any nourishment, that he soon ended his wretched days, rejecting with disdain all the solicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Christian faith” (2: 344).

Finally, the last line in Urizen’s taunting monologue, “Or is thy joy founded on torment which others bear for thee,” makes even more obvious sense in the context of Guatimozin’s situation than it does in Orc’s. Orc has not forced anybody else to fight his battles or bear his burdens; Urizen is reduced to farfetched (and typically sadistic) reasoning in his attempts to explain away Orc’s fortitude. But Guatimozin’s power against Spain *is* in fact largely dependent (as Robertson sees it) on the Aztecs’ subjugation of other native peoples, who have to bear burdens on behalf of their conquerors, and who resent having to do so:

The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise if they had trusted for success to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbours who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to shake off its yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. (2: 387)

It appears, then, that Guatimozin’s political power, if not his “joy,” has in large part depended on “torment” (a “dreaded . . . yoke”) borne by others, a fact that may have left its subliminal imprint on Blake’s (and Urizen’s) thinking at this point in *The Four Zoas*, as we watch Orc begin to turn into a “dark devourer”—“Self consuming,” but also “poisond” in a way that does

not bode well for others who must suffer in turn the consequences of his resentful rebellion (*FZ* 80:48, 46).

Urizen and Orc, then, are like the practiced strategist Cortés and the valiant rebel Guatimozin, himself not free from the taint of tyranny. Indeed, war always makes enemies mirror each other in the Blakean world.⁹ Orc comes unexpectedly to resemble Urizen. Perhaps Blake has noted how the bloody-mindedness of Guatimozin's men resembles that of Cortés' troops: certainly in the *Zoas* it is not only Orc but Urizen too who seems to borrow attributes from the Aztecs of Robertson's history.

A look at the war god's temple where the Aztecs sacrifice their Spanish captives reveals striking similarities to the temple of Blake's war god, Urizen. When Guatimozin (this is before his capture by Cortés) gives a signal, the "priests in the principal temple" strike "the great drum consecrated to the god of war"; after the ensuing battle, in which forty Spaniards are captured,

The approach of night, though it delivered the dejected Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in, what was hardly less grievous, the noise of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendour, that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. (2: 380-81; emphases added)

Similarly, when Urizen and the "myriads" of his "Sons" build a "temple"—"The day for war the night for secret religion"—Urizen's priests and priestesses insure that, like the rite conducted by Guatimozin's clergy, their war god's temple ceremony will also be illuminated with peculiar splendor (see *FZ* 85:31-33, 96:18). They do this by taking away "the sun that glowd oer Los" and forcing it in chains into Urizen's martial sanctuary (*FZ* 96:9-15). This surely produces an effect of quite uncommon illumination:

... they put the Sun
Into the temple of Urizen to give light to
the Abyss
To light the War by day to hide his secret
beams by night
For he divided day & night in different
orderd portions
The day for war the night for secret
religion in his temple
(*FZ* 96:14-18)

In other words, as Robertson says, the "approach of night" ushers in what is "hardly less grievous" than the activities of day: the (Urizen-like) war-worship of Guatimozin's men.

The relation of Los, the eternal prophet, to the war god Urizen becomes particularly revealing at this point when viewed in a Robertsonian context. No more eager to be subservient to Urizen than Orc is, Los—like Orc—nevertheless winds up resembling Urizen in their mutually destructive conflict. Apparently resentful that Urizen has hijacked the solar sphere that "glowd" over him, Los in his defiance begins to look like a war god himself, hardly more sinned against than sinning. Immediately following his account of Urizen's temple-building, Blake describes the sudden appearance of Los:

Los reard his mighty stature on Earth
stood his feet. Above
The moon his furious forehead circled
with black bursting thunders
His naked limbs glittering upon the dark
blue sky his knees
Bathe'd in bloody clouds. bis loins in fires
of war where spears
And swords rage where the Eagles cry &
the Vultures laugh saying
Now comes the night of Carnage . . .
(*FZ* 96:19-24; emphases added)

Why does Los appear "naked" in this horrid pageant? Very likely he is presented this way because Blake remembers Robertson's vivid evocation of the spectacle disclosed to those Spaniards who catch a glimpse of Guatimozin's temple preparations:

Through the gloom, they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were *stript*

naked, and compelled to *dance before the image of the god* to whom they were to be offered. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought that they could distinguish each unhappy victim, by the well-known sound of his voice. *Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented its horror*. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld.
(2: 381)

The entire Robertson passage abounds in tragic ironies, which Blake seems to have detected and extended. The victims have to dance before the war god to whom they will be sacrificed—but all the followers of War are (re-)made in its image: the soldiers of the tyrant Cortés *and* the soldiers of the tyrant Guatimozin. Los appears naked like a victim, but bloodied and fiery like the war god who demands victims: victim and victor are hardly distinguishable in this "night of Carnage." We know that Los absorbed the Urizenic spirit as early as Night IV when he bound Promethean Orc upon the mountain. Los, the Human Imagination, has "augmented" the "horror" of what is contemplated, and in an even larger sense than Robertson makes explicit. Victors and victims are all seized with war fever, an infection of the imagination. Already in Night V the fallen imagination, infected with hostility born of nervous fear, is emblemized in a comparable picture of Los: "Infected Mad he dancc'd on his mountains high & dark as heaven . . . From his mouth curses & from his eyes sparks of blighting" (*FZ* 57:1, 3). Victim and (infected) victor are melded, both here and in the image of Los appearing naked in darkness near the war temple of Urizen—as naked as the captives dancing "before the image of the god" of war. The imagination, in Blake as in Robertson's account, augments the horrors brought on by the war god, who makes his victims revere his "image."

Guatimozin is eventually hanged (2: 405), and when we read in Robertson that "The Spaniards were not satisfied with the glory of having

first encompassed the earth; they expected to derive great commercial advantages from this new and boldest effort of their maritime skill" (2: 398; emphases added), Urizen's comparable ambitions may come to mind: "First Trades & Commerce ships & armed vessels he buildd laborious / To swim the deep"; "the Universal Empire groans" (FZ 95:25-26, 30; emphases added). Of course, Blake is probably speaking mainly about the British rather than the Spanish empire, but none of the parallels adduced here is in any way exclusive. Moreover, if Blake is building in part on Robertson, as I suggest, his overall intent as social and political critic is not exclusive either. Rather, he wishes to show the interweaving, the mutual interinvolvement, of war and religion, victor and victim, reason and energy and imagination, in the tragic conflicts of the fallen world, thus preparing the way for Los' (and our) humbling recognition of the Spectre as everyone's own.

¹ William Robertson, *The History of America*, 5th ed., 3 vols. (London, 1788) 2: 389; references are indicated parenthetically by volume and page. Robertson's history went through many editions over many decades; we cannot know which edition Blake may have used, but I have cited one published well before 1796 when Blake is thought to have begun work on *The Four Zoas*. For *Zoas* dating see David V. Erdman, ed. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: U of California P, 1982) 817.

² *The Four Zoas* (hereafter FZ) 78:36. All FZ references are to Erdman.

³ *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers (New York: Norton, 1977) 346. N. 2 identifies Guatimozin as follows:

The nephew and successor of Montezuma led the Aztec defense of Mexico City against Cortes; after his capture he and a friend were tortured on a hot metal grid. In order to keep up his companion's courage, Guatimozin said, "Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?"

⁴ Abinger Collection, Duke Microfilms, Reel 11, cited in Donald H. Reiman, *Romantic Texts and Contexts* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1987) 308.

⁵ The Robertson-Keats connection is standard in criticism of that poet; see, for example, Walter Jackson Bate, *John Keats* (New York: Oxford UP, 1966) 25, 88, 476.

⁶ See n. 1 above; Blake is fond of mentioning Mexico. In addition to the verses discussed immediately below a couple of others may be cited. Druid temples, Blake tells us, "were reard from Ireland / To Mexico & Peru west, & east to China & Japan" (*Milton* 6:22-23). And he lists "Mexico" (along with such places as "Negroland" and "Carolina") among the "Thirty-Two Nations" that wait for Jerusalem (J72:37-42). S. Foster Damon, *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake* (Providence: Brown UP, 1965) 271, cites all these Blakean mentions of Mexico and adds that "Plate 15 of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* depicts an eagle soaring with a serpent in its talons; Blake's design anticipates Shelley's *Revolt of Islam* I (1818) and the adoption of the Mexican flag (1821)."

⁷ David V. Erdman, *Blake: Prophet Against Empire*, 3rd. ed. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969) 251.

⁸ Erdman notes that "The Sacrifice of Tharmas in Mexico can be accounted for by the execution in 1811 and 1813 of Hidalgo and Morelos and other Mexican insurgents by Spanish firing squads" (*Prophet* 482).

⁹ See my *Blake and Goethe: Psychology, Ontology, Imagination* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1988) 129-33 ("Personality Changes: Violence and the Dissolution of Character"), where I apply René Girard's principle of "conflictual undifferentiation" to help explain the Urizen-Orc standoff.

DISCUSSION

*with intellectual spears & long winged arrows
of thought*

Bunyan at the Gates of Paradise

John B. Pierce

In a recent issue of *Blake*,¹ Nelson Hilton offers some useful insights into possible sources for Blake's "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill," the last line of "To The Accuser who is The God of This World." In particular, he remarks on the possible biblical antecedents for this concluding line from the epilogue to *The Gates of Paradise*, focusing especially on the last half as a reference to "the Sinai revelation of Exodus." Hilton's equation of the "Hill" with Sinai is supported not only by references to the Law in the prologue, as he points out, but also by the implications of the ten coils (corresponding to the decalogue) of the snake depicted below the title of the epilogue.² Yet while his discussion of "under the Hill" seems satisfactory, his identification of the "lost Travellers Dream" as a reference to Moses seems more tenuous. I believe Blake's commentary on Mosaic law is filtered through an intermediate source—John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. A reading of the episode in which Christian meets Mr. Worldly-Wiseman and passes by the burning hill in conjunction with the epilogue to *The Gates of Paradise* will strengthen the connections among Sinai, the traveler's dream, and the illustration in "To The Accuser Who is The God of this World."

Blake's approbation of Bunyan's work is evident in his comments on "A Vision of the Last Judgment." While distinguishing between the "Fable" as "a totally distinct & inferior kind of

poetry" and "Vision . . . as a Representation of what Eternally Exists, Really & Unchangeably," Blake remarks that "Fable or Allegory is seldom without some Vision. Pilgrim's Progress is full of it" (E 544).³ He also adopted ideas such as "Beulah" from *The Pilgrim's Progress*⁴ and late in his career Blake made 29 water color illustrations and several sketches for *The Pilgrim's Progress*.⁵ Thus, it should not be surprising that in addition to these direct references to Bunyan's work, Blake includes an indirect allusion to *The Pilgrim's Progress* in his epilogue to *The Gates of Paradise*.

The Pilgrim's Progress, as its title page announces, is "Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream," following in the tradition of the medieval dream vision.⁶ While traveling through "the wilderness of this world" (PP 8), the narrator stops to rest and dreams the story of Christian's journey to the city of heaven. *The Pilgrim's Progress* is this "lost Travellers Dream" in which Christian acts as a surrogate for the narrator's quest for spiritual enlightenment while in the physical world. The final line in Blake's epilogue to *The Gates of Paradise* pinpoints a special moment of Vision in the dream.

Within the dream vision, Christian encounters Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, who persuades him to go to the Village of Morality where Mr. Legality will free him of his burden of sin. The road to Mr. Legality's house leads directly by a "high Hill" which the marginal gloss identifies as Mount Sinai in Bunyan's allegory (PP 16). The description of Christian's journey by this hill may have been the source for Blake's "lost Travellers Dream under the Hill":

So *Christian* turned out of his way to go to Mr. *Legality's* house for help: but behold, when he was got now hard by the *Hill*, it seemed so high, and also that side of it that was next the way side, did hang so much over, that *Christian* was afraid to venture further, lest the *Hill* should fall on his head: wherefore there he stood still, and wotted not what to do. Also his burden, *now*, seemed heavier to him, than while he was in his way. There came also flashes of fire

out of the Hill, that made *Christian* afraid that he should be burned. . . . (PP 17)

Bunyan's commentary here on religion, morality, and the law bears comparison with central ideas in Blake's work. The pilgrim's passage under the hill represents the threat of life lived under Old Testament law. Bunyan argues (and Blake would be quick to agree) that the direction of the Christian soul by Morality leads only to death under the Law. The Evangelist who saves Christian from this threat points out that "by the deeds of the Law no man living can be rid of his burden" (PP 19-20). The fearful spectacle of Mount Sinai fails to offer redemption for the Christian soul in Bunyan's and Blake's theologies.

Yet the connections between Blake's and Bunyan's texts do not stop here. The encounter between Christian and Mr. Worldly-Wiseman seems to have represented a visionary moment in the work for Blake since it records a moment of division in the soul between spiritual and corporeal paths. At this crossroad, Christian is torn between the advice of Evangelist and Mr. Worldly-Wiseman from the town of "Carnal Policy" (PP 14). The powerful impact of this conflict emerges in Blake's illustration for "To The Accuser" which externalizes and dramatizes the moment of worldly temptation and places it within the context of an artistic crisis. The design accompanying the text depicts a bat-winged figure hovering over a reclining figure at the foot of a hill radiating light. In the light of Blake's reading of Bunyan, this image seems to represent Bunyan dreaming *The Pilgrim's Progress* at the moment when Christian encounters Mr. Worldly-Wiseman and the vision of Mount Sinai. The reclining figure holds a pilgrim's staff, connecting him with Christian and by synecdoche with Bunyan; the bat-winged Spectre acts as a counterpart for Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, another of the many names Satan is known by. Blake's water color illustration of

"John Bunyan Dreams a Dream," possibly conceived as a frontispiece to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, depicts a recumbent figure in a posture similar to that of the sleeping figure in "To The Accuser . . . of this World" and helps reinforce the connection between the two reclining male figures. The bat-winged figure is similar to Blake's other depictions of the spectrous life of man which attempts to direct him away from his true spiritual path. Both Satan and Mr. Worldly-Wiseman are Gods of this World tempting man from a spiritual path by advocating an adherence to law, morality, and a corporeal spirituality. Both confuse the fleshly garment with the spiritual man. And, as a result, both Satan and Mr. Worldly-Wiseman are dunces: the former through delusions of godhood; the latter through the complacent certainty of his own moral sanctity. In both Blake and Bunyan these events take place in the shadow of Sinai. Blake's illustration includes Sinai in the background, not hiding "dawn . . . bursting on all sides" as Erdman suggests,⁷ but bursting forth with "flashes of fire out of the Hill, that made Christian afraid that he should be burned" (PP 17).

The fact that Blake ultimately centers his text and design on the artist and his internal conflict reflects his reappraisal of Bunyan's puritan text in terms of romantic aesthetics. Bunyan becomes an Albion figure, experiencing the temptation to turn away from his spiritual quest for the gates of heaven through his dream of Christian's encounter with Mr. Worldly-Wiseman.⁸ To give up on the quest would be to abandon the artistic impulse that drove Bunyan to create a work like *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In a sense the encounter is not unlike that in Albion's dream of *The Four Zoas* in which Los is tempted by his Spectre to give in to worldly concerns and abandon his quest to create (and recreate) the city of Golgonooza while awaiting the Last Judgment.⁹ In reworking Bunyan's allegorical tale, Blake trans-

forms it into a moment of Vision and redeems Bunyan's work from the same moral reductivism that Milton's work became subject to. As with the Bible and as with Milton, Blake approaches Bunyan reading black where most read white and liberating the visionary aspects of art. Thus Christian's journey becomes a Sublime Allegory addressed to the Intellectual powers about the conflict between physical and spiritual, rational and imaginative, aspects of the life of man. Such a Sublime Allegory equates the life of man with the world of art. The text of *The Gates of Paradise* ends on this union of art and life leaving the reader with the Keys to the Gates which open the world of Vision.

"Under the Hill": Tyndale or Bunyan?

Christopher Heppner

In a recent note,¹ Nelson Hilton has suggested William Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch as a context for the last line of the epilogue of Blake's *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise*. That poem, addressed "To The Accuser who is The God of This World," calls him, in its last line, "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill."² Tyndale's translation uses the phrase "vnder the hyll" in Exodus 19:17, and the term "the hyll" elsewhere, in referring to Sinai, and Hilton argues that Blake knew and made use of that phrase. The argument is put rather challengingly—"does anyone imagine Blake limiting himself to 'the Authorized Version?'" I wish to gently answer that challenge, and then continue by suggesting what I consider a more likely context for Blake's phrase,

¹ Nelson Hilton, "Under the Hill," *Blake* 22 (1988): 16-17.

² Geoffrey Keynes, ed. *The Gates of Paradise: For Children, For the Sexes*, 3 vols. (London: Trianon P, 1968) 22. Keynes points out that "The heading is separated from the poem by a coiling serpent, emblem of priesthood and organized religion. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the coils are numbered from 1 to 10, these being evidently a reference to the Decalogue. The numbers were faintly engraved and can be best seen through a magnifying glass."

³ All references to Blake's works are taken from David V. Erdman, ed. *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, newly rev. ed. (Berkeley: U of California P, 1982), hereafter referred to as E followed by a page number.

⁴ G. E. Bentley, Jr., ed., *Vala or The Four Zoas: A Facsimile of the Manuscript, A Transcript of the Poem and a Study of Its Growth and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1963) 174. Bentley discusses the derivation of Beulah from *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

and the design that illuminates the poem.

There is no evidence that Blake ever used other translations of the Bible,³ and he does once, though a little playfully, make great claims for the Authorized Version: "astonishing indeed is the English Translation [of the Greek New Testament] it is almost word for word & if the Hebrew Bible is as well translated which I do not doubt it is we need not doubt of its having been translated as well as written by the Holy Ghost" (E 727). The Authorized Version is here simply "the English Translation," as if there were no other. Like many of Blake's statements, it might be a mistake to understand this one too literally. But it is also true that Tyndale's *Five Books of Moses Called The Pentateuch*, first published in 1530 and reprinted in a second edition in 1534, was not reprinted thereafter until the edition of 1884 which Hilton cites. The *Short Title Catalogue* makes it clear that both early editions are now rare, and they cannot have been much more common in Blake's time. Much of Tyndale's version was absorbed

⁵ See Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981) 1093-1125.

⁶ All references to John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* are taken from the edition by N. H. Keeble (New York: Oxford UP, 1984) and are cited in the text as *PP* followed by a page number.

⁷ *The Illuminated Blake*, annotated by David V. Erdman (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1974) 279.

⁸ The illumination to *Jerusalem* 33[37] bears comparison with the illustration for "To The Accuser." It depicts a recumbent Albion lying underneath a less anthropomorphic bat-winged spectre.

⁹ The illustration to *Jerusalem* 6 depicts this dialogue between self and spectre in a fashion similar to that used in "To The Accuser." In *Jerusalem* the illustration shows Los sitting at his forge, looking up at the bat-winged, hovering Spectre of Urthona as he attempts to compel his spectre to help the sleeping Albion.

into the so-called Matthew's Bible, editions of which appeared in 1537, 1549, and 1551,⁴ but these too were not common books. It is at least possible that Blake had seen a copy of Tyndale's translation, but extremely improbable that he had one at hand to consult.

An altogether likelier conjecture is that Blake was thinking of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, a book that he described as "full" of "Vision" (E 554). In one letter he identifies himself with "Poor Pilgrim" (E 758), and of course he made a series of illustrations to the work, and the separate plate of *The Man Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour*. In a broader context, E. P. Thompson has written well of the centrality of Bunyan's allegory to dissenting culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁵ It was clearly a work that had deep roots in Blake's consciousness.

The Gates of Paradise is a kind of pilgrimage, whose title, with the emblem of "Death's Door," remind us that Christian's whole progress is towards a Gate. The recurring motif of the pilgrim's staff, present in the illumination

of the epilogue to the *Gates*, strengthens the pilgrim association of the work as a whole.

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Mt. Sinai is repeatedly called a hill, and Christian, when misled by Mr. Worldly-Wiseman, loses his way and finds himself, in effect, under that hill:

when he was got now hard by the *Hill*, it seemed so high, and also that side of it that was next the way side, did hang so much over, that Christian was afraid to venture further, lest the Hill should fall on his head. . . .⁶

Here, I suggest, is a likelier context for Blake's "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill" than Tyndale's rare translation.

In addition, *The Pilgrim's Progress* gives us a context for Blake's illumination of the epilogue. Later in his journey, Christian is met by Apollyon: "now the Monster was hidious to behold, he was clothed with scales like a Fish . . . he had Wings like a Dragon, feet like a Bear, and out of his belly came Fire and Smoak, and his mouth was as the mouth of a Lion" (PP 56). At the end of a fierce battle, Christian emerges victor, and "Apollyon spread forth his Dragons wings, and sped him away, that *Christian* saw him no more" (PP 60). Stripped of some of the grotesque animal imagery, this is fairly close to the situation represented in the illumination of the epilogue, which shows a dragon-winged Satan flying away from the dreaming traveler. The appellation "The God of This World" is a repeated biblical phrase, but it also finds its echo in the conversation that opens Apollyon's challenge to Christian:

Apol. *Whence come you, and whither are you bound?*

Chr. *I come from the City of Destruction, which is the place of all evil, and am going to the City of Zion.*

Apol. *By this I perceive thou art one of my Subjects, for all that Countrey is mine; and I am the Prince and God of it.* (PP 56)

Bunyan's work thus functions as a directly relevant context for both the structure of the *Gates* as a whole and the epilogue—both poem and illumination—in particular.

Hilton refers to Tyndale's translation of Exodus as "a probable source" for Blake's reference to "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill." I would prefer to think that Blake has deliberately shaped his phrases, and his illumination, to conjure up the reader/viewer's memories both of the Bible—"The God of This World"—and of Bunyan. In Blake's imagination the two would seem to have been almost as intertextually entwined as the Bible and *Paradise Lost*, and doubtless *For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise* was designed to take its place in that constellation. Maybe Tyndale is also in there somewhere, but I am not convinced that we can separate out that weak possible echo from the stronger surrounding voices.

¹ Nelson Hilton, "Under the Hill," *Blake* 22 (1988): 16-17.

² David V. Erdman, ed., *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, rev. ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1982) 269; hereafter referred to as E followed by a page number. I have also used the reproductions in *The Illuminated Blake*, annotated by David V. Erdman (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1974).

³ If he did, my bet would be on Robert Lowth's *Isatab. A New Translation* (1778, with many subsequent editions to 1835) rather than on Tyndale. Blake did play the game himself, on a small scale, in the *Job* inscriptions.

⁴ T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, revised A. S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of the English Bible 1525-1961* (New York: American Bible Society, 1968) Nos. 34, 74, 92.

⁵ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968) 28-58.

⁶ John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. J. B. Wharey, revised R. Sharrock (Oxford, Clarendon P, 1960) 20; hereafter referred to as PP followed by a page number.

Hilton Under the Hill: Other Dreamers

Michael J. Tolley

Nelson Hilton identifies the "Hill" in the last line of Blake's "To The Accuser who is The God of This World" as Sinai.¹ I see at present no reason to quarrel with this identification, though I would consider it a secondary implication, preferring the idea of a folktale allusion mentioned by Stevenson in his edition.² My quarrel is rather with the misplaced ingenuity of Hilton's methodology. It is not merely that he appears to be a kind of Jacob Bryant *redivivus* in his etymological speculations, whereby Hillel (the Hebrew for Lucifer) becomes "the Hill" (via the Hebrew *har'el* or "mountain of God")—there is, after all nothing anachronistic about such fantasizing—but that he finds it necessary to draw upon Tyndale as the principal justification for his speculative flight, which seems exceptionable.

Hilton uses what I can only call bullying rhetoric ("does anyone imagine Blake limiting himself to 'the Authorized Version?'" to thrust Tyndale before our noses. It is therefore necessary to insist that, whereas no one to my knowledge ever believed that Blake limited himself to the Authorized Version of the Bible, Hilton has given us no convincing reason for supposing that he ever read Tyndale (especially with such attention as is implied in Hilton's argument). For one thing, Hilton himself concedes that the AV refers to Moses building "an altar under the hill" in Exodus 24:4, so that the other usages in Tyndale are redundant; in addition, Blake had a more familiar source at hand; Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. (It is always better to check the familiar sources before researching the esoteric possibilities.)

It will be remembered that when Christian is directed by Mr. Worldly-Wiseman to Mr. Legality for help with his

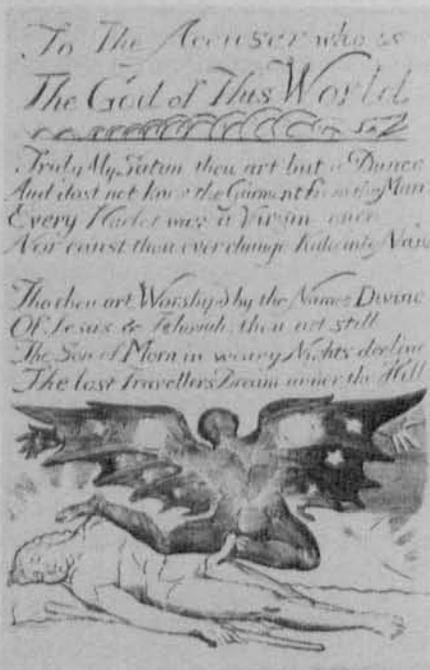
burden, he is asked (in parody of Evangelist's references to the Wicket-gate and "yonder shining light"), "Do you see yonder high hill?" This hill is identified in the margin of early editions as Mount Sinai. The scene is also drawn in a woodcut, showing Christian with his burden and a staff standing with Mr. Worldly-Wiseman directly under a rocky hill, from the top of which flames and clouds redound. Christian, however, finds it impossible to proceed, because the hill terrifies him:

behold, when he was got now hard by the Hill, it seemed so high, and also that side of it that was next the way side, did hang so much over, that Christian was afraid to venture further, lest the Hill should fall on his head. . . . There came also flashes of fire out of the Hill, that made Christian afraid that he should be burned: here therefore he swet, and did quake for fear.

Do I therefore propose that Bunyan, not Tyndale, has provided the source for Blake's "Hill"? By no means, because the Bunyan reference turns out to be confusing. For one thing, Blake's dreamer is not "clothed in rags" and bears no burden. Second, the principal dreamer of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is the narrator, the Bunyan figure familiar, perhaps, to Blake from the frontispieces. Third, the Sinai episode is not the only "underhill" experience suffered by Christian: we might equally consider his encounter with Apollyon (a ready substitute for Blake's Spectre) in the Valley of Humiliation (but there, Christian is clothed with armor). Besides this, Christian sleeps, this time part way up the Hill Difficulty, in the arbor episode (Frye has actually proposed this as the "specific allusion"³); he is also concerned elsewhere with the problem of sleeping (as in the Enchanted Ground), although actual dreaming within the dream story is reserved to the journey of Christiana. All I can say is that these hints are more suggestive than those of the Tyndale proposal and Christian is a more plausible subject for Blake's dreamer than Moses. Hilton associates the dreamer with "Moses and his rod"

but a rod is an insufficient mark of Moses, being more usually associated with Aaron, despite the important Red Sea and waters of Meribah episodes. Besides, Blake's dreamer is simply too young to be a plausible Moses figure.

These predominantly negative remarks might be sufficient if I were content merely to rebuke Nelson Hilton, heaping coals of fire upon his head by turning back upon him his *argumentum ad hominem* and suggesting that he is basically too intelligent to wish to appear as one of those critics whose goal is to turn back the clock and make Blake scholarship once again a safe place for anarchists or erudite dunces. However, there is a better subject to hand, and Hilton has already provided it, in his note on "Some Sexual Connotations."⁴



Whoever else he may be, the sleeper is principally Albion, from whose loins the Spectre "Tore forth in all the pomp of War!" (J27.37-39). Hilton has drawn our attention to the curious simulacrum (or "multistable image") effect of the drawing, whereby the sleeper's erect penis becomes the Spectre's right foot; what he has not sufficiently done is to show that the Spectre himself appears to be only a kind of window

through which the viewer looks at the sun, moon, and stars. (Nevertheless, Hilton does employ the suggestive—and just—phrase to describe this "nocturnal emission" or "emanation," in relation to "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill": he calls it "his dream of the starry universe of generation.") What remains is to pull together the idea of an erotic dream with that of the rampant Spectre "in all the pomp of War!" perceived as a night sky, and that of the emanation: usually Spectre and Emanation are seen as divisions of the personality, here they are conjoined in one image.

The moment depicted in this *Gates of Paradise* illustration is that when "the Starry Heavens are fled from the mighty limbs of Albion" (J75.27; cf. M 6.23-25; J27.16 [note the close context with the idea of the Spectre's break-out from the loins]; J 30[34].20-21 [the questioning of Vala as Nature]; J70.32 [the evocation of the "Heavenly Canaan / As the Substance is to the Shadow" as a contrary to the Vala-Rahab dominion]). This moment is usually found in the past, although in J75 it is "now," as indeed it is in the context of "To The Accuser" ("thou are still / The Son of Morn in weary Nights decline"). Within "The Keys of the Gates," we are encouraged to juxtapose the image of the Spectre-night sky with that in the lines accompanying the first design (that of the woman gathering mandrakes):

My Eternal Man set in Repose
The Female from his darkness rose
And She found me beneath a Tree
A Mandrake & in her Veil hid me
Serpent Reasonings us entice
Of Good & Evil: Virtue & Vice

This "key" brings to the composition the Genesis story of the creation and temptation of Eve, with a serpent reasoning under the tree of the knowledge of good and evil to set alongside "The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill" (the Tree was prohibited; the Hill, if it be Sinai, is the place where the Law

prohibiting desire itself was written). We infer that in the Eternal Man's sleep the whole created world was embodied as an object of desire (an emanation) and simultaneously as a mode of dominion. As Blake observed elsewhere, "The desire of Man being Infinite the possession is Infinite & himself Infinite" (*No Natural Religion* [b], 7); he also remarked that "hell is the being shut up in the possession of corporeal desires which shortly weary the man for *all life is holy*" (Annotations to Lavater 309; the use of the word "weary" is notable in anticipation of the later poem).

The spectrous dream emanation is a brilliantly conceived figure in illustration of a poem which defines its subject as one who does not know "the Garment from the Man," in that it is simultaneously naked (it has no garment) and wears only a garment (it is "clad" with the starry universe), or rather a veil (it is a dark vision of the universe, which is only a shadow of Eternity). The paradoxical irony is that Albion's Emanation, Jerusalem, and Spectre (who might be subsumed for the sake of this exposition under all of the Zoas) are embodied within him, but it is by turning them into prohibited objects of desire and predatory desiring subjects that he ceases actively to enjoy them and becomes their victim.

To set out all of this more fully would not only require a detailed exposition of the "Keys of the Gates" (within which are the lines on another figure of the Spectre, for emblem 5, and ones on true vision—of "The Immortal Man that cannot die," for emblem 13), but also a detailed exposition of, at least, much of *Milton* (including plates 18 and 42) and *Jerusalem*, especially plate 27, and even of more remote works such as *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "Introduction" to *Songs of Experience*, "To Tirzah," and "The Everlasting Gospel." This is not the place for such a strenuous exercise. Perhaps I should additionally note that the rod held by the sleeper is the emblem of his authentic power ("That might con-

troll, / The starry pole"), which is, however, to be used actively in mental warfare, not fondled during sleep. Also, the form of the Spectre is related to that of Time considered as lost opportunity (cf. *NT*46); the expression of Time in the figure is as important as that of Space; that such other designs as "The Good and Evil Angels" color print, and the "Great Red Dragon" pictures (especially the one in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.), are closely relevant—indeed, once one starts this sort of thing, one never knows where to stop!

What most impresses me about the poem, "To The Accuser who is The God of This World," is the quiet tone with which such tremendous and resounding truths are uttered. Behind them is the force of the struggles of a lifetime and they reflect the poet-prophet's own weariness. Edward Young, as Stevenson has noted, had "dared" to call Satan a dunce (*Night Thoughts* 8.1347, and Blake's illustration, *NT*416, shows Satan trying to tell "the Garment from the Man" by testing Jesus with stones for making bread). Blake calls the Accuser, familiarly, "My Satan," as if he were his own foolish child. Furthermore, Blake concedes that Satan is, indeed, "the Son of Morn," using, as Hilton also noted, the language of Isaiah 14:12. (E. J. Rose has made a few helpful comments on this.⁶ For Rose, however, the Hill is the mound-mount of Golgotha-Calvary and the dreamer is in the grave: "The traveler is lost because he cannot reach the true God; instead he dreams the sleep of death, the life of this world. The Gates of Paradise are closed.") The trouble is that Lucifer is out of place, not the lark singing of dawn, not the light-bearer, but the bearer, indeed, the wearer (the wear-weary pun is surely one which would appeal to Hilton) of darkness. (There is another possible pun, on traveler and travail, as the sleeper gives birth in the manner of Satan conceiving Sin.)

Finally, why is the folklore dreamer and not Moses to be considered as the primary analogue for sleeping Albion?

I believe this is because we are to think first of the dream as one of erotic desire. Mount Sinai can be accommodated to that idea only after the reader has established the nexus between desire and punishment, through linking the text and design with the Genesis, Exodus, and Isaiah allusions mentioned above. This desire may be articulated as a desire for Jerusalem, for lost freedom (for a time when one was lost but freely at home), but insofar as one *is* lost, it may become perverted as a shameful "lust of possession" and so as subject to the tyrannies of separated emanation and Spectre. A capital gloss on the poem is thus to be found in the quatrain lyric of *J* 27, which includes the idea of "Gates": "Entering through the Gates of Birth / And passing through the Gates of Death." It may also be helpful to recall the epic simile in *Paradise Lost* 1.781-88 (which begins with a reference to "Pigmean Race / Beyond the *Indian Mount*"), concerning "Faerie Elves,"

Whose midnight Revels, by a Forrest side
Or Fountain, some belated Peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while over head the
Moon
Sits Arbitress, and neerer to the Earth
Wheels her pale course: they on thir
mirth and dance
Intent, with jocond Music charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart
rebounds.

This allusion has the right associations in suggesting that the "Faerie Elves" have diabolic counterparts or implications. Blake appears to draw on the passage elsewhere, in "The Mental Traveller," for the idea of the sun and stars being "nearer rolld" to the lovers who wander in the desert.

¹ *Blake* 22 (1988): 16-17.

² *Blake: The Complete Poems* (London, 1971) 845.

³ See *The Stubborn Structure* (London, 1970) 194.

⁴ *Blake* 16 (1982-83): 169.

⁵ Martin Butlin, *The Drawings and Paintings of William Blake*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981) illus. 400, 519, 520.

⁶ "To The Accuser who is The God of This World" *Explicator* 22 (1964): 37.

Fellow Travelers . . .

Nelson Hilton

First, apologies to anyone who felt bullied, intimidated, browbeaten, threatened, or insulted by my rhetorical aside. *Mea culpa*. As for Tyndale's translation, I pushed it in order to add to the single "under the hill" reference of AV Exodus 24:4 the two other specific instances of that formulation in Tyndale. Obviously they didn't make the case any more convincing, and Christopher Heppner's neglect of even the AV occurrence shows how turning to Tyndale cost me points for my point. But one minute particular can suffice to ground what, following Robert Gleckner (*Blake's Prelude*, 1982), we might term a Blakean "significant allusion"—and for all that can be said about the passage from *Pilgrim's Progress* quoted by each of the respondents to "Under the Hill," Bunyan does not use the telling phrase.

Michael Tolley's effort "to pull together the idea of an erotic dream with that of the rampant Spectre" seems a useful furthering of the discussion, and I agree that we should "think first of the dream as one of erotic desire." In this connection we might turn from "under the hill" to "the lost Traveller," and Thomas Carew's memorably licentious poem, "A Rapture." The speaker of Carew's poem flies with "Celia" past "Honour" to graphically imaged delights of "Love's Elysium." In this "Elysian ground. / All things are lawful"—Lucrece reads Aretine, for example, and

The Grecian Dame,
That in her endlesse webb, toyl'd for a
name
As fruitlesse as her worke, doth there
display
Her selfe before the Youth of *Ithaca*,
And th' amorous sport of gamesome
nights prefer,
Before dull dreames of the lost Traveller.
(125-30)

In the context of this allusion, Blake's "pilgrim" becomes a type of Ulysses we are to write off if we would embrace Carew's revisionary Penelope. Such a possibility is perhaps no less scandalous than the realization that the "Satan" intimately addressed by Blake's speaker is "Worshipd by the Names Divine / Of Jesus & Jehovah." The presence of "Satan" or what Blake calls "The Accuser who is The God of This World" and elsewhere "the Accuser of Sin" (J98.49) in the vicinity of "Every Harlot" can facilitate the accommodation Tolley proposes between Mount Sinai and the "dream . . . of erotic desire." The "sin" of mounting (or being under) a Fanny Hill—"that sweet golden clime [hear also 'climb'] / Where the travellers journey is done"—can be summarized as having been insinuated into culture at Mount Sinai (e.g., Ex. 21:17, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife"). The Bible's other name for the site of moral revelation is Mount Horeb, opening the possibility that in some weary night's decline a conflicted son of mourning might ponder the schizoid equation of "mount whore" with "mount sin" (ai!).

But most would want, I think, more sympathy for "the lost Traveller." He, after all, seems the final avatar of the protagonist of *For the Sexes*: the speaking "I" specifically labeled in plate 14 as "The Traveller [who] hasteth in the Evening." Such a sympathetic identification, contra Carew, would no doubt duly approve Ulysses' dream of a faithful wife, even if supposing its twenty years' duration to border on wish-fulfillment. A dream of fidelity would have particular resonance for an author well versed in "the torments of Love & Jealousy" and might serve to gloss the curious possible inference of "To the Accuser . . ." lines 3 and 4 regarding Blake's wife, Catherine, and the wife of his sometimes best friend John Flaxman, Ann (also Anna and Nancy in Blake's writing):

Harlot : Virgin :: Kate : Nan

It was for Mrs. Flaxman that Blake, commissioned by her husband, had prepared his "Illustrations to Gray's *Poems*"—including the epigraph to "Ode on the Spring." This seemingly added comment or clue can be seen as presenting (to "Nancy F——" most of all) the designer self-reflexively addressing his "wild root" (phallus / sexuality / inspiration) as a "Traveller" which is now to dream among the "leaves"—each of which in its materialization represents a leave-taking or parting from his seminal desire:

Around the Springs of Gray my wild root
weaves
Traveller repose & dream among my
leaves.

In "The Keys of the Gates" the root has become "the Worm Weaving in the Ground" which, with the wo[r]m-en in the speaker's existence (Mother, Sister, Wife [Daughter?—as per S. Foster Damon's speculation about *Thel*], Catherine), ends "Weaving to Dreams the Sexual strife."

The speaker of Carew's "The Rapture" also worries about sexual strife—not only the toll of hypocritical chastity which Honor demands for women, but even more the unChristian bloody revenges and consequent potential damnation Honor expects of jealous men. He ends the poem with this question:

Then tell me why
This Goblin Honour which the world
adores,
Should make men Atheists, and not
women Whores?

The prologue to *For the Sexes: THE GATES of PARADISE* echoes Carew's satiric stance in its uncomprehending conclusion: "O Christians Christians! tell me Why / You rear it on your Altars high" (emphases added here and above).

REVIEWS

Shelley M. Bennett.
*Thomas Stothard: The
 Mechanisms of Art Pa-
 tronage in England circa
 1800.* Columbia: U of Mis-
 souri P, 1988. xii + 112 pp.
 53 illus. \$29.

Reviewed by
 G. E. Bentley, Jr.

Thomas Stothard was "probably the most prolific" book-illustrator of his day (1755-1834) with some three thousand designs published in his lifetime.¹ He was also a painter of note, a Royal Academician and Librarian of the Royal Academy—his charming catalogue of the Royal Academy Library consists of pictures of each bookcase with the title on the spine of each volume. He was a man of considerable importance and influence in the art world of his day, and it is somewhat surprising that more attention has not been devoted to him.² Shelley Bennett's book is welcome in supplying a long-felt want and in providing a good deal of abstruse and diverse information not previously available about one of the best known artists of his time.

Stothard was also the intimate friend of George Cumberland, John Flaxman, and William Blake. Indeed, Blake was with Stothard on a sailing jaunt the first time Blake was arrested for treason.³ Surprisingly little is known about the relationship of Stothard and Blake, though it is clear that they were good friends for a time. According to contemporaries, "Trotter, the engraver, . . . introduced his friend Stothard to Blake,"⁴ and "in early life" they formed a little circle with other fledgling artists

and craftsmen, including Flaxman the sculptor, "Mr. George Cumberland, and Mr. Sharp [the engraver]," who were "in the habit of frequently passing . . . [their] evenings in drawing and designing" together.⁵ Each of Blake's friends went on to a career of distinction, Flaxman as the most famous English sculptor of his day, Stothard as the most productive contemporary designer of book-illustrations, Sharp as one of the finest line-engravers, and Cumberland as a prolific gentleman poet, artist, novelist, and inventor. In later life, Blake was professionally the most obscure of the five friends, but

He was considered by Stothard and Flaxman . . . with the highest admiration. These artists allowed him their utmost unqualified praise, and were ever anxious to recommend him and his productions to the patrons of the Arts. . . .⁶

Perhaps with encouragement from Stothard, the book-sellers commissioned Blake to engrave thirty-two book-illustrations after Stothard in 1779-84; this is as many as he signed than after all other designers combined. Stothard was of far more importance in Blake's early professional career than vice versa. The thirty-two plates Blake engraved after Stothard formed only a fraction of Stothard's book-illustrations; he designed 244 plates for *The Novelist's Magazine* (1780-86) alone, of which Blake engraved only eight. Blake is dealt with here (chiefly on 11-15) as being, of course, only incidental to Stothard's career.

For most of these book-illustrations, Blake was probably paid at the rate of about £5 each, or perhaps £160 for all of them. One of the most remarkable features of the relationship between Blake and Stothard is that Stothard designed the only two prints known to have been published by the short-lived firm of Parker & Blake (1784-85). When Blake engraved Stothard's designs of "Callisto" and "Zephyrus & Flora" in 1784, he should have expected a commercial return for each,

as engraver and part-publisher, of at least as much as the £80 he had received from Macklin in 1783 for engraving Stothard's "The Fall of Rosamund." From this he and Parker would have had to pay the cost (usually modest) of Stothard's two designs, perhaps £20 each.⁷ However, very few copies of "Callisto" and "Zephyrus & Flora" survive, and perhaps not many were sold. It is likely that Blake and Parker had some difficulty in finding the money to pay Stothard for his designs. And it is notable that after 1785 Blake engraved no more of Stothard's designs and the firm of Parker & Blake went out of business.

Bennett remarks that in a scene from Fénelon's *Adventures of Telemachus* (1795), "Stothard's sentimental interpretation of Venus (Vice) has subverted the didactic message of this scene" (29), and the same could be said of numerous other Stothard designs, such as those for Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (1798). The point is not so much that he perverted the "message" of his authors as that he chose from them what he could best give visible form to. Had such changes been made by William Blake, his modern critics would say that he was "correcting" or "criticizing" his author or treating him ironically. Stothard's temper is sweeter than Blake's, his consistency greater—and his superficiality is often striking. Bennett tends to speak of him somewhat dismissively: "his illustrations are always attractive, decorative designs with little or no dramatic impact" (29). This is true, but it would have been more relevant if Stothard had been striving for dramatic impact. The need for drama is ours, not his.

To us, there seems to be a predictability about Stothard's designs, which often depict fluttering females in agitating circumstances, but to his contemporaries his adaptability was as remarkable as his reliable gracefulness. In 1825 Pickering published a puff about Stothard which said:

Of all our artists who have applied their talents to the illustration of books, he is unquestionably the most original in composition, the most varied, refined and characteristic. In this latter quality he is especially distinguished; it being wonderful to see with what spirit he identifies himself with his subject, and makes his composition appear, as well in the character of their figures, as in their inferior adjuncts of scenery, buildings, costume, &c. to belong inseparably to the time and story which he treats. . . . With Milton his [i.e., he?] is *primeval and angelical*; with Bunyan *dreamy* and Calvinistic . . .; he flutters with *infinite grace* in the courtly and sparkling scenes of Pope's "Rape of the Lock." (30)

His publisher Harrison said that he had received "numerous encomiums" upon "that most astonishing artist, the truly ingenious Mr. Stothard . . . all uniformly declaring him the first Genius of the Age in this department [of book-illustration]" (8). One of his admirers in the 1780s was Charles Lamb, who wrote:

How often have I with a child's fond gaze
Pored on the pictured wonder thou
hadst done:
Clarissa mournful, and prim Grandison!
All Fielding's, Smollett's heroes, rose to
view;
I saw, and I believed the phantoms true.
(54)

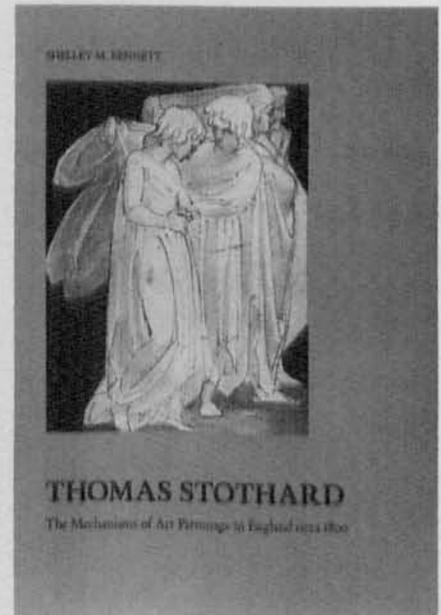
We are more likely to think of Stothard in the floral world of Leigh Hunt (and of the early Keats), who wrote of him:

. . . never since those southern masters
fine . . .
Has true woman's gentle mien divine
Looked so, as in those breathing heads
of thine
With parted locks, and simple cheek
sincere.
Therefore, against our climate's chilly
hold,
Thou hast a nest in sunny glades and
bowers;
And there, about thee, never growing
old,
Are these fair things, clear as the lily
flowers,
Such as great Petrarch loved,—only less
cold,
More truly virtuous, and of gladdening
powers. (32)

But Turner called him admiringly "the Giotto of England" (53), and Thomas Lawrence wrote that "Mr. Stothard is perhaps the first genius, after Mr. Fuseli and Mr. Flaxman, that the English school or modern Europe has known" (90). The breadth and taste of this praise should make us suspect that we are narrow-minded, not that they were blind.

Shelley Bennett's focus is more upon Stothard's versatility and about changes in the art world to which he was responding than on his most characteristic achievements. "Stothard's career provides numerous insights into the effect these new market conditions had on the mechanisms of art patronage" (vii). She effectively demonstrates the range of his work from "banknotes and theatre tickets, to silver work and funerary monuments" (36). The book is organized into chapters on his formative years, his entry into the art world, his elevation in status as an artist, additional sources of [artistic] income, and the influence of the market in Stothard's last years, with appendices on Stothard's excursions (e.g., with Blake when they were suspected of treason) and books illustrated by Stothard. She has searched widely for Stothard materials, particularly for drawings by him, listing four collections which among them have over 1,700 drawings. Bennett records many curious facts about Stothard; for instance, he was an enthusiastic lepidopterist, with what a contemporary called "a large collection of moths and flies" (36). This should remind us that the moth-wings on many of his celestial maidens may well be derived from nature—and that Blake's poem called "The Fly" is clearly about a butterfly.

But the accomplishments for which Stothard was best known by his contemporaries, and for which he was most important to William Blake, were his book-illustrations. There are some fascinating accounts of Stothard's work here, such as his collaboration



with Turner on the illustrations for the famous edition of Rogers' *Italy* (1830), and Bennett gives an enormous list of contemporary books and periodicals which bear Stothard's designs. This list seems to be far more extensive and reliable than anything previously in print, chiefly Coxhead's *Thomas Stothard* (1908), but the difficulties of tracing the original publication of some three thousand designs and of their reprintings and copies (legal and fraudulent) are very formidable. Indeed, I know of no attempt so ambitious as this one for any artist. Some of the problems were created by Stothard himself. Joseph Farington wrote in his diary for 20 May 1811 that "Stothard was making small drawings, Head Pieces, for a Lady's Pocket Book published annually. He has done this for the publication many years, but does not put His name to them." It is hard enough to find all the plates with Stothard's name on them without having to look for his designs which were published anonymously.

Partly because of such difficulties, Bennett has relied heavily upon collections of Stothard's prints made by his contemporaries, and upon their manuscript notes on the prints. Her list of over two hundred fifty publications

with plates after Stothard's designs forms a very substantial portion of her book (63-89) and perhaps its most lastingly valuable feature. But for many of these works she has seen only the loose prints in the collections of Robert Balmanno (about 2,200, in the British Museum Print Room), Samuel Boddington (about 2,500, in the Huntington Library), and W. E. Frost (12 volumes, in the Royal Academy Library); she has not examined the books themselves, and there are numerous entries such as "1785 [unknown author and title]" (67). Her necessary reliance upon the Balmanno and Boddington inscriptions has led her into a number of difficulties. For instance, she lists for Pope:

- The Rape of the Lock* (Du Roveray, 1798), 3 Stothard plates plus "1 proof (never published)" in the Huntington;
Essay on Criticism (Du Roveray, 1802), "part of Du Roveray's *Classics?*", 1 Stothard plate;
Poetical Works (Du Roveray, 1804), "part of Du Roveray's *Classics?*", 7 Stothard plates;
 Homer, *The Illiad*, tr. Pope (Du Roveray, 1805), "part of Du Roveray's *Classics?*", 6 Stothard plates.

In the first place, "Du Roveray's *Classics*" is a red herring; it is merely the idiosyncratic way Boddington, in his inscriptions on Stothard proofs, referred to all Du Roveray's publications. Second, the "never published" plate for *The Rape of the Lock* in the Huntington was in fact published in *The Poetical Works* of 1804. And third, there is no separate publication of Pope's *Essay on Criticism* (Du Roveray, 1802); the work referred to is also part of Pope's *Poetical Works* (1804). It would have been a superhuman labor to see all those proliferating books with Stothard's designs and to remember each design when it reappeared in a new edition. But the lack of such labor means that the list of Stothard book-illustrations has numerous ghosts.

Anyone who has looked at a number of illustrated English books during the period when Stothard flourished, 1780-1830, is likely to have seen many

engravings after his designs. I have made notes on books with Stothard prints I have encountered, and these include a number which Bennett has not recorded. As her list is the most comprehensive and systematic one in print, it may therefore be useful to supplement it. I am sure that my supplement could easily be extended by others—and I hope that they will do so in *Blake*.

The list that follows is in alphabetical order, though Bennett's is chronological by the date of first printing of the book or periodical in which the design appeared. When the book I record is already given under a different date in her list, I record her date at the end of the entry within parentheses. (Note that Bennett did not attempt to cite "later reprints . . . except in a few notable instances" [63].)

*Stothard Book-Illustrations not
in Bennett*

Or very incompletely in Bennett

Addison, Joseph, and Richard Steele, *The Spectator* (1803).

Plates engraved after Stothard by Cromek dated 19 Feb. and 20 Aug. 1803 are in the extra-illustrated set of A. E. Bray, *Life of Thomas Stothard* (1851) in Princeton, and pen-and-ink studies were offered in the Emily Driscoll catalogue 29 [1972], lot 349 (1812).

Bible. *The Old [and The New] Testament*, Embellished with Engravings from Pictures and Designs by the Most Eminent English Artists (London: Thomas Macklin, 1800 [i.e., issued in Parts 1791-1800]). <Bodley, British Library, G. E. B., Huntington, &c>.

Six folio volumes with 5 Stothard plates. (It is not "*The Holy Bible*" "1800-1816" as Bennett states—the "1816" applies only to *The Apocrypha*, which had no plate by Stothard. And the whole was reprinted in 1816-24.)

— *The New Evangelical Family Bible*, ed. T. Priestley, A New Edition, Embellished with Large Elegant Scripture Prints, finely Engraved in Copper (London: Printed [under the Inspection of the Author (sic)] for the

Proprietor; Sold Wholesale and Retail by Alex. Hogg [et al.], n.d. [1793-94?]). <British Library: L 14 a 2; Chicago: f BS 185 1793>.

Folio. The plates are headed "Engraved for the Revd Mr Priestley's Evangelical Family Bible." Among the 92 plates, Stothard's represents Elijah Ascending to Heaven—apparently pirated from the Macklin Bible then being issued in Parts.

— *The Universal Family Bible*, ed. Benjamin Kennicott, Embellished and Enriched with Upwards of Fifty Engravings (Dublin: Zachariah Jackson, 1793-1795). <Bodley: Bib Eng 1793 b 1; British Library: L 12 G 1>.

Folio. The 53 plates include 4 apparently pirated from the Macklin Bible and 1 unsigned for Ruth which is apparently after Stothard also.

— *The Holy Bible: . . . The Old Testament*, First Published by The English College at Doway, A.D. 1609. And The New Testament, First Printed by The English College at Rhemes, A.D. 1582. The Sixth Edition Newly Corrected. (Dublin: James Reilly, 1794). <British Library: L 15 f 1 & Huntington>.

Folio. Called on the frontispiece "Reilly's Doway Bible"—Bennett identifies it as "*Reilly's Doway Bible*. [Published by the English College at Doway.] For James Reilly, Dublin." Of the 7 plates, 4 bear Stothard's name and 2 anonymous ones are after him, all apparently pirated from the Macklin Bible.

— *The Holy Bible*, Doway . . . Rhemes [translations] (Manchester: Oswald Syers, 1813). <British Library: L 15 c 1>.

Large quarto. The 18 plates, headed "Engraved for Syers Edition," include an anonymous one of the resurrection probably after Stothard.

Book of Common Prayer (London: Joseph Good, 1791 [-92]), 12'. <Bodley>.

5 Stothard plates.

Bunyan, John, *Select Works*, Illustrated in a series of [20] Drawings in Chromolithography After Designs by T. Stothard (Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, 1865). <G. E. B.>.

20 colored Stothard plates.

- Cowper, William, *Poetical Works*, New Edition, 2 vols. (London: Joseph Johnson, 1800). <British Library>. 11 Stothard plates (*Poems*, 1798).
- . *Poems*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Robert Johnson, 1803), 12'. <G. E. B.> 5 Stothard plates (1798).
- Dante Alighieri, *The Divina Commedia*, trans. Henry Boyd, 3 vols. (London: T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, 1802). <G. E. B.>. Frontispiece after Stothard.
- Dodsley, Robert, *The Economy of Human Life* (London: S. Sael, 1799). <G. E. B.>. 3 Stothard plates (1796).
- Glover, Richard, *Leontidas*, Seventh Edition (London: Cadell & Davies, et al., 1804). <British Library>. 4 Stothard plates (1798).
- Hazlitt, William, ed., *Select British Poets* (1824). The first (suppressed) edition had 1 Stothard plate, according to Geoffrey Keynes, *Bibliography of William Hazlitt* (1931) 24.
- Hoole, John, *Cleontice, Princess of Bithonia: A Tragedy* (London: John Bell, 1795). <G. E. B.>. 1 Stothard plate.
- . *Cyrus: A Tragedy* (London: John Bell, 1795). <G. E. B.>. 1 Stothard plate.
- . *Timantbes: A Tragedy* (London: John Bell, 1795). <G.E.B.>. 1 Stothard plate.
- Lady's Poetical Magazine*; or, Beauties of British Poetry (London: Harrison & Co., 1791). <Princeton: 2538.554>. 15 Stothard plates (1781).
- Literary Magazine and British Review* (London: The Proprietors and C. Forster, July 1788). <Bodley>. 1 Stothard titlepage vignette (1790).
- Macklin's [Thomas] *British Poets Part V* (London: Thomas Macklin, 1796). <British Library>. 1 Stothard plate.
- Milton, John, *Paradise Lost* (London: John Sharpe, 1827). <G. E. B.>. 1 Stothard titlepage vignette.
- . *Poetical Works*, ed. Samuel Johnson & John Aiken, 3 vols. (London: John Sharpe, 1810). <Bodley>. 3 Stothard plates.
- Moore, Thomas, *A Selection of Popular National Airs With Symphonies and Accompaniments* by Sir John Stevenson, Numbers 1 and 4 (London: James Power, 1818, 1822). <G. E. B.>. 3 Stothard plates.
- Pope, Alexander, *The Rape of the Lock* (London: John Wright et al., 1801). 2 Stothard plates (1798).
- Rogers, Samuel, *Fifty-Six Engravings Illustrative of the Pleasures of Memory, and Other Poems, By Samuel Rogers, Esq. from Drawings by J. M. W. Turner, R. A. and Thomas Stothard* (London: Moon, Boys, & Graves, 1834).
- . *The Pleasures of Memory* (1793). 2 Stothard plates (1794).
- . *The Pleasures of Memory*, Ninth Edition (London: T. Cadell, Junior, and W. Davies, 1796). <G. E. B. & Bodley>. 2 Stothard plates (1794).
- . *The Pleasures of Memory* (1802). 15 Stothard plates (1801).
- Shakespeare, William, *One Hundred Plates Illustrative of the Principal Scenes in Shakespeare's Plays* (London: H. R. Young, 1819), 4'. <G. E. B.>. 7 Stothard plates.
- . *Picturesque Beauties . . . Engraved under the Direction of Charles Taylor* (London: C. Taylor, 1784-87). <British Library & Huntington>. 7 Stothard plates.
- . Stothard signed receipts to Mr. [presumably George] Robinson for two pictures for the *Comedy of Errors* (11 Oct. 1792, £31.10.0), two for *Romeo and Juliet* (28 May 1793, £31.10.0), and two for *King John* (7 Dec. 1793, £31.10.0 plus £2 for "two Drawings for a Pocket Book"). <British Museum Print Room, Anderson Collection>. Shelley Bennett has a number of Robinson entries but nothing significantly like this and nothing under 1790-93.
- . and Milton. *A Series of Magnificent Engravings to Illustrate the Various Folio or Quarto Editions of the Works of Shakespeare and Milton* (London: J. Barfield, 1818), folio. <G. E. B. & Huntington>. 15 Stothard plates for Shakespeare (engraved by J. Heath with imprints of 1802-03) and 13 for Milton (engraved by Bartolozzi, n.d.).
- Shenstone, William, *The Poetical Works* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1798). Bennett guesses that it has "4-6" plates after Stothard, but Stothard's receipt of 22 November 1797 for £10.10.0 from Cadell & Davies is for four (not six) drawings for Shenstone's poems (a copy is in the Anderson Collection of Royal Academy Catalogues in the British Museum Print Room).
- Smith, Charlotte, *Elegiac Sonnets*, Seventh Edition (London: T. Cadell Jun & W. Davies, 1795). <Bodley>. 1 Stothard plate (1789).
- Specimens of Polyautography* (London: P. André, [lithographic] Patentee, & J. Heath, 30 April 1805). <British Library, Metropolitan Museum (New York), Museum of Art (Philadelphia), Museum of Fine Art (Boston), National Gallery (Washington), Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (Munich)>. 1 Stothard lithograph.
- Thomson, James, *The Seasons* (London: T. Chapman, 1795). 4 plates and 8 vignettes after Stothard.
- . *The Works*, 3 vols. (London: J. Rivington et al., 1788), 8'. <G. E. B., 2 copies>. 3 Stothard plates.

¹ According to the obituary of Stothard in *The Gentleman's Magazine* ns 2 (1834): 321-23, Stothard made 5,000 designs, of which 3,000 were engraved. The immense list of books with Stothard illustrations on 63-89 in Shelley Bennett's book records less than 2,000.

² Among the more important predecessors of this book are (1) **Gentleman's Magazine* ns 2 (1834): 321-23; (2) [Mrs. Anna Elizabeth Bray] "Reminiscences of Stothard," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 39 (1836): 669-88, 753-68, expanded in (3) Mrs. [A. E.] Bray, *Life of Thomas Stothard, R. A.* (1851)—note that there are a number of copies of this work extra-illustrated with Stothard ephemera, especially engravings, e.g., in Yale University Library, Princeton University Library (3 vols.), Boston Public Library (4 vols.), and The Huntington Library (7 vols.); (4) A. C. Coxhead, *Thomas Stothard, R. A.: An Illustrated Monograph* (1908); and (5) *Shel-

ley Margaret Bennett, "Thomas Stothard, R. A." UCLA Ph.D., 1977 (the basis of the present book). (* = Not in her "Selected Bibliography" 100-06.) The life of Stothard which Bennett attributes to Allan Cunningham in his *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters* (1880) 149-52, is in fact by the editor of the 1880 edition, Mrs. Heaton.

³This incident is dated here "perhaps . . . 1779" (11, 91) and "ca. 1781" (62). *Blake Records* (1969) guesses 1780 (19).

William Blake. *Äktenskapet mellan Himmel och Helvete*, trans. Folke Isaksson with an afterword by Göran Malmquist. Tystberga, Sweden: Bokförlaget Epokhe. n.d. 71 pp. + frontispiece and 27 color plates.

Reviewed by Morton D. Paley and Gunnel Tottie

Although this is not the first rendition of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* to appear in Swedish,¹ it is by far the most ambitious. It comprises four elements: a translation of the text by the well-known poet Folke Isaksson, a short foreword by the translator, color reproductions of all the plates, and an afterword by the sinologist, Blake scholar, and member of the Swedish Academy, Göran Malmquist. These parts are of such disparate quality that it is impossible to render a single judgment of the volume. Perhaps the best way to begin is by asking what such a book ought to accomplish.

An edition of Blake in a foreign language should presumably provide a clear, accurate text, a critical introduction and select bibliography, and in the case of an illuminated book, trustworthy reproductions of Blake's etched pages. *Äktenskapet* succeeds

I am told by Mrs. H. E. Jones, Assistant Keeper of the Search Department of the Public Record Office, that there is "no mention of the arrest of William Blake or Thomas Stothard" in the *Alphabetical Guide to War Office and other Military Records Preserved in the Public Record Office*—but of course the index is not exhaustive.

⁴J. T. Smith, *Nollekens* (1828)—see *Blake Records* 466.

⁵Obituary of Flaxman in *The Annual Obituary* (1828)—see *Blake Records* 362.

⁶J. T. Smith, *A Book for a Rainy Day* (1845)—see *Blake Records* 26.

⁷For his large oil of "The Pilgrimage to Canterbury" at the height of his reputation in 1807, Stothard received £60 (Bennett 48). It was conventional for the publisher to buy the design from the artist and thus acquire publication rights to it.

admirably in the first category, fails in the second (although some compensation is provided in the afterword), and achieves only mediocre results in the third. A review of this book is therefore bound to be somewhat fragmentary, taking up each of these parts separately.

Folke Isaksson's translation is on the whole excellent. Isaksson manages to render the tone and rhythm of Blake's English in a Swedish version that is poetic but free of unnecessary archaism. Isaksson retains Blake's use of uppercase lettering but alters his punctuation; the latter is sometimes but not always necessary. (Cf. for instance pl. 14, where Isaksson substitutes a period for a comma after *Hell* and a semicolon for a comma after *tree of life*.) Isaksson shows a sure sense of style in his freer renderings; thus for instance *poetic tales* (pl. 11) is translated as *sågen och dikt* rather than the literal *poetiska berättelser*.

Mistakes are few and unimportant. It would probably have been better to render *This said he, like all firm persuasions, is come to pass* (pl. 13) as *Denna . . . har liksom varje annan fast övertygelse blivit fullbordad* or *har blivit uppfylld*, rather than *har blivit godtagen*, as Isaksson does. In plate 10, one might question the translation of *unacted desires* as *otillfredsställda* ("unsatisfied") *begär*; perhaps *oprövade lustar* would have served. But these are mostly suggestions; Isaksson has splendidly performed his difficult task and has managed to provide Swedish readers (who, if they are interested in Blake, may know some English but

probably not enough to fully understand the original) with an excellent text to accompany the plates.

The (untitled) foreword is another matter. Although Isaksson, as one would expect of a poet of his caliber, has some interesting observations to make, the uninitiated reader is not provided with enough information about the historical context and internal references of *The Marriage* to approach it with any degree of confidence. The foreword also perpetuates the myth of Blake's later works as a farrago of muddy prophecies:

During the long last years of his life, William Blake, the unknown giant, lived in a state of disappointment, depression, [and] perhaps at times derangement, writing enormous poetical works where the songs and blasphemies of his earlier periods turn into prophetic murmurings. But some critics also believe that Blake was in danger of his life and was driven underground because of his political radicalism, and that, resorting to allegory and eccentricity, he made himself invisible. (5)

This is consonant with the know-nothing view of Alfred Kazin, whose essay of 1941 (or perhaps a later reprint of it) is the most recent critical work to be referred to here (5). Shouldn't an introduction to *The Marriage* invite the curious reader to further exploration rather than uninformed dismissal? As there is neither annotation nor bibliography, however, such a reader is going to be hard put to understand even the work at hand. Why is a new heaven begun, and why is it thirty-three years since its advent? Who is Rintrah, merely referred to as "wrathful, fireshaking" in the foreword (6)? Shouldn't an edition such as this provide answers to

such questions or at least tell the reader where to look for answers?

The illustrated portion of *Åktenskapet* begins unpromisingly with its choice of frontispiece. This is the image of Blake that goes back to Thomas Phillips' portrait of 1807, but the picture reproduced is neither the original nor Schiavonetti's engraving after it; it is W. C. Edwards' engraving of 1830² that bears little resemblance to any lifetime portrait of Blake. Of course the main illustrative matter comprises the 27-page color reproduction of *The Marriage*. Here the choice of an original is impeccable: it is the magnificent Fitzwilliam Museum copy I. Another reproduction of this copy, the Oxford University Press-Trianon Press edition of 1975, is still in print, and in reviewing the latter John Beer, while calling it "a beautiful book," noted a number of deficiencies.³ Some of these, such as the nonreproduction of the gilt that Blake used on many pages, are general; others relate to specific plates. If we were to apply such standards to *Åktenskapet*, we would have to compile a long list of color deviations, but such a detailed comparison would be futile, as it must simply be said that the color values of this reproduction are generally untrue to those of the original. The coloring is comparatively pallid, and the white areas of Blake's pages are generally translated into blues and grays so that at times it is impossible to tell where such effects are due to color washes and where to reproductive distortion. This may have something to do with the limitations of four-color printing (the Oxford-Trianon edition used seven and sometimes eight colors), but the problem is compounded by the use of glossy paper of a kind unknown to Blake, so that the total effect is unlike anything Blake produced. It is a pity that the publishers did not insist upon greater fidelity of reproduction.

The lack of interpretive notes and of a proper critical introduction might well have been remedied in the after-



word by Göran Malmquist, editor and translator of *An Island in the Moon*.⁴ However, Malmquist has chosen to do something intriguingly different in his "Wilhelm Grønbech on William Blake: Instead of an Afterword." It is Malmquist's intention to call attention to what appears to be a neglected (because in Danish) critical masterpiece: *William Blake: Kunstner Digter Mystiker* [Artist Poet Mystic], published in Copenhagen in 1933. Excerpts from Grønbech's book are provided in Swedish with occasional editorial comments. It is clear that Grønbech's accomplishment was an extraordinary one. The excerpts display an understanding of Blake's thought and of his modes of utterance uncommon, to say the least, in 1933. His insistence that the illuminated books can be appreciated only as composite works must have seemed even more unusual. And sometimes Grønbech's words seem to leap out of his time to address the cultural and critical confusion of our own:

The only way to interpret Blake would be to put his book in the hands of the reader and say: See! And it is with a bleeding heart that one undertakes to explain what it is that he must see. But unfortunately, experience shows that the ability to com-

prehend a whole has dwindled. Nowadays nothing is so hopelessly difficult as seeing in such a way that one's vision creates and recreates. This strange characteristic of our culture is evident from the fact that it has brought forward a whole new category of intermediaries, critics, essayists, literary historians, and so forth[;] they are now so essential to our spiritual diet that they can justly claim that their interpretations constitute a separate genre of art which equals or even surpasses the creative work of the poet and sculptor. An essay concerning a work of poetry can and should in every respect be as artistic as the poetic work itself, it is claimed. And its interpreters [both] reveal their origins and are given their cultural justification in helping reader and viewer take apart the work of art[;] they carry to its ultimate conclusion man's desire to dissect the poem in order to penetrate its essence.⁵

Space does not allow further quotations here, but an English or American publisher could render a service to scholarship by bringing out a translation of *William Blake: Artist Poet Mystic*. Meanwhile, Malmquist deserves credit for drawing attention to Grønbech's book, Isaksson for making *The Marriage* accessible to Swedish readers, and Epokhe Publishers for this daring if only partially successful enterprise.

¹ Folke Isaksson mentions that he produced a translation which he now regards as inadequate, for a volume entitled *Dikter och profetior* [Poems and Prophecies], published by FIBs Lyrikklubb in 1957. FIB stands for *Folket i Bild* [The People in Pictures]. The existence of this volume, presumably produced for the bicentennial of Blake's birth, does not seem to have been noted in any Blake bibliography.

² This first appeared with Allan Cunningham's *Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1830). We thank D. W. Dörrbecker for this information.

³ *Blake* 11 (1977): 42-44.

⁴ *En Ö på Månen* (Uppsala: Brombergs bokförlag, 1979). Reviewed by Erik Frykman in *Blake* 14 (1981): 217-18.

⁵ Pages 56-57; our translation into English from Malmquist's translation into Swedish.

NEWSLETTER

THE LIMIT OF OPAKENESS

Blake announces a regular feature to be called "The Limit of Opakeness." It will consist of one or more brief articles that attempt to solve a Blakean crux.

With each issue we shall propose one or two difficult short passages and invite essays of no more than 750 words each. What is a crux for one person, of course, may seem easy to another, and some of our passages will strike some readers as poor choices. For that reason we will welcome suggestions. We may even print a consensus list of opaque passages.

Many of us Blake scholars remember first reading some of the magisterial critics and wondering how they came to know everything so confidently (and why they passed over in silence just those passages that were bothering us); they were as intimidating as they were inspiring. Some of us still hate to admit we can't figure certain passages out. "The Limit of Opakeness" will encourage candor and collaboration, and it ought to be rewarding to diminish Satan's domain bit by bit, issue by issue.

We welcome any and all approaches and will judge them all by the same rough standard: do they seem to clear up the difficulty to any appreciable extent? We recognize that some schools of criticism might find this a retrograde enterprise and offer to deconstruct the opposition between crux and "easy" passage. Let them do so, and if in the process they actually throw light on what we call a crux, we'll publish their essays, too. We ask only that the writing be clear and succinct: there is no Limit of Translucence.

This feature will run on a trial basis, and will last as long as good articles are submitted. We might set design cruxes as well (and welcome suggestions for them), but at first we will confine ourselves to the words.

For the first round, we invite essays on either of two passages from the "Bard's Song" of *Milton* 5:39-41 (on Charles, Milton, Cromwell, and James) and 8:11-12 (Los puts his left sandal on his head).

Please send contributions to Michael Ferber, Department of English, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH 03824. He will give them a first reading and then confer with the editors over which of them will be published.

Michael Ferber

BLAKE'S FATE AT THE TATE

For the last 60 years or so the Tate has always had a selection of works by William Blake from its collection on display. There has never been any doubt during this period that Blake's unique achievement should be represented within the context of British art as a whole and that the Tate, as the National Gallery of British Art, was the place where this was best done. This still remains the Tate's view. It has been done, moreover, in a way not possible for other public collections in the UK which hold Blakes: in the form of a display, on the walls, permanently accessible to the everyday gallery goer. It is the Tate's intention that this should continue to be the case.

Achieving this successfully, particularly with the light-sensitive works on paper which make up the bulk of the artist's output, has been a matter of some pride—to the extent that the Tate has had two rather special "Blake Rooms": the first, the present Gallery 2 which, following the accessioning of 70 works from 1918-1922, was decorated in 1923 with a mosaic floor (still *in situ*) by Boris Anrep illustrating Blake's "Proverbs." The second is a very different room, which was inserted into one of the Tate's conventional top-lit daylit galleries. This gallery, which opened in 1978, for the first time provided the correct controlled levels of temperature, humidity, and light required to ensure that Blake's work, while being on more or less permanent display, did not deteriorate. This

"Blake Room," which was undoubtedly familiar to readers of *Blake*, finally closed in November 1989.

This latest move arises from our present task of redisplaying the entire Tate collection to make the best of our limited gallery space. Our first requirement, and the most pressing, was the need to rehang all the main galleries in the Tate—an idea put forward by the Director and accepted by the Trustees in principle at the end of 1988. Over the last decade a number of exercises were done, on paper, with just this end in view. What usually emerged from these exercises was the conclusion that any attempt at rearranging the chronological sequence of Historic British paintings into galleries would be thwarted by the presence of the Blake Room. No rearrangement ever quite succeeded in demonstrating that the works of Blake could both remain in their specially designed gallery and still be near or adjacent to works by the artist's contemporaries.

The other issue of immediate concern was that the airconditioning plant for the Blake Room had reached its end and was due to be replaced during 1990 (at which time the Blakes would have to be unhung). In the knowledge that no thoroughgoing reshuffle of the British Collection and Modern Collection could work if the Blakes were to remain where they were, it seemed neither sensible nor realistic to renew this plant when the effect of doing so would be to perpetuate a situation which restricted our room for maneuver.

The upshot is that the group of works by Blake and his followers are now housed in the smaller, un-airconditioned Gallery 12, adjacent to the room in which they were displayed during the mid-1970s. In adjacent rooms will be works by, for example, Fuseli, De Louthembourg, Stothard, John Martin, and John Linnell.

The most obvious change brought about by this new arrangement will be—now that they are shown in a smaller room—fewer works by Blake

and his followers on view at any one time. There will be other changes too. Instead of being displayed in wall mounted vitrines, most pictures will be more conventionally shown in their frames and glazed with low reflecting glass, while others will be set out in traditional floorstanding showcases. The low levels of artificial light which were maintained in the old Blake Room will be duplicated for the new display. As in the old Blake Room, the emphasis will be on providing the sort of serene environment appropriate for the contemplation of Blake's work. In line with the policy we are adopting for other galleries, a descriptive wall text will give some basic information about Blake and his art, and selected works will have descriptive labels which, it is hoped, will help visitors to appreciate high points of the display they might otherwise miss.

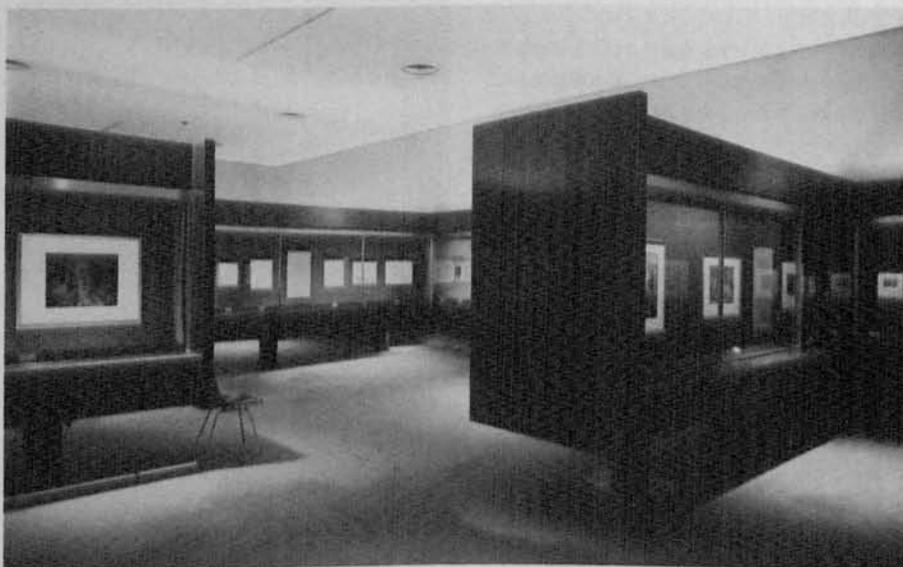
The reduction in the size of the Blake display is, in fact, counterbalanced by a number of other features which should ensure that, in line with a well established precedent, the Tate's Blakes still reach a wide audience. The first is that the displays will be changed every six or eight months. The first of these changes will occur in July 1990 when 11 works will be removed from public display to be loaned to the Blake exhibition in Tokyo; they will be replaced by other works from the permanent collection. Secondly, those works which are not on display in the Gallery will generally be available for viewing in the Tate's Study Room (open Tuesdays through Saturdays, 12 noon to 5 p.m.). For conservation reasons and because we still regard them as works primarily intended for gallery viewing, these pictures will mostly remain framed and glazed, but they will be available on request to visitors and can be seen under conditions equal to or perhaps (for some people) better than those in the gallery.

Thirdly, this pattern of changing displays from the permanent collection will be augmented by a series of special exhibits. The intention of the exhibits is to illuminate different facets of

the Tate's own Blake collection by judicious borrowing from other public or private collections. The first will take place in January 1991 and will, it is hoped, be devoted to a display of all 12 of the Large Color Prints of c. 1795-1805. An important feature of these small exhibitions will be an illustrated broadsheet, priced so that it is within the reach of all visitors. In this way we

hope not only to capitalize on the Tate's importance as a center for Blake studies, but also, just as importantly, to attract as wide as possible an audience for the pictures of an artist who is one of the major figures in British art, but who is probably not as widely appreciated as he deserves to be.

There is a firm commitment on the part of the Tate Gallery to maintaining



The Blake Room at the Tate Gallery 1978-1989.



The Blake Room at the Tate Gallery, January 1990.

its unique record of having Blake's work permanently on display, as well as a continuing commitment to adding to the permanent collection of his works as and when appropriate. Our recent acquisition of "A Vision" (illus.) is, perhaps, sufficient proof of our intentions.

Our long term aim is to establish a larger, permanent display under the ideal conditions which the present Tate cannot provide. Our ideas for this are incorporated in our plans for future building works, and we anticipate seeking private funding for this project at the right moment.

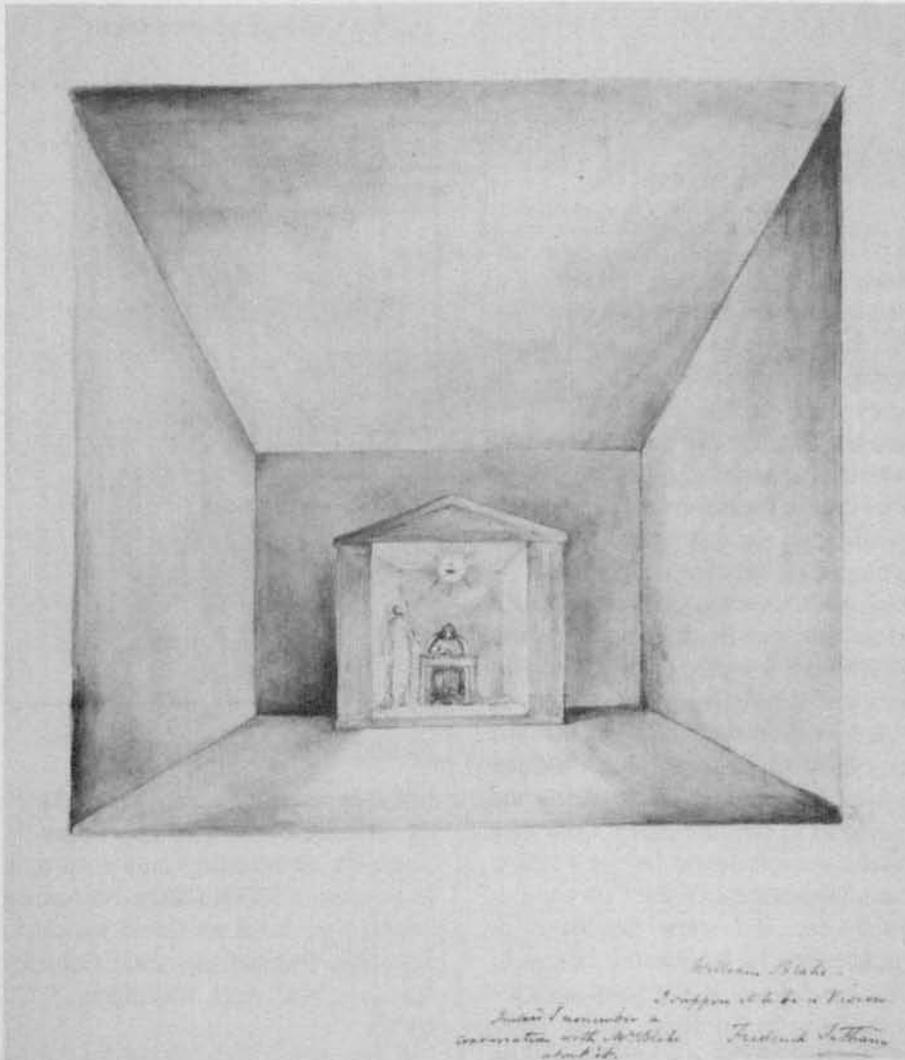
Robin Hamlyn

BLAKE'S JOB ENGRAVINGS AT THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

William Blake's Book of Job, an exhibition of the complete portfolio of 21 black-and-white engravings and title page, was held from 15 December through 19 February 1990 at the Brooklyn Museum. The set exhibited, which is from the Museum's collection, is a "proof" set of the first edition. Blake's water color of *The Great Red Dragon and the Woman Clothed with the Sun* (c. 1803-05) was also shown. The exhibition was organized by Barry Walker, Associate Curator of Prints and Drawings.

HISTORICIZING BLAKE

A conference will be held 5-7 September 1990, at St. Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, England on "Historicizing Blake." Of the romantic authors, Blake would seem to offer the most to studies from an historicist or Marxist perspective: an artisan who "laboured at the Mill with Slaves." However, the dominant critical methodology has been the strong formalism of North America with its emphasis on archetypal patterns, transcendental poetics, and "literary" history. The focus of the conference will be the question of whether these theoretically-oriented approaches, which have dominated the field for the past twenty years, have now been displaced by renovated forms of historicist study. However, this is not meant to be in any way exclusive or inflexible and offers of papers on related areas of the romantic period will be gratefully considered. Scholars in the disciplines of history, literature, and art are invited to suggest ways of aligning and assessing Blake in relation to recent developments in cultural and materialist studies. "Historicizing Blake" particularly invites contributions from younger scholars. The conference hopes to support the attendance of a very few younger scholars by paying full or part fees, and applications to the

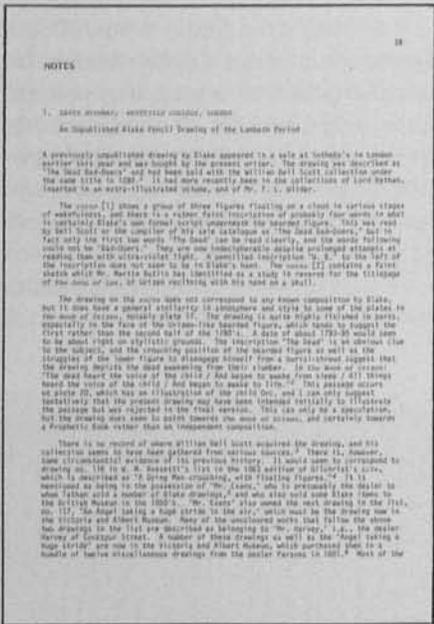


William Blake, *A Vision: The Inspiration of the Poet*, c. 1819-20. Water color over pencil 171mm x 178mm (6 3/4 in. x 7 in.) on wove paper 244mm x 210mm (9 9/16 in. x 8 1/4 in.). Inscribed in ink by Frederick Tatham, "William Blake. / I suppose it to be a Vision / Frederick Tatham" and "Indeed I remember a / conversation with Mrs. Blake / about it" bottom right. This work, number 756 in Martin Butlin's 1981 catalogue, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, was acquired from David C. Preston by the Tate Gallery at the end of 1989. Its purchase was made possible through the generosity of Edwin Cohen and the General Atlantic Partner's Foundation. Full details of the work are to be found in the new catalogue of the Tate's Blake collection, by Martin Butlin, published in March 1990. This catalogue will also be available through the Tate's U.S. distributors, the University of Washington Press, beginning in summer 1990.

organizers are cordially invited. Key speakers include John Beer, Marilyn Butler, David V. Erdman, Iain McCalmann and E. P. Thompson. The conference will take place at St. Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, which is Horace Walpole's Gothic villa. Some lecture sessions will take place in Lady Waldegrave's equally remarkable nineteenth-century additions to the Walpole house. Residential accommodation with full board is £85. Synopses of papers for the conference should be sent before 30 March 1990 to either Steve Clark, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, Mile End Road, London, or David Worrall, St. Mary's College, Waldegrave Road, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, TW1 4SX.

BLAKE IN THE 21st CENTURY

Blake began as the *Blake Newsletter* in 1967. "The idea," wrote Morton Paley in his introduction to the first issue, "seems to have sprung like Leutha from the head of Satan." The price was \$2 for four issues of mimeograph-like pages—56 altogether in that first volume (illus. 1). A second technological phase began in 1970. Morton Paley and Morris Eaves went coediting the *Newsletter*, and production was moved



from Berkeley to New Mexico. The first issue from New Mexico was also the first to be printed by offset lithography and hence the first to have pictures (one on the cover and three inside) (illus. 2). The third phase came with the winter issue of 1982-83, when after fifteen years we were finally able to abandon the typewriter for regular (computerized) typesetting (illus. 3). Along with the change in composition came changes in design and format with which we have only fiddled a bit now and then in the years since.

This is all by way of saying that you may have noticed our fourth technological leap, which came along unheralded in the last issue. Until then *Blake* was produced by the Publications Department of the University of Rochester. It is now produced by PublishEase, a Rochester company that specializes in the latest desktop publishing technology. We've taken advantage of the conversion opportunity to change our layout (most obviously in moving from two columns to three per page, which allows us to handle illustrations more flexibly). We've also been experimenting with some new technologies: the mechanicals for the first two issues, for example, were produced by a high resolution laser printer (double the

300 dots per inch produced by your standard Hewlett-Packard LaserJet II). Along the way we hope to save enough money to keep quality up—the change has allowed us to shift to a better paper—and keep costs under control (if not down).

The conversion has been remarkably smooth so far, and we've been impressed with the expertise of the staff at PublishEase. Our experience has given us the confidence to keep experimenting. We welcome your reactions.

Desire Gratified and Ungratified:
William Blake and Sexuality

BY BERTH UZGOREK

William Blake on sexuality is a radical with a message... (text continues in two columns)

BLAKE: THE SCREENPLAY

David A. Minckler, screenwriter, director, cameraperson, and film editor, is presently researching and writing a screenplay on William Blake. For further information, write to: David Minckler, Armadillo Productions, 2900 Connecticut Ave., NW, #329, Washington D.C., 20008.



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